University of Toronto.
King Alfred Library of History
Founded by
Goldwin Smith and Harriet Smith
1901

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/manuscriptscorre02greauoft

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

THIRTEENTH REPORT, APPENDIX, PART VIII.

THE
MANUSCRIPTS AND CORRESPONDENCE
OF
JAMES, FIRST EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

Vol. II.—1784–1799.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE,
BY EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE,
PRINTERS TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

And to be purchased, either directly or through any Bookseller, from
EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE, EAST HARDING STREET, FLEET STREET, E.C., and
32, ABINGDON STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.; or
JOHN MENZIES & Co., 12, HANOVER STREET, EDINBURGH, and
90, WEST NILE STREET, GLASGOW; or
HODGES, FIGGIS, & Co., LIMITED, 104, GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN.

1894.

[C.—7424.] *Price* 1*s*. 11*d*.

CONTENTS.

	Page
Introduction - - - - - - -	v
I. Correspondence of lord Charlemont, 1784–1799—catalogue -	ix
Appendix : Extracts from letters, etc. - - -	1

INTRODUCTION.[1]

THE correspondence of Lord Charlemont from 1784 to 1799[2] and undated letters from or to him, form the subject of the present volume. In this part of the Charlemont collection, there are upwards of seven hundred and fifty dated and more than one hundred and sixty undated letters. Of both these classes catalogues are here printed for the first time; and appended are the portions of the letters which contain matters of interest in relation to public affairs, literature and art.

Amongst the writers of letters here extant on public affairs were the following:—

Earl Camden, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Earl of Carhampton, commander of the forces in Ireland; Earl of Carysfort; Lady Louisa Conolly; Earl of Darnley; John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare; Earl Fitzwilliam; Earl of Halifax; Lord Kenmare; Duke of Leinster; Earl of Moira; Countess of Moira; Earl of Mornington; Lord Orford; Marchioness of Rockingham; Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Viscount Strangford; Topham Beauclerk; Andrew Boyd; Benjamin Bousfield, of Cork; William Brownlow, of Lurgan; Edmund Burke; William Burroughs; P. Butler, of Charleston; William Campbell, D.D., Armagh; Isaac Corry; Richard Crosbie; William Dickson, Bishop of Down and Connor; Francis Dobbs, M.P.; Thomas Dundas; Richard Lovell Edgeworth; Henry Flood; John Forbes, M.P.; Sir Philip Francis; Henry Grattan; Alexander Henry Haliday, M.D.; Francis Hardy, M.P.; Rev. Edward Hudson; Richard M. Jephson, M.P.; Sir William Jones; Henry Joy, of Belfast; John Kearney, D.D.; John Knox, brigadier; Sir Hercules Langrishe; Richard Marlay, D.D.; Peter Metge; Sir Edward Newenham, M.P.; Sir Laurence Parsons, M.P.; Thomas Pelham; Robert Perceval, M.D.; Thomas Percy, Bishop of Dromore; Thomas

---

[1] The first volume, terminating with correspondence of the year 1783, forms Appendix X. to the Twelfth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, 1891.

[2] Lord Charlemont died on 4 August, 1799.

Prentice; Richard Sheridan, M.P.; Robert Stephenson; James Stewart; Robert Stewart; Henry Ussher, D.D.; and Barry Yelverton.

Of many important public transactions in England and Ireland from 1784 to 1799, contemporary notices and details appear in this correspondence.

The state of France in 1791 formed the subject of two remarkable letters in this collection, which were written, in his twenty-second year, by Robert Stewart, subsequently Viscount Castlereagh and Marquis of Londonderry.

These communications were addressed to Earl Camden, sometime Lord Chancellor of England, whose daughter was the second wife of Robert Stewart's father. The two letters referred to are here printed[1] from copies made for Lord Charlemont. They are the sole surviving relics of the Castlereagh papers prior to 1798, the originals of all of which were lost in a shipwreck.

Observations on Indian matters are found in the letters from William Burroughs and Andrew Boyd. Burroughs became Advocate-General and Judge in Calcutta, was created a baronet in 1804, and represented Colchester in the Imperial Parliament. The most assiduous of Lord Charlemont's correspondents in Ireland throughout a long period was Dr. Alexander Henry Haliday,[2] of Belfast, first secretary of the Northern Whig Club. Haliday's letters abound in notices of affairs in Belfast and its district. By the liberality of Edward Perceval Wright,[3] M.D., the original letters from Lord Charlemont to Haliday have been made available for the present publication. Dr. Wright received them as a bequest from Haliday's grand-nephew, Alexander Henry Haliday, M.A., well known in the world of science as an eminent writer on entomology, and as one of the founders of the "Società Entomologica Italiana."

Many circumstantial accounts of transactions in parts of Ulster in 1797, 1798, and 1799, are given in the letters addressed to

---

[1] Pp. 145–159; 162–176.

[2] *See* Vol. I., p. 442. Lord Charlemont complained of the illegibility of some of Haliday's handwriting. The manuscript letters of the Rev. E. Hudson in this collection are also indistinct.

[3] Author of Memoirs on the Flora of the Seychelles, on Algæ, joint author with Professor T. H. Huxley of a memoir on Fossil reptiles in Ireland, and, with Dr. Studer, on the "Alcyonaria" of the "Challenger" Expedition.

Charlemont in those years by the Rev. Edward Hudson, rector of Ahoghill, in the county Antrim.

Among letters on matters in connection with literature are those from Horace Walpole, William Melmoth, Thorkelin, the Scandinavian antiquary; Charles Vallancey, Edward Vanbrugh, Joseph C. Walker, and Charlotte Brooke, daughter of the author of the "Fool of Quality." There is also an account[1] of Haliday's loss of the manuscript of a tragedy, composed by him, which Edmund Burke entrusted to Richard Brinsley Sheridan, with a view to its production on the stage in London.

References occur in these papers to the early works of the Royal Irish Academy, which, through Charlemont's exertions, was established at Dublin, under charter in 1786, for promoting the studies of the higher branches of science, literature, and archæology.

Lord Charlemont's zealous labours in connection with that institution, and the interest which as President he took in promoting its objects, were commemorated by his portrait on its prize gold medals, awarded for works of pre-eminent merit.[2]

Joseph Baretti, in a letter before us, expresses deep gratitude to Lord Charlemont for having been the first who aided him substantially after his "unfortunate accident."[3] Topham Beauclerk remonstrates[4] with Charlemont for his prolonged absence from the London "Literary Club." "If you do not come," wrote Beauclerk, "I will bring all the Club over to Ireland to live with you, and that will drive you here in your own defence. Johnson shall spoil your books, Goldsmith pull your flowers, and Boswell talk to you—stay, then—if you can."

In the correspondence between Edmund Malone and Charlemont, literary and bibliographical topics are varied by comments on public events at home and abroad. Malone describes some of his labors in relation to Shakespeare, Dryden, old English literature, and the history of the drama. He mentions personal traits of interest in connection with Edward Gibbon, the historian, and Sir Joshua Reynolds, to whom he was an executor. Malone also descants on the Shakespeare forgeries of William Henry Ireland, which he exposed in a printed volume addressed to Lord Charlemont.

---

[1] *See* p. 192.
[2] *See* p. 71.
[3] *See* vol. I., p. 296.
[4] *See* p. 360.

The late Sir James Prior, who, after long research, published a memoir of Edmund Malone,[1] regretted, in his preface to that work, that the letters from Malone to Lord Charlemont had disappeared, and that, according to some persons, they had been destroyed.

Extracts from these much-desired letters of Malone are for the first time given to the public in the present report. They will, it is trusted, be regarded as an interesting addition to materials for English literary history.

In relation to art there are in the Charlemont collection communications from Jane, relict of William Hogarth, and from Richard Livesay, the painter. A letter[2] of Charlemont supplies particulars concerning the picture styled the "Lady's last stake." Charlemont mentions that it was painted for him by "his friend Hogarth," and that "it was one of the last performances" of that "great master." Some details will also be found here[3] in relation to the engraving of the portraits of the Knights of the order of St. Patrick, who were present at the installation banquet in 1782.

Of the Charlemont collections which form the subject of the present and the preceding report, a portion was made use of by Francis Hardy in his "Memoirs" of Lord Charlemont, published at London in 1810.

It will now be seen that curtailments made by Hardy, through prudential motives, denuded his published excerpts from letters of Charlemont, Burke, and others, of much matter which gave value and vitality to the originals in their integrity.

The Commission is indebted to General Sir W. F. Butler, K.C.B., for copies of the letters (pp. 302–304) to and from the Prince of Wales in 1797, in connection with Lord Charlemont.

JOHN T. GILBERT.

Villa Nova, Blackrock,
Dublin, 5 *March,* 1894.

---

[1] London, 1860.

[2] *See* p. 364.

[3] *See* p. 24.

CORRESPONDENCE OF JAMES, FIRST EARL OF CHARLEMONT, 1784–1799.

CATALOGUE.

*** The numbers within brackets refer to the letters from which extracts are printed in the Appendix.

Date.			Place.	Writers.
1784	Jan.	3	Celbridge	Archdall, Nicholas.
,,	,,	,,	Armagh	Maxwell, Samuel.
,,	Feb.	9	—	Charlemont.
,,	,,	13	Charleston	Butler, P. [1].
,,	,,	14	—	Grattan, Henry.
,,	,,	22	Dublin	Charlemont.
,,	,,	28	Armagh	Campbell, William, D.D.
,,	March	22	*ib.*	,, ,, [2].
,,	,,	25	Belfast	Haliday, Alexander H., M.D.
,,	—	—	—	Charlemont [3].
,,	April	5	—	Ussher, Henry, D.D. [4].
,,	,,	10	Armagh	Haliday.
,,	,,	13	Dublin	Crosbie, Richard [5.].
,,	May	10	London	Clements, H. T.
,,	,,	29	Dublin	Pigot, Adjutant.
,,	,,	31	Armagh	Campbell, W., D.D. [6].
,,	June	1	—	Raish, Abraham.
,,	,,	,,	London	Mornington, Lord [7].
,,	,,	17	,,	Livesay, Richard [8].
,,	,,	26	Aleppo	Rochford, W.
,,	,,	30	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	July	10	Berlin	Carysfort, Lord.
,,	Aug.	19	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	27	Marino	Charlemont [9].
,,	Sept.	10	St. Petersburg	Carysfort, Lord [10].
,,	Oct.	9	Armagh	Campbell, W. [11].
,,	,,	22	Wingfield	Grattan, H.
,,	Nov.	16	Bandon	Wood, George [12].
,,	Dec.	5	London	Canden, Lord.
,,	,,	9	Tanjore	Boyd, Andrew [13].
,,	,,	25	Armagh	Campbell, W. [14 i].
1785	Jan.	3	,,	,, ,, [14 ii].
,,	Feb.	22	—	Charlemont [15].
,,	,,	28	Armagh	Maxwell, Samuel [16].
,,	March	14	Dublin	Charlemont [17 i].
,,	,,	29	,,	,, [17 ii].
,,	May	10	,,	Clements, H. T. [18].
,,	June	28	—	"E."

	Date.		Place.	Writers.
1785	July	5	Edgeworthstown	Edgeworth, R. L. [19].
,,	,,	6	Lurgan	Brownlow, W. [20].
,,	,,	10	Drogheda	Forbes, John [21 i].
,,	,,	19	—	Haliday.
,,	,,	23	—	Forbes, John [21 ii].
,,	Aug.	1	Marino	Charlemont [22].
,,	,,	7	Beconsfield	Burke, Edmund [23].
,,	,,	16	Dublin	Charlemont [24 i].
,,	,,	18	,,	,, [24 ii].
,,	,,	20	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	27	Dublin	Sherwin, J. K. [25].
,,	Oct.	5	Marino	Charlemont [26].
,,	,,	11	Dublin	Rutland, Duke of [27].
,,	,,	15	Lurgan	Brownlow, W. [28].
,,	,,	19	Killymoon	Stewart, James [29].
,,	,,	22	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	25	London	Livesay, R. [30].
,,	Nov.	5	Lurgan	Brownlow, W. [31].
,,	,,	7	Dublin	Charlemont [32].
,,	,,	16	—	Corry, Isaac.
,,	,,	23	London	Walpole, Horace [33].
,,	,,	26	Londonderry	Ferguson, John.
,,	,,	27	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	Dec.	9	London	Walpole, H. [33 ii].
,,	,,	15	—	Haliday.
,,	,,	17	London	Malone, Edmund [34].
,,	,,	,,	Dublin	Charlemont [35].
,,	,,	27	Belfast	Haliday [36].
1786	Jan.	19	Carton	Leinster, Duke of.
,,	,,	24	London	Kearney, John [37].
,,	Feb.	18	,,	Malone [38].
,,	,,	25	—	Charlemont [39].
,,	March	2	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	10	London	Livesay, R. [40 i].
,,	,,	26	,,	,, ,, [40 ii].
,,	April	7	,,	Hogarth, Jane [41].
,,	,,	8	,,	Livesay, R. [42].
,,	,,	21	—	Newenham, Edward, Sir.
,,	May	29	—	Charlemont [43].
,,	June	1	Belfast	Haliday [44].
,,	,,	17	—	Charlemont [45].
,,	,,	26	Mullamore	Evans, George.
,,	July	1	—	Haliday.
,,	,,	2	Belfast	,,
,,	,,	3	—	Charlemont [46].
,,	,,	24	Chiswick	Hogarth, Jane [47].
,,	,,	,,	Dublin	Charlemont.
,,	Sept.	18	London	Livesay, R. [48 i].
,,	Oct.	4	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	7	London	Livesay, R. [48 ii].
,,	,,	20	Armagh	Allolt, R.
,,	,,	—	London	Dudley and Ward, Lord.
,,	,,	—	Oldtown	Burke, Edmund [49].
,,	Nov.	1	Dublin	Charlemont [50].
,,	,,	6	London	Flood, H. [51].

Date.			Place.	Writers.
1786	Nov.	14	—	Charlemont [52].
,,	,,	19	Shane's Castle	Haliday [53].
,,	,,	28	Dublin	Charlemont [54].
1787	Jan.	16	London	Parsons, L. Sir [55 i].
,,	,,	19	,,	,, ,, [55 ii].
,,	,,	23	Philadelphia	Watson, Wilson.
,,	Feb.	15	Clare Castle	"Tormentor."
,,	,,	23	—	Moore, John.
,,	,,	—	—	Charlemont [56].
,,	March	1	—	Yelverton, B. [57].
,,	,,	8	Belfast	Haliday [58 i].
,,	April	8	,,	,, [58 ii].
,,	May	27	,,	,,
,,	June	1	London	Burke, Edmund [59].
,,	,,	9	,,	Malone [60].
,,	,,	19	—	Charlemont [61].
,,	,,	21	Dublin	,, [62].
,,	,,	,,	London	Leland, John.
,,	,,	22	Belfast	Haliday [63].
,,	,,	26	—	Charlemont [64].
,,	July	5	Belfast	Haliday [65].
,,	,,	9	,,	,,
,,	,,	10	Beaconsfield	Burke, E. [66].
,,	,,	21	Marino	Charlemont [67].
,,	,,	24	Belfast	Haliday [68].
,,	,,	26	Marino	Charlemont [69].
,,	Oct.	24	London	Malone [70].
,,	,,	31	,,	,,
,,	Nov.	7	—	Malone [71].
,,	,,	25	Bray	Edwards, John.
,,	,,	29	,,	,, ,,
,,	Dec.	7	Dublin	Charlemont [72 i].
,,	,,	[9]	,,	,, [72 ii].
,,	,,	,,	Hillingdon House.	Rockingham, Marchioness of.
,,	,,	29	Belfast	Haliday.
1788	Jan.	4	—	Charlemont [73].
,,	,,	7	London	Malone [74].
,,	,,	12	Dublin	Charlemont [75].
,,	,,	25	Hertford	Mornington, Lord. [76].
,,	,,	—	—	Charlemont [77].
,,	Feb.	9	Armagh	Campbell, W., D.D. [78].
,,	,,	13	Belfast	Haliday [79].
,,	,,	28	Dublin	Perceval, Robert [80].
,,	March	11	London	Walpole, H.
,,	,,	12	,,	Malone [81].
,,	,,	,,	,,	Holland.
,,	,,	16	Dublin	Charlemont [82].
,,	April	2	Belfast	Haliday [83].
,,	,,	4	,,	,,
,,	May	5	Dublin	Walker, J. C. [84].
,,	June	21	Belfast	Haliday [85].
,,	,,	27	Mickleham	Phillips, —.
,,	July	12	Dublin	Charlemont [86].
,,	,,	13	Milltown	Vallancey, C.

Date.			Place.	Writers.
1788	Sept.	16	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	Oct.	1	Cavan	Caulfeild, J. [87].
,,	,,	21	—	Rockingham, Marchioness [88].
,,	,,	—	—	Charlemont [89].
,,	Nov.	26	Armagh	Campbell, W. [90].
,,	,,	28	,,	Prentice, T. [91.]
,,	,,	29	Killarney	Kenmare, Earl of [92].
,,	Dec.	2	Cobham Park	Malone [93].
,,	,,	14	—	O'Neill, H. G. [94].
,,	,,	17	Armagh	Livingston, R. [95].
,,	,,	18	Dublin	Charlemont [96 i].
,,	,,	19	,,	,, [96 ii].
,,	,,	27	Belfast	Haliday [97].
,,	,,	29	London	Forbes, J.
,,	,,	31	—	Charlemont [98].
1789	Jan.	15	London	Burroughs, W.
,,	,,	19	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	31	London	Burroughs, W. [99].
,,	Feb.	4	—	Malone [100].
,,	March	11	London	Walpole, Horace.
,,	,,	19	,,	Burke, Edmund [101].
,,	,,	24	—	Charlemont [102].
,,	,,	31	Belfast	Joy, Henry [103].
,,	April	3	London	Burroughs, W. [104].
,,	,,	4	—	Burke, Edmund [105].
,,	,,	,,	Dublin	Charlemont [106].
,,	,,	11	Belfast	Haliday [107 i].
,,	,,	12	Drogheda	Sheridan, Richard.
,,	,,	13	Belfast	Haliday [107 ii].
,,	,,	21	—	,,
,,	,,	29	London	Dundas. Thomas [108].
,,	,,	,,	—	Metge, Peter.
,,	,,	—	Dublin	Charlemont [109].
,,	May	3	Hollybrook	Haliday.
,,	,,	21	Paris	Burroughs, N.
,,	,,	27	London	Burke, Edmund [110].
,,	June	14	Marino	Charlemont [111].
,,	July	6	London	Burke, Edmund.
,,	,,	,,	,,	Walsh, R. [112].
,,	,,	8	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	10	London	Burke, Edmund [113].
,,	,,	11	—	Hudson, E. Rev. [114].
,,	,,	12	Dublin	Charlemont [115].
,,	,,	13	Oldcourt	Edwards, John.
,,	,,	15	—	Moore, John.
,,	,,	16	Dublin	Fitzgibbon, John [116].
,,	,,	26	Athy	Newenham, E. Sir.
,,	Aug.	3	Dublin	Thorkelin, G. [117].
,,	,,	9	Beconsfield	Burke, Edmund [118].
,,	,,	26	Forkhill	Hudson, E.
,,	Oct.	7	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	Nov.	1	Dublin	Moira, Countess [119].
,,	,,	25	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	30	—	Mossom, Eland [120].
,,	Dec.	4	—	Charlemont [121].

Date.			Place.	Writers.
1789	Dec.	7	Calcutta	Burroughs, W.
”	”	”	—	Hudson, E.
”	”	8	Calcutta	Burroughs, W. [122].
”	”	31	—	Newenham, E. Sir [123].
1790	Feb.	18	Belfast	Haliday [124].
”	”	20	Dublin	Charlemont [125].
”	”	21	London	Dundas, T. [126].
”	”	27	Dublin	Charlemont [127].
”	March	1	Belfast	Haliday [128 i].
”	”	8	Saintfield	” [128 ii].
”	”	9	Dublin	Charlemont [129].
”	”	11	Belfast	Haliday [130].
”	”	15	Dublin	Charlemont [131 i].
”	”	16	”	” [131 ii].
”	”	19	Saintfield	Haliday [132 i].
”	”	20	Belfast	” [132 ii].
”	”	24	Dublin	Charlemont [133].
”	April	2	—	Haliday.
”	”	7	Saintfield	”
”	”	8	Dublin	Charlemont [134].
”	”	10	”	” [135].
”	”	”	—	Sheridan, Charlotte.
”	”	”	Fort Stewart	Stewart, A.
”	”	11	Drogheda	Forbes, John.
”	”	12	”	” ”
”	”	15	London	Malone [136].
”	”	17	Belfast	Haliday [137].
”	”	”	Armagh	Livingston, R.
”	”	19	Dungannon	Stewart, Annesley, Sir.
”	”	22	Belfast	Haliday.
”	”	”	”	”
”	”	27	”	”
”	”	”	”	”
”	”	29	”	”
”	”	”	—	Charlemont [138].
”	May	1	Belfast	Haliday.
”	”	”	”	”
”	”	3	”	”
”	”	”	London	Francis, Philip.
”	”	11	Belfast	Haliday.
”	”	25	Beconsfield	Burke, Edmund [139].
”	”	30	Belfast	Haliday.
”	June	3	”	”
”	”	5	—	Walker, J. C.
”	”	6	Belfast	Haliday.
”	”	7	”	”
”	”	9	—	”
”	”	10	—	Hudson, E.
”	”	14	—	Dromore, T. Percy, Bishop of.
”	”	19	Cultra	Haliday.
”	”	26	Hillingdon	Rockingham, Marchioness of.
”	July	2	London	Burke, Edmund.
”	”	13	—	Charlemont [140 i].
”	”	30	—	” [140 ii].
”	”	31	—	Haliday [141].

Date.			Place.	Writers.
1790	Aug.	3	—	Charlemont [142 i].
„	„	13	Belfast	Haliday.
„	„	16	Calcutta	Burroughs, W.
„	„	17	„	Hay, E.
„	„	18	—	Williamson, A.
„	„	„	Dublin	Charlemont [142 ii].
„	„	20	Belfast	Haliday.
„	Sept.	27	Talicken	O'Beirne, T. L. [143].
„	Nov.	8	Belfast	Haliday [144].
„	„	11	—	Charlemont [145 i].
1791	Jan.	29	—	Hudson, E.
„	„	31	—	Charlemont [145 ii].
„	„	„		Dobbs, Francis.
„	„	„	Dublin	Ogle, —.
„	Feb.	3	Castle Cosby	Caulfeild, J.
„	„	7	—	Charlemont [145 iii].
„	„	8	Dublin	„ [146 i].
„	„	14	„	„ [146 ii].
„	„	„	Armagh	Prentice, T. [147].
„	„	17	London	Walpole, Horace [148].
„	„	18	—	Charlemont [149 i].
„	„	26	London	Walpole, Horace.
„	March	3	Dublin	Charlemont [149 ii].
„	April	11	Downpatrick	Sheridan, Richard [150].
„	„	13	—	Charlemont [151].
„	„	19	Lisburn	Hudson, E.
„	„	„	Dublin	Charlemont [152].
„	„	23	„	„ [153].
„	„	27	„	„ [154].
„	„	28	Armagh	Prentice, T. [155].
„	„	„	„	Grand Jury, Armagh [156].
„	„	„	Lisburn	Hudson, E.
„	„	29	—	Haliday.
„	May	5	Belfast	„
„	„	6	Drogheda	Forbes, John.
„	„	9	—	Charlemont [157].
„	June	16	Belfast	Haliday [158].
„	„	22	Bath	Charlemont [159 i].
„	„	23	„	„ [159 ii].
„	July	23	Belfast	Haliday [160].
„	„	30	Bath	Charlemont [161].
„	Aug.	8	Margate	Burke, Edmund [162].
„	„	9	Bath	George, Captain.
„	„	13	„	Charlemont [163].
„	„	15	Abbeville	Beresford, J.
„	„	26	Bath	Vanbrugh, E. [164].
„	„	27	Belfast	Haliday [165].
„	Sept.	1	Spa	Stewart, Robert [166].
„	„	3	—	Jones, William, Sir [170[1]].
„	„	22	Bristol	Melmoth.
„	Oct.	4	Belfast	Haliday.
„	„	13	Bath	Charlemont [167].
„	Nov.	5	Carton	Leinster, William Robert, Duke of.

---

[1] To Richard Sheridan.

Date.			Place.	Writers.
1791	Nov	5	Belfast	Haliday [168].
,,	,,	11	St. Germain	Stewart, Robert [169].
,,	,,	15	—	Beresford. J.
,,	,,	22	Calcutta	Burroughs, W. [170].
,,	,,	31	Dublin	Charlemont [171].
,,	Dec.	4	Belfast	Haliday [172 i].
,,	,,	10	,,	,, [172 ii].
,,	,,	15	Dublin	Charlemont [173].
,,	,,	29	Beconsfield	Burke, Edmund [174].
,,	,,	,,	Belfast	Haliday [175].
1792	Jan.	2	Lisburn	Hudson, Edward.
,,	,,	8	—	Charlemont.[1]
,,	,,	19	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	21	Dublin	Charlemont [176 i].
,,	,,	22	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	23	,,	,,
,,	,,	28	Lisburn	Hudson, Edward.
,,	,,	30	Dublin	Charlemont [176 ii].
,,	,,	31	Calcutta	Burroughs, W.
,,	Feb.	16	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	24	London	Malone [177].
,,	March	1	Dublin	Charlemont [178].
,,	,,	4	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	12	,,	,,
,,	,,	13	London	Malone [179].
,,	April	13	Dublin	Charlemont [180].
,,	,,	18	Armagh	Prentice, T.
,,	,,	26	Belfast	Haliday [181].
,,	,,	28	London	Ailesbury, Lord.
,,	,,	29	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	30	Mount Stewart	Stewart, Robert [182].
,,	May	5	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	9	,,	,,
,,	,,	12	Dublin	Charlemont [183].
,,	,,	23	Belfast	Haliday [184].
,,	,,	28	Dublin	Charlemont [185].
,,	June	10	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	15	Dublin	Charlemont [186 i].
,,	,,	18	,,	,, [186 ii].
,,	,,	26	Belfast	Haliday [187].
,,	,,	—	Dublin	Rowley, Langford.
,,	July	7	Killymoon	Stewart, James.
,,	,,	18	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	21	Dublin	Charlemont [188].
,,	,,	22	Lurgan	Brownlow, W.
,,	Aug.	5	Rugh	Mountjoy, Lord.
,,	,,	7	Belfast	Haliday [189].
,,	,,	7	Beaconsfield	Malone [190].
,,	,,	10	Dublin	Charlemont [191].
,,	,,	20	Marino	,, [192].
,,	,,	22	,,	,, [193].
,,	Oct.	6	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	17	,,	,, [194 i].
,,	,,	25	,,	,, [194 ii].
,,	,,	29	Dublin	Charlemont [195].

Date.			Place.	Writers.
1792	Nov.	15	Belfast	Haliday [196].
„	Dec.	3	London	Malone [197 i].
„	„	4	„	„ [197 ii].
„	„	5	Dublin	Stephenson, Robert [198].
„	„	14	London	Malone [199].
„	„	16	Belfast	Haliday [200].
„	„	22	Lisburn	Hudson, Edward.
„	„	„	London	Malone [201].
1793	Jan.	15	Dublin	Charlemont [202 i].
„	Feb.	1	„	„ [202 ii].
„	„	22	Belfast	Joy, Henry [203].
„	„	26	Dublin	Charlemont [204].
„	March	13	Belfast	Haliday [205 i].
„	„	14	„	„ [205 ii].
„	„	20	Dublin	Charlemont [206 i].
„	May	14	„	„ [206 ii].
„	June	5	Belfast	Haliday.
„	„	13	Dublin	Charlemont [206 iii].
„	„	22	Belfast	Haliday.
„	July	1	Dublin	Charlemont [206 iv].
„	„	2	Belfast	Haliday [207].
„	„	8	Dublin	Charlemont [208 i].
„	„	10	Lisburn	Hudson, Edward.
„	„	15	Dublin	Charlemont [208 ii].
„	„	22	„	„ [208 iii].
„	„	24	Belfast	Haliday [209].
„	„	29	Lisburn	Hudson, Edward.
„	Aug.	1	Dublin	Charlemont [210 i].
„	„	10	Belfast	Haliday.
„	„	13	Dublin	Charlemont [210 ii].
„	„	19	Lisburn	Hudson, Edward.
„	„	25	Belfast	Haliday.
„	Sept.	2	„	„
„	„	6	„	„
„	„	8	Lisburn	Hudson, Edward.
„	„	17	Belfast	Haliday.
„	Oct.	23	„	„
„	„	28	„	Charlemont [211].
„	Nov.	13	Belfast	Haliday [212].
„	„	15	London	Malone [213].
„	„	19	Dublin	Charlemont [214].
„	„	20	Belfast	Haliday [215].
„	„	22	Dublin	Charlemont [216].
„	„	29	Belfast	Haliday.
„	Dec.	4	Dublin	Charlemont [217 i].
„	„	25	Belfast	Haliday.
1794	Jan.	1	Dublin	Charlemont [217 ii].
„	„	2	„	„ [217 iii].
„	„	23	„	„ [217 iv].
„	„	25	Cork	Vallancey, Charles [218].
„	Feb.	17	Mount Stewart	Haliday [219].
„	„	20	London	Malone [220].
„	„	25	Rotterdam	Dunn, W. B.
„	March	2	Lisburn	Hudson, Edward.
„	„	11	Calcutta	Burroughs, W. [221].

Date.			Place.	Writers.
1794	April	4	Ballyatwood	Haliday [222].
,,	,,	12	Belfast	Joy, Henry [223 i].
,,	,,	16	,,	,, ,, [223 ii].
,,	,,	17	,,	,, ,, [223 iii].
,,	,,	19	,,	Haliday.
,,	May	4	,,	,,
,,	,,	27	London	Malone [224 i].
,,	,,	28	,,	,, [224 ii].
,,	June	4	Dublin	Charlemont [225].
,,	,,	11	Lisburn	Hudson, Edward.
,,	,,	19	Belfast	Haliday [226].
,,	,,	23	Dublin	Charlemont [227].
,,	,,	27	St. Helena	Irwin, Eyles.
,,	July	8	Lisburn	Hudson, Edward [228 i].
,,	,,	11	,,	,, ,, [228 ii].
,,	,,	21	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	—	—	Hudson, E. [228 iii].
,,	Aug.	3	Jonesborough	,, ,, [228 iv].
,,	,,	11	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	23	London	Fitzwilliam, Earl [229].
,,	,,	25	—	Charlemont [230].
,,	,,	27	Belfast.	Haliday.
,,	,,	29	Tottenham Park	Ailesbury, Lord.
,,	,,	30	,,	,, ,,
,,	,,	—	[Belfast]	Haliday [231].
,,	Sept.	17	,,	,,
,,	,,	19	Lisburn	Hudson, Edward.
,,	,,	20	Dublin	Charlemont [232].
,,	,,	29	Cork	Jephson, R. M. [233].
,,	Oct.	10	Lisburn	Hudson, Edward.
,,	,,	17	Lurgan	Haliday.
,,	,,	18	Dublin	Charlemont [234].
,,	,,	,,	Clonfert	Marlay, Richard [235].
,,	,,	23	Dundalk	Hudson, Edward.
,,	,,	,,	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	29	Dublin	Charlemont [236].
,,	,,	31	Lurgan	Brownlow, William.
,,	Nov.	1	Dublin	Charlemont.
,,	,,	5	,,	,, [237].
,,	,,	7	London	Malone [238].
,,	,,	13	Dublin	Charlemont [239].
,,	,,	14	Lisburn	Hudson, Edward.
,,	,,	22	,,	,, ,,
,,	,,	,,	Dublin	Charlemont [240].
,,	,,	27	Killymoon	Stewart, James [241].
,,	,,	28	Dublin	Charlemont [242].
,,	Dec.	1	Limerick	Crumpe, Samuel.
,,	,,	3	Lisburn	Hudson, Edward.
,,	,,	8	—	Stewart, James.
,,	,,	12	Celbridge	Marlay, Richard.
,,	,,	18	Lisburn	Hudson, Edward.
,,	,,	22	,,	,, ,,
,,	,,	,,	Dromore	Percy, Thomas, Bishop [243].
,,	,,	31	Collon	Turner, J.
1795	Jan.	1	Lisburn	Hudson, E.

Date.			Place.	Writers.
1795	Jan.	2	Lisburn	Hudson, E.
,,	,,	4	,,	,, ,,
,,	,,	6	,,	,, ,,
,,	,,	9	,,	,, ,,
,,	,,	10	Dublin	Charlemont [244 i].
,,	,,	12	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	15	Jonesborough	Hudson, Edward.
,,	,,	21	Lisburn	,, ,,
,,	,,	23	—	,, ,,
,,	,,	24	—	,, ,,
,,	,,	31	Armagh	Prentice, Thomas.
,,	,,	,,	Dublin	Charlemont [244 ii].
,,	Feb.	2	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	3	Lisburn	Hudson, Edward.
,,	,,	15	,,	,, ,,
,,	,,	20	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	March	2	Lakelands	Bousfield, B. [245].
,,	,,	9	—	Charlemont [246 i].
,,	,,	15	Dublin	Benyon, T.
,,	,,	30	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	April	2	Dublin	Charlemont [246 ii].
,,	,,	23	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	27	Dublin	Charlemont [246 iii].
,,	May	23	Lisburn	Hudson, Edward.
,,	,,	26	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	28	Dublin	Charlemont [246 iv].
,,	June	1	Bath	Melmoth, W. [247].
,,	,,	,,	Dublin	Archer, John.
,,	,,	2	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	July	7	Carton	Leinster, Duke of [248].
,,	,,	18	Marino	Charlemont [249].
,,	,,	26	,,	,, [250].
,,	Oct.	9	Loughgall	Jephson, R. M. [251].
,,	,,	18	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	24	Dublin	Charlemont [252].
,,	Nov.	2	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	Dec.	29	London	Malone [253].
,,	,,	—	—	Charlemont [254].
,,	,,	31	Belfast	Haliday [255 i].
1796	Jan.	4	Dublin	Charlemont [255 ii].
,,	,,	5	Oldcourt	Edwards, John.
,,	,,	7	Dublin	Charlemont [256].
,,	Feb.	27	Calcutta	Burroughs, W.
,,	March	21	Dublin	Charlemont [257].
,,	April	30	Edgeworthstown	Edgeworth, R. L. [258].
,,	,,	—	Dublin	Seward, W. W. [259].
,,	May	14	,,	Charlemont [260].
,,	,,	16	,,	,, [261].
,,	,,	,,	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	29	Ballymena	Hudson, E. [262].
,,	June	7	London	Marlay, Richard [263].
,,	,,	25	Enniskerry	Walker, J. C. [264].
,,	,,	26	Belfast	Haliday [265].
,,	July	2	Dublin	Charlemont [266].
,,	,,	29	London	Malone [267].

Date.			Place.	Writers.
1796	Aug.	5	Belfast	Haliday.
„	„	7	Dublin	Charlemont [268].
„	„	„	Belfast	Haliday [269].
„	„	11	Cork	Hincks, T. D. [270].
„	„	23	Dublin	Charlemont [272].
„	„	26	Bath	Melmoth, W. [273].
„	„	30	Edgeworthstown	Edgeworth, R. L.
„	Sept.	9	Marino	Charlemont [274].
„	„	12	Dublin	„ [275].
„	„	20	Dublin Castle	Camden, Earl [276].
„	„	21	Belfast	Haliday [277].
„	„	26	Armagh	Charlemont [278].
„	„	30	Belfast	Haliday [279].
„	Oct.	4	—	Portland, Duke of.
„	„	6	—	Edgeworth, R. L.
„	„	7	Dublin	Charlemont [280].
„	„	9	„	Camden, Earl [281].
„	„	24	„	„ [282].
„	„	27	War Office	Elliot [283].
„	Nov.	17	Dublin	Pelham, T.
„	„	21	Edgeworthstown	Edgeworth, R. L. [284].
„	„	22	Dublin Castle	Camden, Earl [285].
„	„	„	—	Charlemont [286].
„	Dec.	1	Phœnix Park	Camden, Earl [287 i].
„	„	5	Dublin Castle	„ „ [287 ii].
„	„	12	Belfast	Haliday.
„	„	17	Cookstown	Stewart, James [288].
„	„	18	Portglenone	Hudson, E. [289].
„	„	21	Dungannon	Knox, John [290].
„	„	—	Dublin Castle	Camden, Earl.
„	„	—	—	Charlemont [291].
1797	Jan.	2	Belfast	Haliday.
„	„	7	Dublin Castle	Camden, Earl [292].
„	„	11	Fort Edward	Lindsay, W. C. [293].
„	„	15	Dublin	Charlemont.
„	„	21	Edgeworthstown	Edgeworth, R. L. [294].
„	„	25	Dublin Castle	Hamilton, Henry [295].
„	„	28	Belfast	Haliday [296].
„	Feb.	1	Dublin	Charlemont [297].
„	„	7	Belfast	Haliday.
„	„	12	Edgeworthstown	Edgeworth, R. L. [298].
„	April	2	Dublin	Charlemont [299].
„	May	3	„	Carhampton, Earl of [300].
„	„	„	„	Charlemont [301].
„	„	8	—	—[1] [302].
„	„	9	Portglenone	Hudson, E. [303 i].
„	„	26	„	„ „ [303 ii].
„	June	5	„	„ „ [303 iii].
„	„	9	Dublin	Charlemont [304].
„	„	21	Portglenone	Hudson, E.
„	„	25	„	„ „ [305 i].
„	„	31	„	„ „ [305 ii].
„	„	—	Dublin	Charlemont, etc. [306].

---

[1] To Earl Camden, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Date.			Place.	Writers.
1797	July	12	Belfast	Haliday [307].
„	„	15	Portglenone	Hudson, E. [308].
„	„	17	London	George, Prince of Wales [309].
„	„	24	Armagh	Malan, A. J. [310].
„	„	28	Dundalk	Dobbs, Francis.
„	Aug.	10	Belfast	Haliday.
„	„	17	„	„
„	„	„	Carton	Leinster, Duke of [311].
„	„	„	Dublin	Charlemont [271].
„	Sept.	16	Portglenone	Hudson, E. [312].
„	Oct.	6	Mount Stewart	Haliday [313].
„	„	„	London	Dunn, W. B. [314].
„	„	8	Tottenham Park	Ailesbury, Lord.
„	„	9	Dublin	Charlemont [315].
„	„	21	Belfast	Haliday.
„	Nov.	4	Dublin	Charlemont [316].
„	„	8	Armagh	Livingston, R. [317].
„	„	10	Dublin Castle	Camden, Earl [318].
„	„	17	Belfast	Haliday.
„	Dec.	7	Portglenone	Hudson, E.
„	„	22	Dublin	Charlemont.
„	„	26	London	Malone.
„	„	29	Belfast	Haliday.
„	„	30	Dublin	Bulletins [319].
„	„	—	—	Stewart, James.
1798	Jan.	1	—	“Amicus” [320].
„	„	15	Bray	Walker, J. C. [321 i].
„	„	18	„	„ „ [321 ii].
„	„	27	Belfast	Haliday.
„	„	30	Dublin	Charlemont [322].
„	„	31	Donington	Moira, Earl of [323].
„	Feb.	7	Dublin Castle	Wickham [324].
„	March	11	Portglenone	Hudson, E [325].
„	„	19	Purdysburn	Down, Bishop of [326].
„	„	20	Dublin	Charlemont [327].
„	„	25	London	Moira, Earl of [328].
„	„	27	Dublin	Parsons, L., Sir [329 ii].
„	„	28	„	Camden, Earl [329 iii].
„	„	29	„	Parsons, L., Sir [329 i].
„	April	3	Dublin Castle	Camden, Earl of [330].
„	„	4	—	Charlemont [331].
„	„	—	—	„ [332].
„	„	8	Portglenone	Hudson, E. [333 i].
„	„	20	Belfast	Haliday.
„	„	22	Portglenone	Hudson, E. [333 ii].
„	May	3	Dublin	Charlemont [334].
„	„	„	Loughbrickland	Hudson, E. [335 i].
„	„	6	Flurrybridge	„ [335 ii].
„	„	19	Portglenone	„ [335 iii].
„	„	23	Twickenham	Walpole, Horatio [336].
„	June	2	Portglenone	Hudson, E. [337 i].
„	„	17	„	„ [337 ii].
„	„	19	Randalstown	„ [337 iii].
„	„	26	Portglenone	„ [337 iv].
„	„	29	Dublin	Charlemont [338].

Date.			Place.	Writers.
1798	June	—	Portglenone	Hudson, E.
,,	,,	—	Belfast	,,
,,	,,	—	—	Haliday.
,,	July	12	Belfast	,,
,,	,,	18	—	Hudson, E. [339].
,,	,,	20	Dublin	Charlemont [340].
,,	,,	—	Portglenone	Hudson, E. [341].
,,	,,	27	Parsonstown	Parsons, L., Sir [342].
,,	Aug.	8	Belfast	Haliday [343].
,,	,,	11	Email camp	Dobbs, Francis [344].
,,	,,	12	Randalstown	Hudson, E. [345].
,,	,,	16	Charlemont	Charlemont [346].
,,	,,	20	Flurry bridge	Hudson, E. [347].
,,	,,	28	Castletown	Conolly, Louisa, Lady [348].
,,	Sept.	1	Calcutta	Burroughs, W.
,,	,,	4	Portglenone	Hudson, E. [349 i].
,,	,,	17	,,	,, [349 ii].
,,	,,	28	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	29	Portglenone	Hudson, E. [349 iii].
,,	Oct.	6	,,	,, [349 iv].
,,	,,	15	Dublin	Charlemont [350].
,,	,,	27	,,	,,
,,	Nov.	5	Parsonstown	Parsons, L., Sir.
,,	,,	6	Castle Forbes	Hardy, Francis.
,,	,,	7	Portglenone	Hudson, E.
,,	,,	15	—	,, [354 ii].
,,	,,	28	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	30	Portglenone	Hudson Edward [354 iii].
,,	Dec.	4	Castle Forbes	Hardy, Francis [355].
,,	,,	12	Killymoon	Stewart, James [356].
,,	,,	14	—	Ailesbury, Lord.
,,	,,	17	Dublin	Tandy, Thomas.
,,	,,	30	Liverpool	Down, Bishop of [357].
,,	,,	—	Dublin	Charlemont [358].
1799	Jan.	12	—	Ailesbury, Lord.
,,	,,	15	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	16	,,	,,
,,	,,	21	Ardee	Hudson, Edward [359].
,,	,,	25	—	Charlemont [360].
,,	,,	—	Bray	Walker, J. C. [361].
,,	,,	28	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	Feb.	2	Dublin	Charlemont [362].
,,	,,	3	Randalstown	Hudson, E. [363].
,,	,,	20	Acton	Boyd, Robert [364].
,,	,,	23	Dublin	Strangford, Lord [365].
,,	,,	—	—	Hudson, E. [366 i].
,,	Mar.	9	Portglenone	,, [366 ii].
,,	,,	22	,,	,, [366 iii].
,,	,,	30	,,	,, [366 iv].
,,	,,	31	Belfast	Joy, Henry.
,,	April	8	Portglenone	Hudson, E. [366 v].
,,	,,	9	Bray	Walker, J. C. [367].
,,	,,	15	Belfast	Haliday [368].
,,	,,	19	Dublin	Charlemont [369].
,,	,,	22	Bray	Walker, J. C.

Date.			Place.	Writers.
1799	May	1	Portglenone	Hudson, E. [370].
,,	,,	7	Bath	Hartley, David.
,,	,,	9	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	10	Dublin	Charlemont [371].
,,	,,	14	,,	,, [372].
,,	,,	18	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	—	Portglenone	Hudson, E. [373 i].
,,	,,	27	,,	,, [373 ii].
,,	June	6	Bray	Walker, J. C. [374].
,,	,,	10	Randalstown	Hudson, E. [375 i].
,,	July	5	Portglenone	,, [375 ii].
,,	,,	6	Belfast	Haliday.
,,	,,	—	Bath	Hartley, D.

1799	Aug.	19	Bath	Hartley, D. [1].[1]
,,	Sept.	8	—	Molyneux, Capel.[2]
,,	,,	25	—	Dawson.[3]
,,	Nov.	24	Belfast	Haliday [2].

---

[1], [2], [3], [4], Addressed to second earl of Charlemont.

UNDATED LETTERS.

Place.	Name of Writer.	Addressed to :
[London]	Baretti, Joseph	Charlemont [1].
,,	Beauclerk, T.	,, [2].
—	,,	,,
Dublin	Beresford, John	,,
,,	Brooke, Charlotte.	,, [3].
,,	,, ,,	,,
Armagh	Brownlow, W.	,, [4].
—	Bruce, Lord	,,
—	Burke, Edmund	,,
Dublin	Burrowes, Robert.	,, [6].
—	Bushe, G. P.	,,
—	Carnarvon, Lord	,, [7].
—	Caulfeild, Francis.	,, [8].
—	,, ,,	Earl of Drogheda.
—	Charlemont	Lord Ailesbury [10].
—	,,	Bernard F. Caulfeild.
—	,,	,, ,,
—	,,	T. Beauclerk [11].
—	,,	Charlotte Brooke [12].
—	,,	Edmund Burke [13 i].
—	,,	,, ,, [13 ii].
—	,,	,, ,, [13 iii].
—	,,	Earl Camden [14].
—	,,	William Campbell, D.D. [15].
—	,,	B. F. Caulfeild [16].
—	,,	J. Caulfeild [16A].
—	,,	Sir W. Chambers [17].
—	,,	Lady Charlemont.
—	,,	Lady Louisa Conolly [18].
—	,,	Earl of Darnley [19].
—	,,	—. Day.
—	,,	Thomas Dundas [20].
—	,,	—. Evans.
—	,,	Lord Fitzgibbon.
—	,,	Henry Flood.
—	,,	John Forbes, M.P. [22].
—	,,	Henry Grattan [23].
—	,,	Haliday [24 i, ii, iii].
—	,,	Earl of Halifax [25].
—	,,	Sackville Hamilton.
—	,,	Rev. John Harvey.
—	,,	Mary Hickman.
—	,,	Johnston and Macan [26].
—	,,	Countess of Londonderry [27].
—	,,	Lord Lieutenant.
—	,,	Marquis of Lothian.
—	,,	Edmond Malone.
—	,,	Richard Marlay [28].
—	,,	,, ,,
—	,,	,, ,,
—	,,	Earl of Moira [29 i].
—	,,	,, ,, [29 ii].

Place.	Name of Writer.	Addressed to:
—	Charlemont	Sir Laurence Parsons.
—	,,	Viscount Powerscourt [30].
—	,,	Sir Joshua Reynolds [31].
—	,,	Marquis of Rockingham.
—	,,	Marchioness of Rockingham [32 i].
—	,,	,, ,, [32 ii].
—	,,	,, ,, [32 iii].
—	,,	,, ,, [32 iv].
—	,,	Hon. Robert Stewart [33 i].
—	,,	,, ,, ,, [33 ii].
—	,,	Rev. — Stokes.
—	,,	Horace Walpole [34].
—	,,	— [35 i].
—	,,	— [35 ii].
—	,,	— [35 iii].
—	,,	— [35 iv].
—	,,	— [36].
—	Lord Clanricarde	Charlemont [37].
[Dublin]	John Fitzgibbon	,, [38].
Dublin Castle	Earl Fitzwilliam	Charlemont [39].
—	Henry Flood	,, [40 i].
[London]	,, ,,	,, [40 ii].
—	,, ,,	,, [40 iii].
[Waterford]	,, ,,	,, [40 iv].
—	,, ,,	,, [40 v].
—	Henry Grattan	,, [41].
—	A. H. Haliday	,, [42 i].
—	,,	,, [42 ii].
—	,,	,, [42 iii].
—	,,	,, [42 iv].
—	,,	,, [42 v].
—	,,	,, [42 vi].
—	,,	,, [42 vii].
—	Earl of Halifax	,, [43].
—	W. Hamilton	,,
—	Rev. Edward Hudson.	,, [44 i].
—	,, ,,	,, [44 ii].
—	R. M. Jephson	,, [45].
—	Sir H. Langrishe	,, [46].
—	Thomas Leland	,,
—	Lady Londonderry	,,
—	Edmond Malone	,, [47 i, ii].
—	Richard Marlay	,, [48].
—	Sir Capel Molyneux.	,,
—	Sir L. Parsons	Lord Caulfeild [49].
—	[Secretary of] Order of St. Patrick.	— [50].
Killymoon	James Stewart	Charlemont [51].
—	J. C. Walker	,,
—	George Walpole	,,

MSS. AND CORRESPONDENCE OF JAMES, FIRST EARL OF CHARLEMONT, IN THE POSSESSION OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, DUBLIN, AND E. PERCIVAL WRIGHT, M.D., F.L.S.

By John T. Gilbert, LL.D., F.S.A.

Correspondence, 1784–99.

1.—P. Butler to Charlemont.

1784, February 13, Charleston, South Carolina.—"Though I have not the honor of your lordship's acquaintance, I take the liberty of addressing you; my reasons for doing so must plead my apology. A gentleman, a native of Ireland, named Bayly, had a considerable real estate in this country, which was confiscated as British property. A son of Mr. Bayly who lately arrived here from Ireland sent in a petition, through me, to the legislature, when, after a short debate, they resolved, in consequence of the son's having served under your lordship's command in one of the Volunteer corps of Ireland, and his father's being a native of that kingdom, that the estate should be restored, to evince their desire of promoting a friendly intercourse with Ireland, their great respect for your lordship, and the corps under your command. As the only native of Ireland in the legislature of this country, I thought it incumbent on me to communicate this public and honorable testimony of their respect for your lordship and our country to you."

2.—William Campbell, D.D., to Charlemont.

1784, March 22, Armagh.—"Before I left Dublin, the general synod had called a meeting about the time they expected I should return, to hear a report of the transactions during my stay in town. I shall say nothing now of the disappointment at the smallness of the grant, as, in the judgment of my brethren, that is more than compensated by your lordship's protection, and particularly by that generous expression of your goodness towards us in offering your kind offices to support our principles and character with Government, which have been so unjustly maligned by men that are unfriendly to us, and so much to our injury and wrong. This has conferred on us the most lasting obligation to your lordship, and I have it in command to convey the thanks of the general synod in a letter to your lordship, expressive of the deep sense they entertain of your kindness and protection; and, indeed, no commission could be more pleasing to me, could I find words to express as I would wish the grateful acknowledgments of our body, and how much we value those favourable sentiments of your lordship, which are so highly flattering to us. But I well know that no return can be so pleasing to your lordship as to persevere steadily in those principles and in that conduct which have recommended us to your notice and protection; and I trust we shall ever be found united with the worthy and the good in pursuing the interest of our country, and shall ever approve ourselves the zealous friends of a legal and Protestant government. When I last had the honour of seeing your lordship, on my repeating the declaration of my lord Northington[1] that the late grant was only an earnest of a further extension of the royal munificence, you mentioned in the kindest manner your intention of improving to our advantage any favourable circumstances that might arise, and that possibly I might receive a summons from your lordship to attend again in Dublin to renew our application. I am well aware of the delicacy requisite in conducting this measure, and was then fully sensible of the justness of your lordship's reflections on this head. But I can truly say, that on this, or any other occasion, there is no summons I should more gladly obey than your lordship's, as it would make me happy to embrace every opportunity of expressing my personal obligations."

3.—CHARLEMONT to P. BUTLER.

[1784, March —.]—"It is vain that I should seek to find words adequate to express what I feel from the high honour conferred on me, and, on what is still far more dear to my heart, on my country and its Volunteers, by the legislature of South Carolina. All honours are great in proportion to the excellence of their source. Measured by this unerring rule, how inestimable must that be accounted which your goodness has been pleased to communicate! As I am speedily to set out upon my reviewing progress, I shall with the utmost pleasure seize the opportunity of making the contents of your letter universally known, and together with them shall undoubtedly communicate my own feelings of gratitude. In the meanwhile permit me, Sir, on the behalf of Ireland and of her Volunteers, and, if after these names I may presume to mention an individual, on my own behalf also, to intreat that you would be pleased to lay before the legislature our most grateful acknowledgements, and the lively sense we entertain of their kindness towards us; and to assure them that our predilection is as strong for our kindred country as their's can possibly be for us."

4.—HENRY USSHER,[2] D.D., to CHARLEMONT.

1784, April 5.—"As business deprived Mr. Crosbie[3] and me of the honor of waiting on your lordship, I take the liberty of informing you that the gentlemen met at my chambers in the college [Dublin], when Mr. Crosbie explained his design. It is impossible to give a decided opinion upon a subject without experiment, yet I confess that his present scheme seems to me to afford some prospect of success; still, however, should he fail in that point, the balloon itself in the hands of a person of his ingenuity will probably perform at least as much as any hitherto executed."

5.—RICHARD CROSBIE to CHARLEMONT.

1784, April 13, [Dublin,] North Cumberland-street.—"I must intreat your lordship's pardon for again troubling you on the former subject, but as you were so kind as to say you would coincide, whatsoever might be the conclusion of Mr. Dean and Doctor Usher, the inclosed letter will give your lordship an idea of the opinion the latter (who is particularly cautious) can venture to give to the world. I have not had the satisfaction of shewing the model I made to Mr. Dean, as he was engaged on the evening of our meeting about some law business, and could not come to my house, where the model was exhibited to the other gentlemen and to doctor Usher, all of whom seemed vastly pleased with it. From the awkwardness of bringing such a thing thro' the streets, I have had the mortification not to be able to shew it to Mr. Dean, whose good opinion would stamp so much credit on it; he promised me at our last meeting at doctor Usher's chambers to give me the honor of a call to see it, but has not as yet. I wished to have had his opinion also to send your lordship, but as the plan has already suffered much from delay, and I am warmly solicited to go to England immediately, I wish to get thro' my undertaking, and make my first essay for fame in my native country. Many people have already subscribed, and the work is in some forwardness; I therefore should be exceedingly hurt at my own disappointment, as well as feel most sensibly for the honor of my country in letting such a business drop, once they had embarked in it. To prevent this, therefore, my whole reliance was on your lordship, whose patriotic character would support it thro' an impartial trial, and whose numerous and respectable acquaintance, when having the honor of being solicited by your lordship, would not only assure to us the disposal of the necessary number of tickets, but expedite our experiments. I should think myself highly honoured in being allowed permission to send your lordship a few tickets for that purpose, and beg to know if it would be agreeable, as I should not take so great a liberty without previously acquainting your lordship. I have every apology to make for intruding so long on your lordship's time, but would not presume to do so if I did not flatter myself that the honor of this country was in this matter."

---

[1] Earl of Northington, lord lieutenant of Ireland, 1783.

[2] Henry Usher or Ussher, professor of astronomy in Trinity College, Dublin, 1783–92.

[3] Aeronaut, son of Sir Paul Crosbie. See "History of the City of Dublin," 1859, vol. iii., p. 279.

6.—William Campbell, D.D., to Charlemont.

1784, May 31, Armagh.—"I am afraid I have been to blame in not acknowledging the honour of your lordship's last letter, which came regularly to hand; but the truth is, that delicacy prevented me, lest I might seem to obtrude on your lordship's goodness, which I have so often experienced and of which no one can entertain a higher sense. And indeed, my not writing was a piece of self-denial, which a conversation with col. Stewart has happily removed. He spent last night in Armagh; and by your indulgence communicated to me at great length all your lordship's kindness and attention to our interest, and the present state of your negociation at the castle. For which confidence I am under particular obligations, as our body in general are under the greatest to your lordship for your zeal and assiduity to serve us. I had the honour of a letter lately from my lord Templetown,[1] of which I gave an account to col. Stewart, well knowing he would make the proper use of it. He explained to me how it happened that his lordship found the duke of Rutland already possessed of those favourable sentiments towards us. And as no one knows how this happened so well as your lordship, I need only say that as we are very sensible of my lord Templetown's kindness, so I should have been happy had he consulted with your lordship on this matter. Colonel Stewart mentioned to me, particularly, what passed in regard to naming a specific sum. Nothing occurs to me on this particular but what your lordship is already fully acquainted with, that we look for a sum that would produce to each minister 40*l.* per annum, but that any mark of his majesty's bounty we should receive with those grateful acknowledgements that become us. And as I understand his grace has the same opinion of the late donation as your lordship, I am led to think that if a further augmentation be now granted us, we shall have no difficulty, again, in returning thanks. Your lordship knows that if at any stage of this business my going to town should be thought useful, with how much pleasure I should obey your summons. And in the meanwhile, if any inquiries be made concerning our affairs that may not have come to your lordship's knowledge, which, however, I believe can scarcely happen, considering the very uncommon attention you have paid us, I should be very happy to give such information as I have been able to collect. Upon colonel Stewart's mentioning a paper I had drawn up when I was in Dublin, I was concerned that I had not left a copy of it with your lordship, which I now take the liberty of enclosing. Had I thought such a paper would have been again called for I would have made it fuller, for I am afraid the account is too general. I wish I could express as I feel all the obligations I and my brethren are under to your lordship."

---

[1] Clotworthy Upton, baron of Templetown, co. Antrim.

7.—LORD MORNINGTON[1] to CHARLEMONT.

1784, June 1, [London,] Bond-street.—" I am perfectly aware of the importance of the business which your letter states, and you may recollect that I always expressed myself to you, as disposed to favour the pretentions of the Presbyterians, tho' I constantly added, that I was not sufficiently master of the whole subject to give any decisive opinion upon it; however, that it was of such importance as to deserve the serious consideration of government; in this view I repeatedly pressed the affair upon the attention of the duke of Rutland, and I thought he seemed thoroughly well inclined to give it that investigation which it required. You are now desirous that I should quicken the progress of such measures as it may be thought expedient to adopt upon the occasion, by application to Orde.[2] Now, my dear lord, I am persuaded you will easily believe that I must ever be anxious to promote by every exertion in my power any object in which you take an interest, but I must frankly confess to you (and I do it in perfect confidence, and under the strongest persuasion that I am in safe hands) that I have found so much reason to distrust Mr. Orde in every respect, both public and private, that I do not chuse to communicate with him, where I can possibly avoid it; in addition to this motive, I feel a delicacy with respect to the duke, in whose hands the matter was left when I came from Ireland, and who might not perhaps be much pleased at this sort of reference to his secretary. For altho' I see and lament with you that system of tutelage, which must ever weaken and abase the government wherein it exists, yet I have the satisfaction to know that the duke's pride is sensible to it and galled by it wherever it evidently appears, and perhaps an application of this nature from me to Orde might be injuriously felt. I heartily hope that I may be able to bring the duke's really honourable and generous qualities into operation upon public measures next session; I certainly never will submit to the influence of a secondary and inferior person. I am very glad to hear that matters are rather better among the people. There is every disposition here to consider the claims of Ireland fully, fairly, and liberally, and I trust that a final adjustment of every commercial point may be effected early in the next session; in the interval, the peace of the country is a most important object, and will, I am persuaded, engage your anxious care, as it always has done. You are almost the only public character to whom any share of popular confidence has adhered in this hour of violence, and I am most sincerely of opinion that you deserve it best, and that you will use it towards the only purpose for which you have ever sought it, the real interest of the country."

---

[1] Richard Wesley, second earl of Mornington, subsequently marquis Wellesley.

[2] Thomas Orde, chief secretary, Ireland, 1784-1787; created baron Bolton in 1797.

8.—RICHARD LIVESAY to CHARLEMONT.

1784, June 17, London.—"I will attend to your directions respecting the head of Sir Kenelm Digby and procure it as soon as I can. I have got a copy of the letter [1] Mr. H[orace] Walpole sent to Mrs. Hogarth at the time he presented to her a copy of his book containing Hogarth's life, and as I think it a literary curiosity, I am happy in communicating it to your lordship.

"I have something to communicate to your lordship which possibly may be very material and of great consequence and good to Ireland. I am sure no further apology is necessary. An intimate and particular friend of mine wishes to know whether copper ore is plentiful in Ireland, and in such parts of the country where coal is or is to be had cheap. He is well acquainted with the nature of the copper business in its greatest extent, and is jointly the inventor of a method of making copper serviceable for the bolts of ships, and has now large contracts from Government for that purpose, but being dissatisfied with the conduct and monopolising spirit of the copper miners' companies of this country, he would gladly establish the manufactory of copper in Ireland if the information respecting the ore and coal to work it with is favourable. If this idea appears to deserve your lordship's attention, every necessary explanation shall be laid before you. I have only to request that at present, and until the business may be carried into effect, this communication may be in confidence, for obvious reasons, and as soon as convenient I shall be very glad to have a line from your lordship on this subject."

9.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1784, August 27, Marino.—"I have delayed answering you till I could inform you that my campaign was completely over, as it now is, the Bellewstown [2] review having closed the scene of war. Everything there succeeded to my wish. An address similar to that of Belfast was, as I am told, intended to be proposed by the brigade, but was totally dropped as hopeless of success. At Bellewstown I never have been addressed, the delegates being the same as those of Dublin, so that here I was free from trouble, and received every honour I could expect or desire. You ask me how I found matters in the episcopal city.[1] As well as possible. The troop, instigated as I suppose by his holiness,[2] did not meet me, but, ashamed of their conduct, which was reprobated by all the corps, sent to desire leave to escort me to the review and out of town, which was accordingly done. At the meeting the Catholic question was proposed, and, after a long debate, withdrawn, so that old Latimer's bishop[3] was routed, horse and foot, even in his own metropolis. Ferguson[4] behaved excellently well, and I think I may venture to say that I have left Derry nearly as Derry ought to be. What I now mention is for yourself only, but this, I am sure, I need not hint to you. . . . A thousand thanks for your letter to Maxwell, which certainly had its effect. At Derry I dined with the mayor, and almost got drunk with old Protestant toasts."

---

[1] [Enclosure.—Horace Walpole to Jane Hogarth:] 1780, Oct. 4. [London,] Berkeley Square.—"Mr. Walpole begs Mrs. Hogarth's acceptance of the volume that accompanies this letter, and hopes she will be content with his endeavours to do justice to the genius of Mr. Hogarth. If there are some passages less agreeable to her than the rest, Mr. Walpole will regard her disapprobation only as marks of the goodness of her heart and proofs of her affection to her husband's memory; but she will, he is sure, be so candid as to allow for the duty an historian owes to the public and himself, which obliges him to say what he thinks, and which, when he obeys, his praise is corroborated by his censure. The first page of the preface will more fully make his apology, and his just admiration of Mr. Hogarth, Mr. W. flatters himself will, notwithstanding his impartiality, still rank him in Mrs. Hogarth's mind as one of her husband's most zealous and sincere friends."

[2] In county of Meath.

10.—LORD CARYSFORT[5] to CHARLEMONT.

1784, September 10 (O.S.), St. Petersburg.—"I beg you will accept my thanks for the letter which Mr. Fitzherbert transmitted to me at Moscow a few days ago. It came most seasonably to confirm not only the opinion I have always entertained, but the assertions I have confidently made, that the disorders in Ireland were greatly misrepresented and exaggerated. But though I am satisfied that the public peace is secured by the wisdom and moderation of the nation in general, I cannot but lament exceedingly the impression which is made upon foreigners by what they read in our prints. This is a very critical period for the commercial interests of every part of the British Empire. They depend more than is generally imagined upon successful negociation, and our weight in the political scale, after so long and ruinous a war, must be very light indeed if Ireland is expected to follow the example of America. The supposition will appear extravagant to those who know the real state of the country, but it is the inference which strangers will naturally draw from what they hear; and I will venture to affirm that the meeting of the Convention will more embarrass our ministers abroad, and more effectually hurt us in our transactions with foreign powers, than all the intrigues of France. I have great dependence upon your friends in the north ever since their candid and sensible conduct upon the suppression of their petition to the lords against the Printers' bill.[6] I have not a doubt but that your answer to their last address will have an excellent effect. A spirit of toleration is certainly deserving of praise; but the fact is, that the question as to the voting of Roman Catholics has nothing to do with toleration. It is merely a question of political expediency. Experiment is the best guide in government as well as in every other science. There is no analogy—there can be none—between Ireland and a country under such despotic government as this, where there is no power not immediately derived from, and depending on, the will of the sovereign. But Poland furnishes an example sufficiently in point. We may there see the impossibility of a cordial union of different church establishments under a republican government (where each must possess a share of independent power), and the danger of attempting it. A series of domestic calamities has in no long space of time reduced a kingdom, equal in extent to France, and possessing every advantage of soil and climate, with a great population, almost to the situation of a province to its powerful neighbour. To conclude, I do most heartily hope that your lordship's truly patriotic endeavours will be able to give a check to the licentiousness of political speculation—the most dangerous madness with which the human mind can be affected. The spirit of free and rational enquiry deserves every encouragement, and our government ought to be always in a state of progressive improvement; but no constitution will bear great and sudden alterations. We must proceed with temper and step by step, and always remember that nothing is more fallacious than theory unauthorized by facts, which is the description of every political theory. The reformers in Ireland are loud in their clamours against aristocracy. According to my acceptation of the term, it does not exist in that country; but, if anything like the plan which was produced last winter be carried into execution, an aristocracy will be created, and such an one as can never after be shaken. The leading men at Belfast, and in the Convention, are, I am sure, very competent to these subjects; but in matters of speculation, the opinion of no candid man, who has applied his mind to the subjects and has had the same means of information that others have, is to be disregarded. My opinion on this head is certainly sincere, and not lightly formed. As I shall have the pleasure of seeing you soon after Christmas, I shall not touch upon subjects which I cannot treat freely in a letter, but content myself with telling you that, notwithstanding the Emperor has declared that he shall consider the obstruction of the navigation of the Scheldt as a declaration of war, the Dutch have stationed ships for that purpose, and all the ships belonging to the subjects of the Republic in these seas are ordered to wait in the Sound for convoy."

---

[1] Derry.

[2], [3] Hervey, bishop of Derry.

[4] John Ferguson, commander of a company of the Londonderry Volunteer Association.

[5] John Joshua Proby, second baron Carysfort, of Carysfort, co. Wicklow.

[6] Bill, nominally, for securing the liberty of the press, introduced in house of commons, Dublin, in 1784.

11.—William Campbell, D.D., to Charlemont.

1784, October 9, Armagh.—"I know not how I can sufficiently express my acknowledgement for the honour of your last letter. And yet, when I consider the many instances of your lordship's goodness to me and my brethren, this last appears, great as it is, only a continuance of that uniform series of good offices with which you have bound us in the strictest and most lasting gratitude. You will forgive me while I express how much I was struck by observing how far your goodness has led you to overrate the small services we could perform. To have represented to his grace that men in our humble station did at all act in conjunction with your lordship would have been highly honourable and flattering to us; but to represent that your success in the very important services you did your country in your late progress thro' the north did in any measure depend upon our assistance, was a degree of goodness and condescension peculiar to your lordship, and a sure mark of that superior dignity of character which is independent of others, and is conscious of being firmly established in its own virtues.

"I immediately transmitted your lordship's letter to colonel Stewart, knowing how much pleasure it would give him from the great concern he takes in our interest, and that in this particular nothing could gratify him more. The term 'wild heads,' which your lordship has given to some of our eccentric brethren, is a very just epithet, and a very mild one. They are a few—and very few—weak men that are led away by some abstract ideas of what they call the common rights of mankind, which may do very well on religious toleration, or in books of natural jurisprudence, but never can have place in civil society. The most perfect state of civil society implies that certain natural rights must be surrendered for acquired rights. If these common rights find no place in the purest civil state, how much less are they a just ground of reasoning or of acting in a state so mixed as ours, and so corrupt as we complain it is. To attempt to reduce such schemes to practice would throw all into a scene of the most dreadful confusion. Any reformation, how wise and prudent soever the means are that may be adopted, is attended with much difficulty, and, to accomplish it, requires a concurrence of circumstances peculiarly fortunate. Machiavel says, that to reform a state is one of the most arduous undertakings of the human mind. But, should that be true, it ought not to make the friends of their country despair. I only wish it was so far impressed on the minds of the 'wild heads' throughout the nation as to shew them the necessity of committing these difficult enterprises to your lordship and such men as are in the confidence of your lordship, and that their duty and their wisdom would be to support your measures, and not idly to affect a leading, or be drawn away by the weak or factious schemes of ill-informed or designing men. But I am insensibly fallen into a subject of which I understand so little, and for which I am sensible how much I require your lordship's indulgence.

"The circumstance of the mass-house mentioned by his grace, I am a stranger to, but shall make all the inquiry I can about it, tho' I apprehend there is no foundation for it. At any time there may be occasion to call me to Dublin, I need scarcely say how happy it would make me to pay my duty to your lordship."

12.—George Wood to Charlemont.

1784, November 16, Bandon.—"I remember your lordship, many years ago, to be the finest, the most promising, and the sprightliest boy in the city of Dublin. I have since had the honour of paying my respects to your lordship at Castle Bernard.[1] In the conversation I had with your lordship upon that occasion, I observed that probably your lordship would never have any more trouble of the same nature with that which brought your lordship to this country. Your lordship desired to know the reason. I said that, as we had gotten a free trade, and the danger of an invasion had blown over, the volunteers would now want an object. Your lordship answered, as I recollect, that while they had liberties to maintain they would never want an object; that the only means by which they could expect to maintain them was by keeping their arms in their hands; and that you hoped they would never lose sight of that object. How far they have, by their conduct since, answered your lordship's hopes and wishes I shall not at present enquire. But as I have the misfortune to differ from your lordship in one very important point, I shall beg leave to lay before you part of a speech that was lately delivered at a meeting of the aggregate body of the town of Bandon. I shall previously inform your lordship of some curious anecdotes relative to the capture and recovery of that town in King James's time.

"The peculiar hatred of the people of Bandon to the Roman Catholics is more upon a religious than a political account. For in reality hardly any town in Ireland suffered so little from the Papists as they did. Everyone knows what Derry suffered, and yet I am told they have so far departed from their former resolution of not admitting Popish inhabitants, that the city is now equally open to Protestants and Papists. The town of Bandon was twice in the hands of the Papists, and yet there was not a single life lost. And tho' the earl of Clancarty, who was second in command to General Sarsfield, from some particular pique to the Bandonians, offered half of his estate to have the command of the troops for one day, the general would by no means permit it, and the strictest discipline was observed by the whole army. Unluckily, one of their people was killed by a Protestant at one of the evacuations. But, while they were in possession of the town, it seems that a party of them—perhaps with some drunken officers at their head—danced the long dance, to the music of a piper, through one of the churches of Bandon. A piper has never been allowed to play publicly, nor a Roman Catholic to live in the town of Bandon from that time to this. The Protestants have never forgiven that public insult to their religion, and possibly never may.

---

[1] In county of Cork.

"The resolution alluded to in the speech was as follows:—'Resolved that we consider our brethren, the Roman Catholics of Ireland, entitled to the privileges of freemen and free citizens, a right of suffrage, a right of purchasing lands, and a right of carrying arms; and we wish these privileges to be extended to them by the legislature, in order to reconcile and attach them the more firmly to a Protestant government.'

"What was said upon it was this:—'As to the fifth resolution, ideas crowd so fast upon my mind, that I declare to you, gentlemen, I know not where to begin. The first story I heard—the day after our last meeting—was that there had been a meeting the day before at the south market-house, in order to admit Papists into the corporation. One observation I beg leave to make on this story is that a false zeal for religion has occasioned more lying in the world than even property itself; and that the mixing of religion with civil government, which has been invariably practised in Europe since the time of Constantine the Great, has produced more roguery, more wickedness, more bloodshed, more devastation, and more misery to mankind than has been produced by pride, ambition, lust, and avarice—and, in short, by all the other passions of the human mind. The Americans have not shewn their virtue, their wisdom, and their great abilities in the political line in any one instance so conspicuously as in not making religion a matter of state. I asked a gentleman, a Presbyterian, and a young man of sense and reputation, how it came to pass that the Presbyterians in the north, with a Protestant bishop at their head, were almost unanimous for giving the Roman Catholics a right of suffrage, and every other privilege of free citizens, while those of the South seemed to be extremely adverse from making them any further concessions. The young gentleman told me he could not account for it. Nor, indeed, can I, upon any other principle than this, that the Presbyterians of the north have wiser heads, better hearts, and more liberal sentiments than the Presbyterians of the south.

"'In the course of our last debate, upon my saying that Roman Catholics no more admitted the forgiveness of sins without repentance than Protestants, Mrs. T—— asked whether I had ever heard of the doctrine of attrition. To which I shall now say that the Catholics must mean by this either a slight degree of repentance for smaller or for greater sins. If the former, I suppose Mrs. T—— will allow that a small offence does not require as great a degree of repentance as an enormous crime. If they mean the latter—that a slight repentance will suffice for an heinous sin—it is a Jesuitical doctrine; and Mrs. T—— and all the world must know that the Jesuits and their casuistry have long been driven out of every Popish government in Europe.

"'I also observed at our last meeting, that mankind were generally more influenced in their conduct by motives of interest than religion. Mr. C—— differed from me in opinion. I asked him whether he was not conscious of this in his own breast. He seemed to think not. I doubt Mr. C——, in this case, mistakes men's passions for their religion —a very general mistake, indeed! Pride, anger, resentment, make men every day act against their real interest. True religion never does. And, if these passions are any way excited by a religious occasion, or any way connected with it, they are generally mistaken, both by the men themselves and by others, for religion. Far be it from me to presume to doubt of the rectitude of Mr. C——'s religious sentiments, much less of the sincerity of his heart. But, if we are to judge from outward appearances, I own Mr. C—— does not seem to be much encumbered with religion if he considers the public worship and service of God as a part of it; for I declare, gentlemen, I do not recollect I ever saw Mr. C—— at church.

"'You seem, gentlemen, to be very much alarmed at the danger of a Popish government, or permitting Roman Catholics to have anything to do, or to say, to yours. For my part, gentlemen, I think it very possible that a Popish may be a much better than a Protestant government. And if so, surely every rational man would wish to live under it, in preference to the other. I declare it, I had rather be a subject of the King of France, or the Emperor of Germany, than of Prussia, Denmark, or Sweden, all Protestant governments. But, believe me, gentlemen, you have nothing to apprehend from the Catholics of Ireland; a poor, oppressed, dispirited set of men, without property, without heads, without arms, or the means to purchase, if they were allowed to use them. And the few men of property, rank, or consideration among them so strongly attached to the English, that they would even prefer it to a French government. Nay, they would prefer it to the pure democracy of the glorious Americans. I am bold to affirm, that a good qualification bill would not add twenty thousand, tho' I am sure it would fifty thousand, to the poll of Ireland.

"'I would ask you, gentlemen, whether any one of you knows, in a religious view, a more odious, or a more contemptible character in human nature, than a Popish bigot? I will tell you what I think a more odious and a more contemptible character—a Protestant bigot. And the reason why I think so is this. A Roman Catholic is bound by the very principle of his religion to give up his reason to the authority of the church. A Protestant disclaims all authority but that of reason, of the word of God, and of the revelation of Jesus Christ. Now, for a Protestant to be influenced by names, by words, and forms to act uncharitably by his neighbour (Christ tells us, all mankind are our neighbours), proves him to be as much a bigot, and a more odious bigot, than any Roman Catholic whatsoever; and yet I fear there are some among you who would even glory in the title of a Protestant bigot. But let me remind you, that St. Paul tells us of some Christians in his time who were so dead to all sense of virtue, as even to glory in their shame; and if this was the case in the pure and primitive ages of Christianity, what shall we say of these corrupt and degenerate days?

"'And now, gentlemen, give me leave to bring this doctrine home to you. The people of [Bandon] are notorious all over the world for their dislike, their antipathy, their hatred to Roman Catholics. It is therefore, in my opinion, more incumbent upon you, on the great and solemn occasion which now calls you together, to show greater indulgences, and a more earnest desire to be reconciled to them, than on any other people of the kingdom of Ireland. Let me tell you, gentlemen, that nothing less than the united efforts of the whole nation will be able to dispossess a corrupt aristocracy of their deep-rooted usurpation, entrenched behind the letter, tho' totally repugnant to the spirit, of the law. If this resolution passes I shall cheerfully concur with you, gentlemen, in every measure tending to promote the good of the kingdom in general, and the particular benefit of this town, and in asserting your natural rights to vote for your own magistrates and your own representatives. If it does not pass, I shall take the liberty to withdraw instantly from this meeting, and leave you to your farther deliberations. Permit me, gentlemen, to say a few words respecting my own conduct upon this occasion. It is usual, in all matters of public concern, to inquire into the motives and principles of men's actions. I have taken some pains, I have indeed exerted myself to the utmost of my abilities, upon the present occasion. I believe you are all sensible that the track I am in is not the high road to preferment [in the church]. It may be thought also, that I am influenced by pride, vanity, and ambition. Let me observe, gentlemen, that there is such a thing as a virtuous, as well as a vicious pride; vanity, I hope, it is not. And ambition, I own, I have to be esteemed, to be thought well of, to be beloved by my fellow-citizens, my countrymen, and by all mankind. This is one of the rewards of virtue, and nothing, I am convinced, can ever justly entitle any man to that reward, but a benevolent, a patriotic, and a disinterested line of conduct.

"'To what has been said, it might have been added that Popery has really been improving, and Protestantism, I am sorry to say it, declining for these twenty years past. I do not mean by the first, increasing in numbers, for the contrary is the fact, nor is there any other way of accounting for it, but the relaxation of the penal laws. It is observable, that for thirty years after they were enacted, there were not, I suppose, three hundred converts from choice, from conviction, or from fashion, which are the only inducements, exclusive of interest, to change when men are left to themselves; and within these twenty years that these laws have been disregarded, I suppose there have been above three thousand. But I mean, that the Roman Catholics have improved in their religious sentiments, opinions, and practices, and for the truth of this assertion we need only to appeal to three notorious facts: That the Jesuits, who were formerly called the Pope's janizaries, have, as I said above, been driven out of Europe; the Inquisition has been suppressed in Spain, and I suppose even in Portugal; and the Pope's authority, even in spiritual matters, is very little regarded. Popish princes do indeed sometimes avail themselves of it, to serve their own purposes, but have totally excluded him from all concern in political matters. I said above that Protestantism has lately rather declined. It had been really improving for some years past, and Protestants had been growing every year more rational in their opinions, more liberal in their sentiments, and more polished in their manners. But alas! this has been also attended with too great a neglect of true religion, and particularly of the public worship and service of God. But the old rigid Calvinistical doctrines of the Reformation were almost generally exploded among them, till they have been lately revived, and are now almost universally embraced by the lower sort of ignorant, bigotted, and religious Protestants. Speaking with some clergymen of the dangers from Popery, I told them they had nothing to apprehend from that quarter; that they had a pretended friend, but a real though secret enemy, in the bosom of their own church, from whom they had everything to fear, who was every day stealing away the affections of the people, and would probably in a few years have a scuffle with the established clergy for the loaves and fishes.'

"These are the best arguments I could think of in favour of the opinion I have adopted, and I humbly submit them to your lordship's candor and consideration. As there is no man in Ireland, the coincidence of whose sentiments would do me more honour, of course there is none of whose esteem I should be more ambitious, and tho' I have the misfortune, as I before observed, of differing from your lordship in this article.

"P.S.—A copy of the inclosed plan is gone by the last post in a letter to Mr. Pitt. In that letter I said that I presumed the parliamentary reform would be taken up early in the session (I hoped the people of Ireland would hold out till then), because it is supposed to be a matter of great labour and difficulty, but that I did not think it would require the half of what people imagined."

13.—ANDREW BOYD to CHARLEMONT.—Indian affairs.

1784, December 9, Tanjore.—"I hope your goodness will pardon me for the liberty I take, and for my long silence towards your lordship. The nature of the service has been such that time would not permit me to write you sooner, but as we have arrived at peace, my time I cannot better employ than to communicate to your lordship the little knowledge I have of the country and the service. The service of the East India Company is very different from the idea I had of it at the time I had the honor of seeing you in London, and even in my smallest expectations I am disappointed. It is a general rule with Europeans in this country, every man for himself; and this being a never-failing rule, renders it very disagreeable to one on his first arrival. After my arrival I was ordered to do duty in Fort St. George, and a short time after was ordered to join camp. To take the field in this country one cannot without laying out eighty or one hundred pounds. What little money I brought to this country went but a short way. I applied for my pay, and got for answer there was no money in the office. Away I was ordered without money or the smallest necessary, which made me labour under many a disagreeable situation. The pay of an ensign in the field is twenty pounds per month, but in place of getting this monthly, I was glad to get one month's pay in two, and this is not adequate to the expense we are at; so without pay or a friend to assist me in my first campaign, you may see, my lord, the hardships a young man is apt to meet with on his first arrival in this country. All the time I was in camp of the campaign of 1782 nothing peculiar happened, only skirmishes with detached parties of ours and the enemy's. The scene that a country affords that is depopulated by fire and sword is dreadful; not a village for one hundred miles round Madras but what is destroyed, nor a face of an inhabitant is to be seen. When I approached near any of the pagodas, I was obliged to return, owing to the disagreeable smell of the number of dead bodies that are to be met with in these places.

"At the end of the campaign of 1782, General Coote[1] was so ill that he left the army and went to Bengal for the recovery of his health. The command fell to General Stewart,[2] whose character as a general is but middling, but as a cunning undermining man, great. At the time General Coote commanded, General Stewart was much disliked by the army. When he came to command, the officers expected he would take the opportunity to gain the favour he had lost, but much to their astonishment he proved the reverse. Soon after General Coote left the army, they marched into cantonments, and were cantoned in the suburbs of

---

[1] Sir Eyre Coote. *See* Ninth Report of this Commission, Part II., 1884, p. 330.

[2] *See* Report, *ut supra.*

Madras. As soon as General Stewart came to command, the governor (lord MacCartney)[1] and he were constantly disagreeing. From this and other circumstances, the Company's affairs look but middling. At this time there were orders to dismiss part of the publick followers and artificers, with all the private followers; this gave the natives great reason to think we were not going to carry on the war. But this was not the worst thing that was done at this time, for the governor ordered thousands of the natives that had taken refuge at Madras to depart without delay, giving for reason that the want of rice obliged him to give out these orders. But, my lord, it was well known that there was plenty of rice in the roads of Madras at the time, but the great men that it belonged to would not land it, thinking by keeping it up they would get a greater price; but, unfortunately, the monsoons set in so hard, that above forty vessels with their cargoes went to the bottom; this unlucky accident was the means of thousands of the natives dying for want. At this time it was bad policy to turn off the followers of the army; by doing so it prevented the officers from moving in case of emergency, for the principal way of carrying baggage is with people called coolies, and each subaltern is allowed twelve of these by the Company. When we marched out of cantonments, we were obliged to march with half our allowance of these people, and the consequence was that we lost the most part of our baggage.

"At the latter end of 1782, a detachment was sent to the northward. A Mr. Robert Stewart, whom your lordship mentioned to me in London, was with that detachment. The battalion he belonged to was attacked on an out-post by four times their number; they were either killed or taken prisoners, for we never could learn what became of the officers. A little after this unfortunate affair we had accounts of Hyder's death, and that the French had taken Tippoo Sahib (Hyder's son) at Arcot. Hearing of this, we prepared for marching, and in a few days all was ready. Our spies reported that Tippoo's army had marched towards Wandawash, and knowing this to be true, we advanced that way. As soon as we came in sight of the enemy, we left behind us all our heavy baggage in a fort called Carangooley, and advanced with rapidity towards Wandawash. General Stewart was very silent as to what he intended doing; but, as soon as we got near Wandawash, he ordered the fort to be destroyed. Working parties were immediately ordered; I was on one of them; and in the space of three days the fort was in ruins. A very unlucky accident happened, owing to a mistake a sergeant made by setting fire to the magazine too soon, wherein was three hundred barrels of powder; the explosion was dreadful, but the scene after was shocking. I lost of my party three men killed and fourteen wounded; every party suffered severely; but the poor and unfortunate people of the village of Wandawash that were so unlucky as to be wounded, got leave to remain on the ground all night; it was next day before we could give them any assistance. During our stay at Wandawash the enemy took the opportunity to reconnoitre us daily, and made some movements as if they wanted to give battle. General Stewart resolved not to disappoint them, and early in the morning of the 2nd February we advanced towards the enemy, with a determined resolution to give battle as long as they chose. The French were, from the nearest report to truth, 1,300 men, and Tippoo's army was 40,000 men; ours did not exceed 1,700 Europeans and 8,000 sepoys. As soon as they heard we were advancing, they made off. About 11 o'clock a.m. our advance guard came up with their rear; we opened several guns at them, and did everything to provoke them to fight, but they would not. Fatigued with marching, we encamped on the ground; the enemy moved from us; in the middle of the night part of the enemy made an attack on the left of the line, but made off on being fired on. Next day we returned towards Madras, and on our way destroyed Fort Carangooley, for fear it might fall into the hands of the French. As soon as we got near Madras, we heard Tippoo had left the Carnatic, and the French had marched to Cudelore [Cuddalore]. The army was kept in constant motion, in supplying the out garrisons with shot and provisions, till the beginning of April, when we began to make every preparation to attack the French in Cudelore.

---

[1] For account of George, lord Macartney, *see* Ninth Report of this Commission, Part II., 1884, p. 330.

"On the 21st the army began the march for Cudelore. At this time I was dangerously ill and obliged to leave camp. The motion of the army for some time was but slow, which was of great hurt to the service; the beginning of June the army passed Cudelore, and incamped six miles to the southward of it. As soon as the French saw that, they came out of the fort and threw up redoubts in front of our army, and got leave to complete them without interruption. As soon as they were finished, General Stewart called a council of war to know what should be done. The determination of the council was to attack the French next morning at gun-fire. In the evening of the 12th June the disposition of attack was made. Accordingly, in the morning at gun-fire, the French were attacked with great alacrity and success. The 101st regiment was supported in the attack by two battalions of Sepoys, but they, not accustomed to a salute of 13 cannon, loaded with grape, and 700 musketry, gave way. The French, flushed with the idea that the day was theirs, sallied out of the redoubt after the 101st regiment, but the 20th battalion of Sepoys attacked them in flank before they could recover themselves, so few of them returned. The rest of the attacks were carried on on both sides with great obstinacy, but our Sepoys, having great confidence in our Europeans, supported them so well in every attack, that in the space of four hours the French were driven from all their outposts. Our loss was considerable, for we lost upwards of one thousand men. The French, on the 25th, made a sally on our trenches, but were shamefully beaten off. General Stewart is much blamed for allowing the French to finish their works without interrupting them, and for not attacking the French at first, when he might have gained an advantage over them with little loss. Just as the first parallel was made, a flag of truce took place and a cessation of arms. Next day the news of peace arrived in camp, which was a happy thing for us, for the camp was very sickly.

"Immediately after the cessation of arms, detachments were ordered to the southward to join Colonel Fullerton, who had received orders to enter Hyder's country without delay. The grand army was ordered to return to Madras. I had recovered so well that I resolved to join my battalion that had been ordered round to the southward the first opportunity. As soon as the detachments joined Colonel Fullerton, he made no delay, but marched rapidly into Hyder's country, and, in the space of two months, took from the enemy three capital forts. Just as I had joined the army, Colonel Fullerton received orders to halt, and a cessation of arms took place; this prevented the southern army from laying waste Hyder's country in the same manner he had done the Carnatic. Shortly after, we fell back one hundred and fifty miles. This ended our military operations in this part of India.

"As soon as the grand army returned to Madras, Lord Macartney chose to enquire into the conduct of some of the principal officers that had been at Cudelore, particularly General Stewart. But this was no new thing, for, since his lordship arrived in the country, he has been constantly interfering with military matters, so much that he and the officers were never on good terms. There was a great misunderstanding between General Stewart and the Council, so that the one threatened the other with confinement; but the Council got the upper hand, for they dismissed him the Company's service, took from him the command of the King's troops, and confined him close prisoner in his own house, till they got an opportunity of sending him home. This was the occasion of a great change in the military line, for in place of the next oldest King's officer taking the command, the Governor and Council promoted a Company's colonel to the rank of lieutenant-general, which superseded the rest of the King's officers, and made some of them resign and go home. General Burgoyne,[1] who was next in command to General Stewart, was much nettled at this step of the Governor's, and took every opportunity to show it. At last, words went so high between the Governor and Burgoyne, that he was ordered under arrest. How far his lordship may be right time must tell, but if his lordship is to be ruled by military law, I believe he will come off with the worst.

"The Company's troops on the coast of Coromandel are formed into battalions, each of seven hundred men, which are divided into ten companies, each company commanded by a European officer; this is given to a captain, who commands the whole. The service is altered so much for the worse, that a fortune is as likely to be made in the deserts of Arabia as on the coast of Coromandel. What hurts the service much is, the deserving officer is never considered when interest is in view. But what is still worse, and is much encouraged by lord Macartney, is, that the gentlemen in the civil line interfere too much with those in the military. It often happens that commandants are at a loss how to act, owing to the authority lately vested in the residents, and what was formerly the commandant's is now become the resident's, which is the means of rendering the military line a drudge to the civil.

"I find, my lord, that Trinkamalee, in the island of Ceylon, is granted to the French. This I am sorry to hear, for the reason that that place is of more consequence to France than the people of England imagine. The bay can contain five hundred ships of the line from the monsoons, and all of them can lie within twenty yards of the shore. The entrance is so narrow that only one ship can pass out or in at one time. There are two forts in the bay, one called Trinkamalee and the other Fort Asenbourgh. Both places can be made so strong that they may defy the English in this part of the world from hurting them. The island is fruitful, and France can maintain what number of men they chuse on the island, and when a war breaks out with France, they have got the key to the Company's settlements on the coast of Coromandel. At the time I had the honor to see you in London, you were so kind as to promise me a letter of introduction to Mr. Burke,[2] but I was never so fortunate as to receive it. If your lordship can assist me in the smallest degree to any of your acquaintance in this part of the world, you will highly serve me and will add one more favour to the many you have conferred on me."

14.—WILLIAM CAMPBELL, D.D., to CHARLEMONT.

i.—1784, December 25, Armagh.—"Your lordship's letter which I had the honour of receiving last post, relieved me from a state of anxious expectation. As Christmas was mentioned for settling the business which your lordship with so much goodness has undertaken to patronize, I was fully aware that something very material must have happened which prevented its being brought to an issue. I am much concerned for the occasion of it, but since illness was the occasion, I am truly happy that your lordship's health has been preserved notwithstanding the severity of the season. For should his grace[1] be induced to change his favourable disposition towards us, which I hope will not happen, yet while the goodness of Providence preserves your lordship as the guardian of your country's welfare, and so long as we shall seem worthy of your regard and protection, we are confident that our interest will be highly supported and greatly to our honour; and should we fail of success at present, we must impute it to a secret unfriendly influence in the Cabinet, and wait for a more favorable administration, happy in the meanwhile in the consciousness of being thought worthy of your lordship's patronage. But the last part of your lordship's letter gives so much room to hope for success, that I will not indulge the thought of disappointment. Nothing has occurred of late among us in political matters that was worth communicating to your lordship. Parliamentary reform has taken fast hold of the people. The Roman Catholic business is asleep. The wisdom and firmness of your lordship's declaration at Belfast appears to have produced all the good effects that the friends of a Protestant government could have hoped from an interposition so seasonable and so necessary for the peace and security of the kingdom. There has been no call of our county to send delegates to congress, and it is thought there will be none. Mr. Brownlow, it is said, has declared against it, and there are many in the county who join with him in condemning that mode of pursuing a reform. We often pray for our chief governor.[2] Our prayers shall now be more fervent, and if they avail, and his health be restored, I shall hope to hear again from your lordship, and shall gladly obey your summons to go to town."

---

[1] Sir John Burgoyne.

[2] Edmund Burke.

14, ii.—1785, January 3, Armagh.—"I am just now honoured with your lordship's letter. It expresses so much goodness and is of such importance, that I am happy the post allows me without losing a day to acknowledge the receipt of it, and to express my most grateful thanks for this along with so many other instances of your lordship's kindness. The steady and confidential men among my brethren with whom I can with prudence communicate, and they are not a few, do all entertain, as I do, the highest sense of your lordship's regard and protection, and think it particularly happy that though our principles and conduct have made us obnoxious to the resentment of men of a certain description, yet that they have conciliated to us your lordship's approbation and patronage. To this we are indebted for the favourable opinion that my lord lieutenant[3] entertains of us, which, I hope, will be productive of great advantages to us, and may possibly be productive of still more general advantage to the nation, if some things that strike my mind very forcibly should meet your lordship's approbation, and through your friendship and interposition meet also with his grace's approbation. I will not take the liberty of troubling your lordship at present with my views, lest I might be long and perhaps tedious, but will only say that they have not been taken up hastily, nor will be brought forward rashly, I mean without your lordship's concurrence, for upon that alone all my hopes of success do entirely depend. Should I have the honour of waiting on your lordship in town this winter, I shall be happy to submit my project to your consideration, with a perfect confidence that your wisdom and intimate knowledge of the world will either satisfy me that the scheme should be laid aside, or will correct and improve it so as to be fit to be brought forward to the publick.

---

[1], [2], [3], Charles Manners, fourth duke of Rutland, lord lieutenant of Ireland. *See* report xii. of this Commission, Appendix v.

"The sum fixed by his grace will be very acceptable to us, and will materially assist many of our brethren whose circumstances are greatly streightened. The delay gives me the less uneasiness as from the circumstances your lordship mentions, there appears to be nothing unfriendly in it. Some other favourable opportunity may give us or our successors forty pounds, the sum that is wished for. At present we have reason to be well satisfied, more especially when we consider the manner of obtaining it being so very honourable to us, and how highly flattering it must be to our posterity to find on our records that our character was supported and his Majesty's bounty encreased by your lordship's interposition."

15.—CHARLEMONT to SAMUEL MAXWELL.

1785, February 22, Dublin.—"You have no doubt already heard of the intemperate proceedings of a great majority in the House of Commons respecting the Volunteers. I had long foreseen the consequence, and therefore as long as possible prevented their name from being mentioned in Parliament. The situation of this country is now critical, and the utmost caution must be observed to preserve the public tranquility, and we must endeavour to exhibit to the world a new spectacle, when that prudence which ought to be, and usually is the attribute of the few, is transferred to the many. I have little doubt but that the wish of some among the leaders in the late measures is that the volunteers should, by their intemperance, afford an apparent justification of what they have already done, and perhaps a cause for proceeding still farther. In this we must labour to disappoint them. For heaven's sake keep our friends as quiet as it is possible! our own honour, and the tranquility, welfare, and safety of our country, depends upon our present conduct. We have hitherto run a glorious course; let us complete it by conquering our own resentments for the sake of that country to whose service all our efforts have ever been directed. Believe me, I have found it no easy task to conquer mine. Let the Volunteers be quiet—let no resolutions be entered into—a paper war with parliament is unjustifiable in itself, and may be productive of the most mischievous consequence. Let the Volunteers, I say, be quiet, and at the approaching assizes let the people speak out with constitutional firmness. Thus only can we hope to baffle the designs and thwart the wishes of our opponents. Tho' our prudence and moderation has hitherto been miraculous—and may the miracle continue to operate—we have in some instances given our ill-wishers a fatal excuse for their previous conduct. The Catholic business and the augmenting our corps with the dregs of the people have been measures disgraceful and ruinous. You well know my opinion upon both these subjects; indeed, I clearly foresaw the consequence.

"But I am called away. I have written these hasty lines in the utmost hurry and confusion, neither have I leisure to read what I have written; but I write to you, and care not much for correctness. You know me well enough to distinguish my ideas through the confusion of my style . . Believe me ever the true and disinterested friend of my country."

16.—SAMUEL MAXWELL to CHARLEMONT.

1785, February 28, Armagh.—"I am very happy to have it in my power to assure your lordship that the Volunteers of this place—though they feel themselves deeply affected with the ingratitude of the majority of that assembly to which they were the chief means of giving vigour, independancy, and dignity—have not demonstrated the smallest inclination to give vent to their indignation by any violent or ill-timed resolves. Knowing this to be the case, I did not deem it proper to make any further use of your lordship's letter than to communicate its contents to one or two of those members of the company who have the honour to be known to your lordship, and whom I knew would feel sincere pleasure and gratitude from this marke of your lordship's attention.

"I mention it as a circumstance that must afford some satisfaction to your lordship, that none of the corps more immediately under your lordship's command in this part of the province were guilty of the indiscretions which you so justly lament, the sullying their ranks and reputation by the admission of the dregs of the people. Had the whole of the Volunteer army been perfectly chaste in this respect and some others which your lordship adverts to, the ingratitude of our present vilifiers would have been still more strongly marked with baseness and injustice.

"If your lordship thinks it necessary that anything should be done at the ensuing assizes, you will be so obliging as to furnish us with such hints at your leisure as may guide our proceedings on the occasion. And here I must beg leave to inform your lordship that whatever is to be done can only be hoped from the exertions of the yeomanry and a few of the gentlemen, nothing being to be expected from our grand jury. Government in its appointments, both of the last and present high sheriff, did cut off all expectations then and now from that quarter. I would beg leave to add that ere the country gentlemen come down, it would be of singular use if your lordship would lead such of them, as draw upon the right side, into your views, and it would, moreover, lend vigour to the proceedings here if you would direct that it be recommended to the freeholders on your lordship's estates in this county to lend their voices on the occasion. I have met with so much of your lordship's indulgence, and have been so long accustomed to look up with confidence to you as the mainspring of all the movements in the cause of liberty, that I trust you will pardon the liberty I have taken in suggesting these matters relative to the most likely means of promoting your lordship's wishes at the next assizes. It is probable that you have seen already in the public prints the death of Mr. Harris, captain of the Lisluny company of the southern battalion, which has suffered a very severe stroke in the loss of this very spirited man. Yesterday the 1st Armagh company and the Lisluny company attended at a funeral sermon preached on the occasion, and I am told—for I was prevented from attending by a heavy cold I have caught—that the worth of the man was testified in a most extraordinary manner by the tears and sighs of all the hearers, but especially those of the Volunteers of his own company."

17.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

i.—1785, March 14, Dublin.—"In the midst of the most disagreeable and disgusting transactions, I have felt a most sincere pleasure from the very proper and moderate conduct of the Belfast corps at the present critical juncture, and now write to express my satisfaction upon this head, and to communicate to you my ardent wish that the same wise and necessary moderation may be adhered to at the meeting of the seventeenth. Believe me, the utmost circumspection is now necessary, lest we should afford to those who wish ill to the Volunteers' cause not only an excuse for their former conduct, but a plausible argument for proceeding still farther. Neither can I harbour the least doubt that by violent measures we should completely gratify the wishes of those among our opponents who are most inveterate against us. For heaven's sake, then, exert all your influence to prevent any resolutions, except those which are usual as preparatory to the review, from being entered into at the approaching meeting. A paper war with parliament is unseemly, improper, ineffectual, and highly dangerous, and our country's tranquillity and consequent welfare absolutely demand from the Volunteers that they should now exert to the utmost that spirit of moderation which has hitherto been their most shining characteristic. Let them go on preparing themselves for the review as if nothing had passed, confident, as they may certainly be, that to take no notice of the late transactions is not only the wisest but the most dignified conduct. For my own part, you may easily conceive that my resentments are at the least equal to theirs; and, indeed, I have a difficult card to play, being first obliged to conquer my own resentments in order to enable me, for my country's sake, to endeavour the restraining those of others. Some faults, it must be confessed, we have committed—some fatal errors which have put arguments into the mouths of our adversaries. That cursed Popery business, and the defiling our ranks with the scum of the people, were errors of which I clearly foresaw the consequence. The proceeding also of the aggregate body, though not immediately connected with the Volunteers, hangs about our neck like a millstone. Reflecting on these advantages which have unfortunately been given to our opponents, we ought now the more cautiously to guard ourselves against any appearance of irregularity. Let the Volunteers be silent, and let the freeholders speak out with respect to reform and attachments. Those are the great objects, and in those we shall finally succeed. I need not, I am sure, tell you that I have written in the utmost hurry. The incoherence of this letter makes that sufficiently evident. You will plainly discern that what I have written is for you only, and is intended to prompt you to exert your influence towards the preventing our friends from injuring themselves and gratyfying their adversaries. Had I but time, I could add a thousand arguments, but they will occur to you, and you will be able to state them far more forcibly than I could do, even though I were not, as I now am, so involved in business as to have scarcely leisure to think. Indeed, when I reflect on the tenor of my friends' conduct, I can scarcely harbour any doubt of their prudence, and can hardly believe any interference necessary to induce them to act as they ought."

17, ii.—1785, March 29, Dublin.—"The Belfast resolutions have indeed afforded me the highest satisfaction, not only on a public account, but from the pleasure which must always be the result of a proper conduct in those we love. I am also happy to find that the men from whom to differ would be misery coincide with me in opinion. Indeed, there never was a time when prudence and moderation were more essentially necessary. These virtues must exist somewhere or ruin would ensue, and since they seem to have been discarded by those whose more peculiar duty it is to cultivate them, they must find a refuge in the hearts of the people. What this cursed militia bill will be I cannot discover, though I have left no means untried to come at its contents. It ought most certainly to be impossible that it should contain anything of the nature to which you allude. Yet such is the madness of the time that nothing can be wild enough to be absolutely impossible. Still, however, I hope the best, and am rather inclined to believe that nothing more unpalatable than a mere militia will ensue. For my own part, I cannot but account myself exceedingly illtreated. Though I neither expect nor wish the confidence of government, a painful pre-eminence which I have always disliked, and for many good reasons avoided, yet, considering my situation in every respect, the measures which have been lately pursued ought in common decency to have been in some degree communicated to me before they were brought forward in public; and even though it had been determined not to follow my advice, it ought most certainly to have been asked. This neglect, however, which I rather look upon as a compliment, as it must have proceeded from an intuitive certainty in those who govern of my positive dissent, does not give me the slightest uneasiness; nor can it possibly have the smallest effect either upon my mind or upon my conduct, and I only mention it to account for my absolute ignorance respecting any measures of government. . . . My aide-de-camps are not yet appointed; sir Annesley Stewart will probably be one."

18.—H. T. Clements[1] to Lord Rodney.

1785, May 10, Dublin Treasury Chamber.—" I am honored with your lordship's letter, and beg leave to assure you every assistance and support in my power I shall most chearfully give to the obtaining your lordship's wishes, but I fear there are more difficulties in the way than you seem to apprehend, particularly as to the tax already stopped, in which nothing could now be done. In the next money bill alone can it be regulated by Parliament. His Majesty, indeed, may, if he shall think fit, grant either an additional pension equal to the tax of both to make up the nett 2,000*l*. to your lordship, or may give a king's letter for the sum; but this, I apprehend, would be very difficult, as it would in some measure be doing that which did not seem meet to the Parliament here to do, and would next session be much cavilled at. I beg leave to acquaint you that in the first session after the grant of the pension to your lordship, I applied to the then minister of this country (Mr. Eden) for his support in a motion I intended making (when the exceptions to the 4*s*. tax were to be made in the money bill) as agent to the pensioners, and thinking yours ought to be included; but he told me he had no directions from the other side for such exemption, and therefore would not support the motion. 'Twas needless for me to make it unless supported by government, and it would have been painful to have had it negatived. Since that government have never directed it to be inserted in the bill. His grace the lord lieutenant and Mr. Orde, to whom I communicated your letter, have every possible disposition to attend to your lordship's wishes, and, indeed, I understand it has been mentioned to them from the other side. I have no doubt but they will pay every possible attention to the business, which I think ought certainly to be altered, and for which purpose you may rely on every exertion in my power being made use of whenever it comes into question, but I fear until next year nothing can be done in parliament, and must rest totally with his majesty and his ministers. . . .

" When the pension was offered lord Rodney it was to be granted on the most favored terms, as those granted to Sir Edward Hawke, &c., &c., &c., and lord Rodney given to understand that he was to have received it without any deduction whatever, much less considered in the light of an absentee."

---

[1] Henry Theophilus Clements, deputy vice-treasurer, Ireland.

19.—RICHARD LOVELL EDGEWORTH to CHARLEMONT.

1785, July 5, Edgeworthstown.—"I have succeeded in obtaining a meeting of this county;[1] but our sheriff could not gratify me with the appointment of an earlier day than the twelfth. The meeting will, I hope, be respectable and unanimous, and I must console myself for the great disappointment which I suffer with this idea, and with the recollection that I am still acting under your lordship's commands. I trust to your goodness for some future opportunity of being distinguished by the appointment which I have lost upon this occasion."

20.—WILLIAM BROWNLOW to CHARLEMONT.

1785, July 6, Lurgan.—"The meeting was but small on account of the linen drapers being in Dublin, and a fair at Tanderagee.[2] There was, however, not a dissentient voice; my tenants were the majority of the assembly, but these circumstances we may keep to ourselves. Blackall made a very fine oration, beginning at the year 1500, and carried on progressively to the fourth proposition, where it ended happily. He then moved the petition, and was himself the person to object to one of the expressions. I had said that freedom of trade was conceded as our right. He did not think that strong enough, and altered it to—'formally acknowledged as our right.' He is pleased, as I am told, to repent his secession from the battalion, and has wrote to leave the matter in dispute to be settled at my discretion, but as his letter was directed to Dublin it has not yet reached me. I can do no other than I did before, to request that he should leave his four Roman Catholics at home if the company comes to Newry."

21.—JOHN FORBES[3] to CHARLEMONT.

i.—1785, July 10, Drogheda.—"I received a letter this day from Grattan, in which he expresses an apprehension that, if the people only petition against the Irish propositions or resolutions now depending in England, ministry here may have an opportunity for quibbling; and urging, in case the resolutions suffer any alteration, however ineffectual, that the petitions for postponing, &c., are not applicable to the resolutions, as introduced into our House, those resolutions having assumed a different shape and form since the date of the petitions; he therefore recommends, what I fortunately suggested to the Drogheda petitioners, to conclude their prayer with words to this effect:—'Not to adopt any system of commercial arrangement at this late period of the session.' If we are so fortunate as to have your lordship's opinion coinciding with ours, you will have the goodness to communicate your sentiments on this subject, by way of precaution, to gentlemen of the different northern counties."

21, ii.—1785, July 23.—"I left town yesterday; nothing new; Parliament to be adjourned this day for a week or fortnight. You will perceive by the papers that Orde would neither inform us whether he should introduce any commercial system this session, or, if he did introduce any, what the nature of it would be. We have received information, which I believe to be well founded, that the English parliament is to be prorogued in the course of next week; Orde and company deny this, and say on the contrary that a bill is to be immediately brought into the house of commons of England by Mr. Pitt, pursuant to Mr. Orde's propositions, and not agreeable to Pitt's twenty resolutions; that the bill is to pass both houses immediately, and to be sent over to us to adopt. This is a political paradox I cannot swallow. If the English parliament is prorogued next week, Pitt will completely jockey Mr. Orde. I have two friends in town who will give me the earliest intelligence, which I shall not fail to transmit to your lordship."

---

[1] Longford. [2] In county of Armagh. [3] M.P. for Drogheda.

22.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1785, August 1, Marino.—"To-morrow Parliament meets, and the day of the battle is to be fixed. The 'Propositions'[1] are, it is said, to be suffered to fall, and bills are to be brought in, founded, as it is pretended, on the eleven and not on the twenty, and purged of all noxious matter. This proceeding may, however, be insidious, and must, at all events, be carefully watched. We have forced our opponents to change their ground, but I fear they have done it cunningly."

23.—Edmund Burke to Charlemont.

1785, August 7, Beconsfield.—"Mr. Staunton,[2] who will have the honour of delivering this letter to your lordship, is the first among the very few persons who have done real credit and real service to this nation and its government in the East Indies. His abilities are great and unquestioned, and not more so than his virtues. I assure you I am proud to say that he is of our country. He has been long absent from it in various parts of the world, and is on his return, but for a short time before his second departure for India. He is going there with all the credit and acknowledgements of his former services, to perform other ones, I make no doubt, of still greater extent and importance. It adds to my good opinion of Mr. Staunton, that he is extremely ambitious of being known to your lordship; and that, because a public fame, which no private notice has yet ventured to contradict, has informed him that lord Charlemont is the most public spirited, and at the same time the best natured and best bred man in Ireland. I cannot blame a wish so very natural and honourable in my friend; and I therefore take the liberty of recommending him very particularly to your lordship's attention whilst he remains in Dublin."

24.—Charlemont to Haliday.

i.—1785, August 16, House of lords, [Dublin].—"I have barely time to tell you that we have been victorious. On Saturday morning, between nine and ten, we divided against leave to bring in the 'Adjustment' bill, 108 to 127; but our deficiency in numbers was far overbalanced by our great superiority in property and consequence, and the measure was of a nature so strong as almost to insure a majority in any other question relative to the bill. Yesterday the Secretary[1] moved that the bill should be read and printed, and then declared that he should proceed no farther this session,—wished no more than that the measure should be thoroughly and universally understood, and did not doubt but that the public, when acquainted with its nature, would hereafter call for it. To the public he left it, having now performed all that was incumbent on him. A long and desultory debate ensued, which ended in an adjournment for three weeks, to give time for certain bills which have not yet been transmitted to England. Thus has a minority prevailed, to the salvation of this country, but such a minority as ever must prevail. I give you joy with all my heart. . .

---

[1] For finally regulating the intercourse and commerce between Great Britain and Ireland, "A motion was made and the question being put, that leave be given to bring in a bill for effectuating the intercourse and commerce between Great Britain and Ireland on permanent and equitable principles for the mutual benefit of both kingdoms, and that the right honorable Mr. Secretary Orde, the right honorable Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, the right honorable Mr. Beresford, the right honorable Mr. Attorney General, and the honorable the Commissioners of his majesty's revenue, do prepare and bring in the same. It was carried in the affirmative." Journals of the House of Commons, Ireland; Dublin, 1797, xi. 478.

[2] George Leonard Staunton, subsequently baronet, author of "Account of Embassy to Emperor of China."

"As the secretary[2] has in some sort appealed to the public, would it not be necessary that, at the approaching assizes, every county should instruct its representatives? They will now be acquainted with the bill, and I do not believe their acquaintance will reconcile them to it."

24, ii.—1785, August 18, Dublin.—"When I last wrote I was so hurried and confused that I scarcely knew what I said, which will account for my postscript, wherein I talk about instructions. A little leisure for consideration has, however, pointed out a much better mode of replying to Mr. Orde; and in this I have the approbation of all my friends, who join with me in thinking that the simplest and consequently the best measure that can be pursued will be that at the approaching assizes the grand juries and freeholders shall return thanks to the minority for their conduct on the 12th of August 1785. By this measure everything we wish to say will be implied and perfect unanimity will be procured, which in long and wordy compositions it is difficult to obtain. Mention this to your friends, who will forward the measure at Carrickfergus, and possibly also will induce the town of Belfast to pursue the same plan. Your delegation is now, I suppose, at an end; at least I am sure it ought to be so, after our late complete victory. Measures of this kind, if not absolutely necessary, are always hurtful. If matters in parliament had taken a different turn, some such meeting might have been proper, but under the present circumstances I am sure it ought to be avoided."

25.—John K. Sherwin to Charlemont.—Order of St. Patrick.

1785, August 27, St. Patrick's Hall, [Dublin Castle].—"Mr. Sherwin and Mr. Kirby, with the utmost respect, beg leave to express to the earl of Charlemont the high sense they entertain of his lordship's great kindness, and to acquaint his lordship that they propose leaving this kingdom in a few days, and shall be proud to be intrusted with any message or commission his lordship may think proper to honor them with the charge of, to the marquis of Buckingham, or any of his lordship's friends in England. Mr. Sherwin takes the liberty of informing his lordship that as he means to observe the greatest regularity in the delivery of his prints to subscribers, he intends to number every impression as it is taken from the plate; he therefore takes the freedom of inclosing a numbered receipt, which will secure to his lordship the impressions subscribed for. And if at any time his lordship should wish to have choice impressions of any works of merit that may hereafter appear in the world, the honor of a line addressed to Mr. Sherwin or Mr. Kirby, No. 67, Bond Street, or No. 28, St. James's Street, London, will be respectfully attended to, and their best judgment exercised in selecting them."

---

[1], [2] Thomas Orde.

[Enclosure.]

"Dedicated to the King by authority: an historical engraving, representing the portraits of the knights of St. Patrick, when they arose to drink the King's health at the installation feast, on the 17th of March 1783, in the hall of St. Patrick, Dublin [Castle]; where, in order to be exact, the picture is painting by Mr. Sherwin, who has the honor to be historical engraver to his Majesty and to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, who proposes in this composition to introduce portraits of the then Lord Lieutenant, the Knight's Companions, and officers of the Order, with such of the esquires as can be contained in the compass of the plate; and also portraits of the nobility, ladies and gentry of Ireland, who were present at the above brilliant ceremony.

"Names of the knights of St. Patrick.

Earl Temple (now marquis of Buckingham), first Grand Master.

His Royal Highness Prince Edward.
William Robert [Fitz Gerald,] duke of Leinster.
Henry [De Burgh,] earl of Clanricarde.
Thomas [Nugent,] earl of Westmeath.
Murrough [O'Brien,] earl of Inchiquin.
Charles [Moore,] earl of Drogheda.
John [Beresford,] earl of Tyrone.
Richard [Boyle,] earl of Shannon.
James [Hamilton,] earl of Clanbrassil.
Richard [Wesley,] earl of Mornington.
Arthur [Gore,] earl of Arran.
James [Stopford,] earl of Courtown.
James [Caulfield,] earl of Charlemont.
Thomas [Taylor,] earl of Bective.
Henry [Loftus,] earl of Ely.

"Officers of the Order.

"Prelate: Dr. Richard Robinson, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland.—Chancellor: Dr. Robert Fowler, Archbishop of Dublin and Primate of Ireland.—Register: Dr. Cradock, Dean of St. Patrick's.—Secretary: Lord Delvin.—Genealogist: Charles Henry Coote, Esq.—Usher: George Barnard, Esq.—Ulster King-of-Arms: Sir William Hawkins, Knight Attendant on the Order.—Heralds: Thomas Meredyth Winstanley and William Bryan, Esqrs.

"The size of the plate, 31 inches by 22, price three guineas, and proofs double, as usual; half to be paid at the time of subscribing, and the remainder upon the delivery of the impressions.

"The picture[1] being already much advanced, subscriptions are received for impressions of the engraving, at Mr. Sherwin's, No. 28, St. James' Street; No. 67, New Bond Street; and No. 5, Sweeting's Alley, London; also at St. Patrick's Hall, Dublin Castle, and by Mr. Wilson, No. 6, Dame Street, Dublin. The print to be delivered to subscribers according to the order of their subscribing.

"The plate to be the same size of two new prints which are in great forwardness by Mr. Sherwin, viz., one of 'Pharaoh's daughter and her attendants finding Moses,' in which will be introduced portraits of some of the principal ladies of England; the other, a representation of the nobility in the house of lords at the time the earl of Chatham was taken ill, and which are to form part of a set of historical prints, in which Mr. Sherwin means to introduce portraits of distinguished personages. Subscriptions for them are also received as above."

---

[1] Now in the National Gallery, Dublin.

"Received from the right honourable the earl of Charlemont the sum of seven pounds, seventeen shillings and six pence, being the first half, paid as the subscription for three impressions, Nos. 34, 35, 36 (and one proof), which I promise to deliver according to these proposals, and in the order subscribed; and three guineas, being the half subscription for a proof of the Lords.—John Keyse Sherwin."

26.—CHARLEMONT to JAMES STEWART.

1785, October 5, Marino.—"Your letter, which I look upon as a new and unequivocal instance of that friendship in which I have ever confided, has given me a satisfaction equal to my opinion of your truth and honour. I must, indeed, confess that I could not help being struck by something of the nature you allude to, but you may be assured that your judgment upon this matter is decisive with me, and that, at all events, nothing could force me into such a measure but necessity, which, according to my principle, can alone palliate this procedure in the eye of an All-merciful Being, who knows, and would, I trust, pity the impossibility of living dishonoured.

"From what I have now said, your friendship will be at ease, yet the precise manner in which I shall hereafter proceed, both with regard to the business and to my personal intercourse, is still a matter of some difficulty. In my last I sent you the copy of a letter, and am desirous of knowing your sentiments thereupon.

"Upon second thoughts I have thought it more consistent with civility, which ought never to be departed from, to answer the letter, which I have done in the following nugatory words:—'My lord,—Permit me to return your grace my acknowledgments for the letter with which you have honoured me, of the contents of which I will say nothing, as I have already more than sufficiently troubled you with a detail of all the circumstances relative to that unlucky affair. I shall only add that I wish your grace good weather and much pleasure in your tour. . .'"

27.—DUKE OF RUTLAND, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to CHARLEMONT.

1785, October 11, [Dublin,] Phœnix Park.—"I called on your lordship yesterday at Marino, but unfortunately you were from home, which deprived me of the pleasure of viewing a place I have heard so much of. It prevented me likewise from resuming the subjects which we discussed a few days since at the Castle. I have considered it over, and I must confess I still think the present moment to be unseasonable to press that point. My good wishes and inclinations to promote this matter are unaltered, and your lordship may rest assured that I will take the first favourable moments which shall occur to bring forward a recommendation of the measure. Your lordship, I hope, will not urge me beyond that."

28.—WILLIAM BROWNLOW to CHARLEMONT.

1785, October 15, Lurgan.—"When I had last the honor of writing to your lordship, I thought, from the circumstance of the protest, that it might be necessary to call a meeting of the county to counteract it. Upon consideration, I am doubtful of the expediency, or at least of the necessity. Mr. Orde in his last speech put the revival of the bill on its being called for by the people; if the people do not assemble and call for it, of course it is to fall to the ground if he adheres to his declaration. I allow that for the people to meet and reprobate it would be a stronger and better measure if unanimous, but in this county we are not to expect total unanimity, for the protestors would undoubtedly make a party against it, and would procure a counter address or petition. Your lordship may recollect that the grand jury were averse to condemn the commercial part of the bill, and that it was thought advisable not to press that part of the original resolution. It is certain that the northern counties, where the linen manufacture prevails, have less reason to be dissatisfied with the bill than other parts of Ireland, as that trade might benefit by it, and could not suffer; this certainly weighed with some even of the majority of the grand jury, and would operate powerfully in obtaining signatures to a counter resolution. It is then to be considered whether we had not better remain as we are, with an unanimous petition presented to parliament against the general work of the propositions, two-thirds of the grand jury at the assizes declaring their satisfaction at the bill being rejected, the remainder only expressing their incapacity to decide on the merits, and not giving any opinion in favour of it. A grand jury at a succeeding quarter session unanimous against it, commercially as well as constitutionally, no call for a revival either by the body of the people or their representatives. Upon the whole I am inclined to think, from present appearances, that it is better to let it rest and proceed no farther, as we can assign for reason that it would be troubling the county unnecessarily to call them together, their sense being already fully made known to us, but I submit to your lordship's decision, and shall cheerfully acquiesce."

29.—James Stewart to Charlemont.

1785, October 19, Killymoon.—"Many thanks to you, my dear lord, for your kind and most obliging letter, which has relieved me from much anxiety, for I confess to have been apprehensive that you might have proceeded too far in insisting on that exact rectitude from which you could yourself never depart, but which the world does not expect to meet with in ministers. Your answer to the duke was certainly well judged; his letter deserved that return of civility, and your style reminds him of your dissatisfaction. He seems very desirous to preserve your good opinion, and I believe him yet too honest to avail himself of all the privileges which custom allows to statesmen; he will probably do in the end what it would have been much handsomer to have done at first. The situation in which the business now stands makes it likely that the subject will not be very readily received by either side; his assurance of good inclination to promote the matter entitled him to indulgence in point of time, and however sincere his inclination may be, it would necessarily require time to carry it into effect."

30.—Richard Livesay to Charlemont.

1785, October 25, London.—"I am in fear that in consequence of the length of time elapsing before I again have the pleasure of visiting Dublin, and the happiness of seeing your lordship, that you will think I have either neglected or laid aside all thoughts of the business I undertook when in Ireland, neither of which is the case, though I shall not be able to compleat all I wish by the time I return to Dublin, which I purpose shall be at Christmas, or immediately after the holidays. The print from your lordship's portrait is so near being finished, that in less than a fortnight, if an opportunity offers, I can send you a proof, though I have declined having it engraved by Bartolozzi, because his engagements are such that it would have been a much longer time before I could have got it done, and the expense would have been so heavy that I was doubtful of the event. My prints from Hogarth are not yet done, and it will be some time before they are, as you will conclude when I inform your lordship that after as short a stay as I can possibly make in Ireland for the purpose of disposing of the prints from your picture, I have got engagements that will induce me to visit the Continent for the purpose of copying some of the most capital pictures there, an event which on every consideration is to me the most agreeable that could possibly happen, and in a great measure owing to the credit I have got by my copy of the 'Lady's last stake.' Your goodness, my lord, and the kind interest in my success with which you have honored me, must plead my excuse for thus troubling you. I must now inform your lordship the progress I have made in the little commissions of prints I undertook for you. Of the Hogarths I have nearly got all that it is ever likely I shall get. Of those not to be obtained there are a few that I think so valuable in a collection, that I am persuaded you will not think too much of having sketches from, and which, if agreeable, I believe I can get permission to do from lord Exeter's and Mr. Walpole's collections. The prints there referred to are 'The Discovery,' 'A just view of the British Stage,' Frontispiece to Dr. Sharp's pamphlet, 'A Masquerade,' two prints for Milton, and 'Hell gate.' In the three last of these the ideas are so extraordinary, and in the others there is so much of his own unparalleled humour, that any succedaneums for the original prints must be desireable in such a collection as your lordship's. With sketches from these, and the prints I have got, I don't think there will remain anything unpossessed in the collection that need be regretted. Of Bunbury's[1] works the completion will be very easy, but I have had no success in procuring the heads you wrote to me to get. Accident has just now thrown in my way a picture of which I need say no more than that it is the original of the second plate of the 'Harlot's Progress.' The person who possesses it is willing to take from twelve to fifteen guineas for it, and if your lordship should like to purchase, please to favour me with a line per return of post, as I have obtained a promise that it shall not be offered to anyone else before you have had the refusal of it. At the same time, pray let me know if what I have mentioned concerning the Hogarths meets your approbation. I must also trouble you for an impression of your coat of arms, crest, supporters, and motto, for the purpose of the print; the name, if I recollect right, to be only thus:—'The right honorable James, earl of Charlemont,' etc., etc.

"Mrs. Hogarth, who is in very good health for her time of life, desires me to present her grateful respects to your lordship, and when I come to Dublin I shall take charge from her of the picture of the 'Old man's head,' which she will be particularly happy to have placed in your collection."

31.—WILLIAM BROWNLOW to CHARLEMONT.

1785, November 5, Lurgan.—"As I intend to take my leave of the county of Armagh in about ten days, I thought best not to delay a call of the freeholders, and my colleague and I have sent a requisition to the sheriff for that purpose, a copy of which I enclose to your lordship. My opinion was, and is, that there was no necessity to apply to the sheriff, but as Richardson was very averse to passing him by, I complied. If he refuses, then we shall publish the requisition, and name a day for their meeting. I have expected every post to see requisitions to the town of Belfast and county of Antrim, whose example we might follow; but if we should precede them, which I do not expect, I have no doubt the resolutions your lordship mentioned would be carried, but into whose hands they should be put I am really at a loss, as I don't know any man of consequence in the county we could depend on. Blackall is very ready on such occasions, but I am so angry at his receding from the Newry review, and declaring that the Loughgall companies were no longer a part of the northern battalion, that I don't like to ask him. Any of the Lurgan men will do it with pleasure, but they are only linen drapers . . . The country is very wet and dreary; it has rained three days almost without interruption."

---

[1] Henry Bunbury, artist and caricaturist.

32.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1785, November 7, Dublin.—"'We have scotch'd the snake, not killed it,' but it will be our own fault if we should remain in danger of her former tooth. If the people will but unanimously declare their disapprobation, I will venture to say that no farther attack will be hazarded; but then this disapprobation must be so worded as to strike at the fundamental principles of Orde's bill, in order to prevent the usual court trick of gaining over the lukewarm, and affording plausible apology for those who wish to change sides, by slight and trifling alterations, which will in no wise affect the essence of the measure,—a game which will certainly be played unless prevented by the only effectual means. The country has already done much, and some counties have even come near the mark, yet still something is wanting, and this I wish to be done by the town of Belfast, whose constant preeminence in all truly patriotic measures cannot be better marked than by taking the lead upon the present important occasion, and inviting all other parts of Ireland to follow the example. For this purpose I send you enclosed certain resolutions, which have been highly approved by all our friends here, into which I have no doubt but that your city will willingly enter, warmly inviting all other cities and counties to adopt them, an invitation which will, I am confident, meet with general success, many having already been sounded and found ready to accede. The great point is that the country should be tolerably unanimous in declaring the same sentiments, an object which can only be attained by the means I have mentioned, since anything like a congress should cautiously be avoided, as such a measure would alarm our more timid friends, and would give our opponents room for every plausible cavil. Shew, then, the enclosed resolutions to our steady friends, and let them be passed as speedily as possible, with the invitation above mentioned, and I will take care to prepare many other parts of the north for immediate accession, though indeed they seem to me of such a nature as might render such preparation useless, if my countrymen continue to be what they hitherto have been, of which I can harbour no doubt. Believe me, the measure is absolutely necessary, and the only means of securing us against repeated attacks, the possible, not to say probable consequence of which I need not tell you. . . . Remember me to all my friends at Belfast, and assure them that I never more ardently wished for a concurrence of sentiment than I do upon the present occasion, though to coincide in opinion with them has ever been the pride of my life. Adieu. . . . You will observe that the fourth resolution is pointed at a part of the system contained in the original eleven propositions, and, in my opinion, very justly. However, though I would wish the whole to be adopted, if objections should be made to that particular resolution, it may be omitted, rather than hazard any disagreement of opinion. I have this moment received a letter from Mr. Brownlow, who writes me word that he and his colleague have called the county of Armagh. As he has a copy of the resolutions, you should make haste, lest Armagh should be beforehand, and I should be very sorry they did not originate in your town."

33.—HORACE WALPOLE to CHARLEMONT.

i.—1785, November 23, Strawberry Hill.—"Nothing could honour me more than your lordship's commands, nor make me happier than obeying them. Mr. Livesay shall be welcome to make the transcripts you desire, with only a single reservation, which I am sure your lordship will allow me to make when I tell you the cause of my making it, and add, that I believe my reserve will not deprive your lordship of a copy, as I have heard that another proof has been found. In a word, my lord, I have an emblematic print by Hogarth, of which no other was known. I have twice positively refused to let mine be copied--not from the narrow selfishness of a collector who envies others a similar possession; but I had a very particular reason for my refusal, which I would tell your lordship if I had the honour of seeing you. As it is, I should now give great offence if I granted what I absolutely denied before—and I am persuaded lord Charlemont does not wish me to make personal enemies. I heard last winter that Mr. Gulston, I think it was, had discovered another proof. His collection is going to be sold, and I am told will employ forty days. If he had such a print, it will most probably be copied, unless sold at an extravagant price, which I am sorry to say I have partly been the cause of his worst works bearing. The new edition of the tragedy,[1] for which your lordship is pleased to express a wish, shall be at your command as soon as I go to London, as I have not a copy here; but this edition has not the merit of the first impression—I mean, of being printed here, and of being a rarity. I was forced to make Dodsley print in haste a sufficient number for sale, to prevent a spurious edition that was advertised. My advertisement fortunately did stop the other impression, as I had hoped, and, having done so, I never published my own. Notes I believe there are none, but the references to two or three passages alluded to, and which were also in the first edition; but in the second I omitted the postscript, which contained a kind of apology for the offensiveness of the subject, and I thought it more decent and respectful to the public to plead guilty, than to attempt to defend what I know was so faulty. If your lordship will be so good as to let me know how I may convey the play, I will take the liberty of adding another piece, which tho' in some measure mine too, will carry with it a full compensation; tho' I doubt that compensation will be proof of my own vanity. As your lordship has given me this opportunity, I cannot resist saying what I was exceedingly tempted to mention two or three years ago, but had not the confidence. In short, my lord, when the Order of St. Patrick[2] was instituted, I had a mind to hint to your lordship that it was exactly the moment for seizing an occasion that has been irretrievably lost to this country. When I was at Paris, I found in the convent of Les Grands Augustins three vast chambers filled with the portraits (and their names and titles beneath) of all the knights of the Saint Esprit, from the foundation of the order. Every new knight, with few exceptions, gives his own portrait on his creation. Of the Order of St. Patrick I think but one founder is dead[1] yet, and his picture, perhaps, may be retrieved. I will not make any apology to so good a patriot as your lordship for proposing a plan that tends to the honour of his country, which I will presume to call mine, too, as it is both by union and by my affection for it. I should wish the name of the painter inscribed, too, which would incite emulation in your artists—but it is unnecessary to dilate on the subject to your lordship, who as a patron of the arts, as well as a patriot, will improve on my imperfect thoughts, and, if you approve of them, can give them stability."

---

[1] *See* vol. i. p. 302.

[2] *See* vol. i. p. 151.

33,—ii.—1785, December 9, Berkeley Square.—"Mr. Walpole has received the honor of lord Charlemont's letter, but is quite incapable of answering it, being laid up by a severe attack of the gout in his whole right arm and hand. He sends the inclosed two books, of which he begs his lordship's acceptance, to Mr. Malone, with whom he has the pleasure of being acquainted. The portraits of the knights of Saint Esprit, at Paris, are only heads on panel, which touch one another. The head of the comte de Grammont, of which Mr. Walpole has a copy, is in armour. Perhaps the Grand Masters might be whole or half-lengths, in the dress of the order, to shew the habit, other knights in their own robes of peers, or in the dress of the times; but it ought to be an inviolable rule, that no fantastic dresses should be allowed in a national and historic monument. If the whole present number would consent to sit at once, it might be worth the while of a good painter to go from London to paint them."

34.—EDMOND MALONE to CHARLEMONT.

1785, December 17, London.—"Though it is a great while since I have written to you, I am sure it is entirely unnecessary for me to assure you that you have not been out of my thoughts; and I flatter myself you will not be displeased once more to see the hand of an old friend. I take up the pen at present merely on a matter of business. The bearer, Mr. Rigge, I am not personally acquainted with, but he has been recommended to me by a friend, and the scheme that he is engaged in is of some importance to Ireland. To avoid the restrictions of the East India Company here, his intention is to proceed from some port in Ireland to the Cape of Good Hope; from thence to the north-west coast of America, which was discovered by Captain Cook in his last voyage, there to trade for furs; and from thence to China to sell the furs, and (if not prevented by an Irish act of Parliament) to load his ship there with tea and china, &c., for Ireland. This was his original scheme; but I imagine there is an Irish act of Parliament (made, I believe, within this century, to fortify the monopoly of the East India Company here) that will prevent him from executing the latter part of his scheme—I mean the bringing back tea from China directly to Ireland. But surely if there was such an act formerly made, it would now be wise to move for a repeal of it, as it is a great drawback on our boasted free trade, and, by its repeal, a new and very advantageous commerce might be opened to Ireland Mr. Rigge is desirous of shewing our countrymen the way to it, and at all events is determined to clear out his ship from some port in Ireland (which he cannot, I imagine, be prevented from doing), although he should be restrained by an Irish statute from making his back passage so profitable as he originally hoped it would have been. If this gentleman should meet with any difficulty in getting his clearance from the Irish port, I am sure you will with pleasure assist him, in order to effectuate a national object. Mr. Walpole, two days ago, sent me a small parcel for you. . I have a quarto volume of Shakspeare, bound in morocco, ready for you this year past, and know not how to convey it, though several friends have gone from hence to Dublin within that time; for, by its being packed in a postchaise trunk, it would be entirely spoiled. Do you want any books at present from hence? If that should happen to be the case, and you will send me a list of them, I can put the Shakspeare up with them in a small case, and send it either by long sea, or by the Chester waggon. My edition of Shakespeare takes up all my time at present. I have printed about half my work, but it will be a full year before it will be compleated. The newest productions here are Mr. Heron's (alias Mr. Pinkerton's) 'Letters on Literature,' and Boswell's Tour. Pinkerton is worth your looking at, if you wish to be acquainted with the most consummate coxcomb that ever brandished a pen, and to read as much 'saucy folly' as can well be crammed into an octavo volume. All that is true in it is old; and whatever is new is false. Boswell's Tour sold so rapidly that it was immediately out of print, and a new edition, much more correct than the former, is to be out in a few days.

---

[1] Henry Loftus, earl of Ely, died on 8 May 1783.

35.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1785, December 17, Dublin.—"The day fixed for the Antrim meeting appears indeed to be rather late, and yet, perhaps, it may not be amiss that the resolutions of that great and respectable county should immediately precede the sitting of Parliament, as they will by that means be more fresh in those minds upon which we wish to impress them. If any other matter should occur of which it might be necessary to inform the country, you may be assured that I will not fail to state it to you, but at present I know of nothing that can be added to the resolutions entered into at Belfast. Indeed, if we can give credit to the [Dublin] Castle folk, they are all unanimous in declaring that, since the people have so strongly expressed their disapprobation, the measure will not in any shape be brought forward in the approaching session. Should this be true, as I have some reason to flatter myself, we have really and essentially served our country, and have only to proceed as we have begun."

36.—Haliday to Charlemont.

1785, December 27, Belfast.—"I spent Saturday at Shane's Castle, and was delighted to hear Mr. O'Neill[1] express himself with such animation against this reprobated bill and in behalf of the independency and rights of Ireland; he lamented at the same time that opposition was but a rope of sand, and seem'd anxious that some means could be found to cement and bind it together. Nothing he thought more likely to do this than the establishment of a club, of a very few at first; two or three peers and twice as many commoners of weight would be sufficient, others to be admitted afterwards through the ordeal of a strict ballot, and none but the members ever to be present; in such a meeting information would be communicated of what was going, or likely to be brought forward, plans of resistance formed, and departments in the debates assigned. Such an institution, he thought, would prevent confusion (which was very near taking place on the introduction of Orde's bill, very fatally for this country), would awe administration and give confidence and efficacy to patriotism. The society should meet at some public room or house; in private houses they could neither be so safe from intrigue, or so secure of secrecy; other objections: people would not go to the duke's, for instance, for fear of being styled his men. I own, my lord, I thought the scheme a good one; we have English example for it. Was not the Thatched House such a place? If you could break down the impractibility of a Flood, for instance, by such a measure, and get him to act in concert and upon a system, that alone would be a great matter; at any rate, I determined to communicate these outlines of our tête-à-tête to your lordship, that you might turn the matter over in your thoughts.

---

[1] Right honourable John O'Neill, Shane's Castle, Antrim, member of parliament for Antrim, created viscount O'Neill in 1793.

"Mr. O'Neill will be up at the meeting of parliament, and will not leave the kingdom until the middle of March, nor even then, I believe, if his longer attendance be necessary.

"You have so often pardoned my impertinence, that it would not be fair to trouble you with any apology for this fresh instance of it."

37.—JOHN KEARNEY, D.D.,[1] to CHARLEMONT.

1786, January 24, London.—"You are not to understand that I have been so completely forgetful of my duty as a member of the [Royal] Irish Academy, as not to have paid my respects at sir Joseph Banks'[2] levée. I have gone through that ceremony, and offered incense at the shrine of the clumsy idol, and am to be repaid for my homage by a dinner next Saturday. The farce is not unentertaining, but does not leave behind it any comfortable impressions of the characters of men of science.

"I have been this day employed in an attempt, in which I consider the interests of our college as materially concerned; and, though not sanguine, yet have some hopes of success. The duke of Gloucester[3] is, I believe, dead, and our chancellorship vacant. If my scheme succeeds, your lordship will be elected in his place—but I have doubts of the spirit of some of the members of our board, and perhaps of something more in others. The choice of any Englishman, particularly of one whose high connexions would make him neglect such petty objects as we are, would be a sacrifice of our safety. You will excuse me for being earnest in this object without asking your lordship's leave; but, you may be assured, I shall take no step at which any friend can be offended. I shall write soon to Ussher, and if he can be fixed the event is attainable."

---

[1] Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin; vice-provost, 1785; provost, 1799; bishop of Ossory, 1806.

[2] President of the Royal Society, London, and an original member of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

[3] William Henry, younger brother of George III., was chancellor of Trinity College, Dublin, from 1771 till his death in 1805.

38.—MALONE to CHARLEMONT.

1786, February 18, London.—"I ought long since to have thanked you for your very kind letter, which I received above a month ago. And now here is another before me to reproach me silently for not having sooner written to you. Instead, however, of taking up your time with apologies, I will only tell you that I was much pleased to be honoured with your commissions, and though but an idle correspondent, I am a diligent factor, for I executed them both immediately. Our friend Payne at the Mews' gate has several of the books in your list, and will look out for those which he has not; as soon as they are collected I will review them, and examine the state of the copies, etc. I called upon Mr. Norris, the secretary of the Antiquarian Society, and find his demand against you is no less than 28*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* I have not yet had time to go to Nesbitt's, but will call there early next week, and draw on you for a sum of 50*l.*, for you must know you are going to lay out a great deal of money within these few days. Poor Henderson's[1] books are to be sold next Monday and the five following days. He was very rich in old plays, his collection being, I believe, the greatest in England except Garrick's and my own. I hope to get about twenty plays there for myself, and at least double that number for you. We must buy to a great disadvantage, in consequence of our collections being already so rich; that is to say, a whole volume full of curiosities for the sake of one play, perhaps, or two at the most. I must endeavour to get rid of such as we do not want, as well as I can, afterwards. Luckily I have kept a very exact list of all the plays I sent you, so you will not be in danger of receiving duplicates. The remainder of the 50*l.*, after paying Mr. Norris (which will be 21*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*), I mean as a fund for Henderson's sale; if it should not be all expended, what remains may be applied in part of Payne's bill; but there is no need of immediate payment there. With respect to former accounts, you ought to have a little abstract of them. In November 1782, I drew on you for ten guineas. Thus it was disposed of:—to a balance due to me of a former account, 4*l.* 13*s.* 5*d.*; to twelve plays, Dr. Musgrave's book, Tyrwhitt's and Warton's books, 'Theophila,' 'England's Parnassus,' etc., 3*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.*; to binding, 10*s.* 6*d.*; to laying eight of Shakspeare's plays into paper, 16*s.*; to paper for the work, 4*s.*; to binding in morocco, 11*s.*—10*l.* 11*s.*

"We have now therefore a new account to begin; and if books keep up to the high price they went at this morning at the sale of a Mr. Tutet,[2] an antiquary, I fear I shall not be able to do much for you without a long purse. I bid two guineas for a copy of the 'Roman de la Rose,' which I recollected you had some time ago commissioned me to buy, but did not get it. You may judge of the prices by what the following books sold for:—'Chronicle of Sir John Oldcastle,' reprinted in 1729, on vellum, 6*l.* 6*s.*; 'Spaccio della bestia trionfante,' 7*l.* 7*s.*; 'Expositio S. Hieronimi,' Oxon., 1468, 16*l.* 5*s.*; 'Froissart,' 16*l.* 16*s.*; Caxton's 'Recuyell,' etc., 21*l.*; Cicero's 'Offices,' 1466, 25*l.* 10*s.* There were seven very fine quartos of Shakspeare, but unluckily but one that I wanted either for myself or you; and the very same copies are in Henderson's catalogue, so that we shall make no accession to our Shakspeare store.

---

[1] John Henderson, actor, author of "Letters and Poems," died in 1785. His performance as "Falstaff" was regarded as unrivalled.

[2] Mark Cephas Tutet, F.S.A., died 9 July 1785. The sale of his coins, medals, books, and prints by auction extended from 11 January 1786 to the 18th of the following month.

"Here is a true blank letter. I ought to send you some politics, but there is but little bustle at present. Burke made his charge yesterday against Mr. Hastings in a most masterly manner. He was up an hour and fifty minutes and kept his temper well, and was heard with great attention. He is confident he will substantiate the charges on which the impeachment is to be grounded; but, as for anything further, he has not a hope. I suppose you know that baron Eyre[1] is certainly to be your chancellor when lord Lifford's[2] terms can be a little fined down. I asked Mr. Walpole what you desired. There have been no letters published between him and Voltaire."

39.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1786, February 25, Dublin.—"To write to you and to give you trouble are usually with me phrases of the same import, and therefore my letters ought always to begin with apologies. But as, though troublesome, I do not wish to be tiresome, I will wave all dull apologetical stuff, and boldly proceed to inform you that I send you adjoined an advertisement to be immediately inserted into the Belfast paper, intimating, as usual, my wish to my Volunteer friends that they would meet and settle matters for the summer review. And surely, if ever commission demanded an apology, this most certainly does, since your executing it will probably be the prelude to your own trouble. I have no news for you, and, if I had, have at present no time to tell it, being this instant obliged to go down to the house to vote in vain against the new mode of franking letters, which, fresh from writing to you, I shall do with redoubled spite. Our labours, you see, respecting the wicked adjustment have not been fruitless, and the spirit of the people has prevailed, as it ever will, I trust, when properly directed. Never was a greater and more important victory. . . .

"I have talked with O'Neill upon the subject of your last letter; some difficulties occur in the execution, but possibly not insurmountable. The following advertisement to be inserted six times in the Belfast paper:—'The earl of Charlemont takes this method of reminding the Volunteers of Ulster that the time for settling all matters relative to the summer reviews is now at hand, and of intimating his desire that meetings should, as usual, be held for that purpose.'"

40.—Richard Livesay to Charlemont.

i.—1786, March 10, London.—"You will doubtless wonder at not having seen me in Dublin before this time, and be almost ready to think I shall not come at all, which indeed I believe will be the case; and I don't think you will blame me when I mention the cause that has, and I believe will now prevent me coming to Ireland. Since I last wrote to your lordship I have had the honor to be employed in making a copy of a picture of three of the royal children, and my picture, though not yet finished, gives such satisfaction as I believe will be of very great consequence to me in my intended grand tour. Such an event as this I have no doubt will plead my excuse with your lordship for the delay and seeming neglect which has attended the business of your portrait[1]—a delay which, if I had inadvertently taken money from gentlemen when they did me the honor to subscribe, would have given me great uneasiness. However, as the case now stands, I am not free from vexation, though not without hope that when all circumstances are considered I shall in general stand excused.

---

[1] James Eyre, baron of the exchequer, England, appointed chief baron in January 1787.

[2] James Hewitt, lord Lifford, appointed chancellor of Ireland in 1767, died in 1789.

"My intention now respecting your lordship's prints is to send them to Mr. Callaghan[2] and Mr. Allen[3] to dispose of, but such as are for your lordship's own use and particular friends, if you'll honor me with your commands, I will be particularly attentive to them and enclose a parcel in the box directed to your lordship. As for the portrait, let me intreat you will accept it as a small token of that gratitude and respect which I shall ever feel for your lordship.

"I must now inform you, my lord, what I have done in the Hogarth collection, where I assure you I have made considerable progress, though in a few instances I am afraid you will think I have been too much infected with the madness that at present rages with tenfold violence respecting the works of that wonderful man.

"There is now just concluded a very capital sale of prints, the property of a Mr. Gulstone, a gentleman who has unhappily spent a large fortune and therefore is obliged to sell. Among them is a collection of Hogarth's, all of which bring very great prices, and the scarce ones go at astonishing rates, as you'll say when I mention 33*l.* for a small print —about the size of a crown piece—of the 'Rape of the Lock,' which was engraved on a gold snuff box and presented to Mr. Pope; upwards of 40*l.* for a single print of 'Evening,' one of the 'Times of the Day,' the value of it consisting in not having the little girl in. Twenty-five pounds I have given, by order of a gentleman, for the small print of Hogarth's 'Shop Bill,' of which I shall send your lordship a drawing; and I went as far as half that sum for another for you, and, though I don't believe I should have got it at any rate, I durst not go further.

"Engravings of coats of arms have sold for six and seven guineas each, but those I have not meddled with. One print only have I given a monstrous price for, namely, the 'Tankard,' which—and Hogarth's 'Shop Bill'—are of all those kind of things the most valuable, as shewing that degree of excellence in engraving, which would alone have ranked the author of them in the first class of engravers, had he never shewn further marks of genius; but when we take these and add them to the account of his grand works, he justly claims the epithet of wonderful. The world has now begun to find out that he was a fine painter.

"The few other scarce prints which I have got, namely, one of the Miltons, one original 'Kent's Altar-piece,' one original 'Sarah Malcolm,' one of the 'Masquerade,' though very high priced, are, all things considered, reasonable. Of the 'Booth, Wilkes, and Cibber' the plate has by great chance been found, with a picture painted by Hogarth on the back of it; I have purchased it, and shall publish it if I find I can print it without injury to the picture on the back. The 'Frontispiece' I will wait some time longer in hopes of getting, before I make a drawing; and the 'Satan, Sin, and Death' I have got leave to make a copy of by giving a great premium—which must be a secret—to the proprietor of the print. I believe all these acquisitions will supersede the necessity of my making the drawings I mentioned to your lordship, excepting in the case of the 'Discovery' and the 'Frontispiece.' Of the latter I am in hopes of getting the print; of the former I believe we must be contented with a drawing, and also a drawing of one of the Miltons. The collectors are getting so jealous of their possessions that I believe all of them are by 'standing orders' closed even from the liberty of making sketches from scarce prints. To me only is lord Exeter's collection open for that purpose, and which I shall make use of for your lordship in the few instances that will now be necessary.

---

[1] A full-length portrait of lord Charlemont, now in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

[2], [3] Publishers of prints at Dublin.

"I intended in this letter to have enclosed the list of the prints I have got, but I am sure I must ere now have sufficiently tired you; therefore I will omit it for a few days, when I shall have them all ready to pack up, and by the time I can receive a line from you respecting the portrait, which is now printing, everything will be ready except the drawings, which I must beg leave to postpone until I have finished the picture of the princesses. However, as the drawings will be but few, I will not keep the prints until they are done, for two reasons. One is that I wish you to have them as soon as possible, and the other is that in the purchasing of them I have rather inconvenienced myself, which I know you will kindly remedy as soon as I let you know what that remedy is to be."

40, ii.— 1786, March 26, London.—"I have received your kind favour of the 14th instant, for which I am extremely obliged, and feel your lordship's friendly intention respecting the portrait,[1] which must stand in the predicament you have placed it, for I thereby shall have additional pleasure in the sale of the print, if it is such as will induce your lordship to accept the picture.

"The account of the Hogarths I have here inclosed, and shall send the prints in a few days by a gentleman of the name of Pelham, who will deliver them to your lordship. The original of 'Kent's Altar-piece' —as you have a copy—I shall not send, and of the other three or four that are high-priced I don't think your lordship will regret the possessing them, when it is considered that they acquire an increased value when placed in a collection; and, I really believe, whenever they are in future met with separately, their prices will be yet higher. The few things that are now wanting will be got at a small expense, and I will not give a higher price for any print without previously informing your lordship.

"With your lordship's approbation, I could wish to have the picture of the 'Harlot's Progress' put into a public auction, in order to clear myself from any imputation of buying and selling privately a picture, the property of which, though I bought fairly of a gentleman, is in some degree doubtful; for several gentlemen who have seen it in my possession, admiring it and admitting its originality, make the same observation that your lordship did, of how came it out of Mr. Beckford's possession? Now, I conceive that the putting it in an auction will clearly exonerate me from all blame, and if any dispute arises I can apply to the person I had it of, and though it will probably run high, yet whoever bids for it I would buy it in for your lordship, not meaning to have you pay more than you would have done had it not been put into the auction, excepting the expenses attending thereon, which I think would not be ill bestowed to obtain a clear title. However, in the whole of this matter, I will be entirely guided by your lordship's opinion and judgment. Please to direct to me No. 209, St. John's Street, as, if the letter goes to Leicester Fields, it may be longer in reaching me.

"Among the prints will be two numbers of new Hogarths, containing a few copies from scarce prints and the others from original pictures and drawings in the collection of Mr. Ireland, etched by himself; and I believe in time there will be copies of most of the extra scarce prints, except the 'Miltons,' which have too much work in them to answer unless the number of collectors should increase to about a hundred, which I don't expect for some time to come."

---

[1] *See* p. 27.

41.—JANE HOGARTH to CHARLEMONT.

1786, April 7, London, Leicester Fields.—"Mrs. Hogarth presents her most respectful compliments to lord Charlemont and acquaints his lordship, she having an opportunity of sending old Coombe's picture in a box, has sent it to Mr. Callaghan, Dublin, your lordship having wrote to Mr. Livesay to bring it when he came to Ireland. It being uncertain whether Mr. Livesay goes there or not, Mrs. Hogarth would not miss the present conveyance. The hearing of its safe arrival, if his lordship will honor Mrs. Hogarth with a line, it will be esteemed an additional obligation to the many favors already conferred on her by your lordship."

42.—RICHARD LIVESAY to CHARLEMONT.

1786, April 8, London.—"The two prints of the 'Tankard' and the 'Milton' I will keep in mind to dispose of the first convenient opportunity; but in the meantime I purpose sending them by Mr. Pelham, who, I believe, will set off next Monday or Tuesday, and I am persuaded your lordship will think more highly of them, particularly the 'Milton,' than you can have done from Mr. Nichols' description.

"I have had a great deal of vexation respecting your portrait between the engraver and the printer, but I hope a few days more will produce it to my liking, when there shall not be a moment lost in sending it over, as I should be very sorry to lose this season for the sale of it."

43.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1786, May 29, Dublin.—"I am almost inclined to wish that you were not one of the best of men, or at least that you were not universally acknowledged as such, for I cannot bring myself to desire that your goodness towards me was not generally known. These two truths, however, make me cursedly troublesome to you. Here has been just now my friend, the aerial Crosbie,[1] who, having some idea of carrying his balloon to Belfast, in order that it may from thence carry him across the Channel, swears to me that he cannot think of going thither without having the honour and pleasure of being known to Doctor Haliday. The man is perfectly right, and I have not a word to offer in contradiction to his wise resolution, and so I am obliged to sit down and beg of you to suffer him to wait on you at his arrival. When that will be I know not, but probably at the time of the review, when you will be plagued with the general and his suite. So you see what a deal of trouble is prepared for you; nothing can save you but a patient at the point of death. . I will make no apologies; indeed, in the present instance, I need them less than I usually do, as your trouble will be paid by the acquaintance of a truly amiable and sensible man."

44.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1786, June 1, Belfast.—"I need not tell your lordship how happy I should be to render any services in my power to any person recommended by your lordship, or to a gentleman of Mr. Crosbie's[2] character without other recommendation; but I confess I cannot relish this scheme of his, either on his own account or that of my fellow citizens. He must (and I apprehend this would be the case) be disappointed of that encouragement and reward which his ingenuity and intrepidity so well merit, or some very important interests of this place must in some degree be sacrified to them. To explain myself, we are at this time labouring to effectuate sundry measures of great moment and expense—the establishing our white linen market and completing the buildings necessary for it; the founding an academy for education, on a very enlarged plan and on the most liberal and comprehensive principles; the deepening and improving our harbour; the supporting our poor-house, a most excellent institution, in danger of failing for want of sufficient funds. Unassisted in public treasure, we have but ourselves to trust to for all this. With all our efforts, and with contributions as liberal as could reasonably be expected (in some instances far beyond this), we are sinking under such accumulated weight; to which might be added the keeping up the Volunteer force, which cannot be done but by the most spirited exertions of the corps themselves, nor without adventitious aid. I shall then submit it to your lordship whether any scheme necessarily to be followed by expense to the people, and certainly to be productive of no good to them, should be encouraged here, especially when you take into account that protracted idleness which will be the consequence of this epilogue to our review, and must be considered as a great evil in a place just entering on a contest with Manchester in her peculiar fabrics. I am not giving you merely my own, but the decided sentiments of all the considerate people with whom I have conversed on the subject, that gentleman among others whom you particularly mentioned. The mere waste of useful materials which goes to the inflating these useless balloons would be a sufficient objection were there none other; for the cui bono has never yet, I think, been satisfactorily answered. Let then these light gaudy machines, with superb empty custom-houses and hollow police bills, remain with other vain and costly luxuries in the metropolis, and let poor people be frugal and mind their business. Should Mr. Crosbie, however, persist in his purpose of honouring us with a visit, I shall be happy in shewing him every civility in my power, but on my principles I can go no farther; indeed, I think, independently of local objections, it is high time to desist from these aerial excursions, which only serve to set people a-gazing, when they should be looking attentively on things within, or contiguous to themselves. These are awful times. Our great bubble of independency is not filled, I fear, with inflammable air to keep it up by an inward energy of its own but with smoke and the same outward agent, to whose seeming bounty it owes its inquietude and appearance, is insidiously destroying it. Poor Pilatre de Rozier[1]!"

---

[1], [2] *See* p. 2.

45.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1786, June 17, Dublin.—"Perfectly of your mind in all you have said respecting balloons. You have precisely stated my own ideas, though far better expressed than they could have been by me; you have sent me my own thoughts in a Haliday dress. I detest balloons, which I look upon as the silly invention of a trifling age, and, indeed, an excellent sample of those manners which prefer curiosity to use and bubbles to solidity. A boy's kite appears to me as amusing and to the full as useful; but, even allowing them all the merit which their greatest favourers would wish to bestow on them, a slight perusal of your Belfast expenses would make any man in his senses devoutly deprecate the diverting a single shilling to an object so puerile. Go on and prosper, strengthen, enrich, and adorn your country by your plans of education and manufactures. Cultivate the elements of earth, water and fire, and leave the air to metropolitan visionaries and idlers. My friendship for Crosbie[1] alone induced me to write to you at his earnest request. He is really an excellent man, and, bating his 'ballon-manie,' which he will never get rid of till he has crossed the channel or drowned himself, is calculated to be a most useful member of society. Upon the receipt of your letter I sent for him, told him your sentiments, and detailed your arguments. He did not—because he could not—make battle; but assured me that many of your citizens had wished for his coming, and had even offered to subscribe largely. How he will determine I know not, but believe that if he should meet with encouragement here he will drop his Belfast scheme. Should he go, I only beg that you would distinguish between him and his balloon; be civil to the one, and as rude as you please to the other. My affection for him, which is really great, has alone induced me to patronize his plans, and every balloon but Crosbie's is odious to me. With respect to public matters I shall say nothing till we meet—only that I think you rather too desponding. The country is gaining ground, and the stronger she is the safer she must be. Four towns like Belfast would secure everything. We have lately shewn that we are neither to be bullied nor imposed upon, and our victory upon this occasion must be attended by the most salutary consequences. . . . [George Robert] Fitzgerald was hanged[2] at one o'clock last Monday [12 June, 1786]."

---

[1] French aeronaut, killed by fall from balloon in June 1785.

46.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1786, July 3, Dublin.—"Since you have again desired to be plagued with me, it is but just that you should be informed when your trouble is to begin. On Monday, the tenth, I shall sleep at Hillsborough, and dine at Belfast on Tuesday, the eleventh. If the troop mean to escort me, it will be necessary that they should be acquainted with my intentions. What sort of weather have you in the north? Here we have had great rains, which have not only injured my hay, but my health also; my nerves are sadly oppressed, particularly those of my head and eyes. The campaign perhaps will cure me—at least, I am sure the sight of the doctor will do me good."

47.—JANE HOGARTH to CHARLEMONT.

1786, July 24, Chiswick.—"Your lordship's kind as well as most friendly letter, with an enclosed draft (the which has been received of Mr. Nesbitt), I should have acknowledged the being honored with before this, if it had not been for a severe fit of the gout, with which I have been attacked, therefore hope your lordship will pardon my omission, and accept my most grateful acknowledgment and thanks for all the favors conferred on me, particularly for the kind and affectionate epithet bestowed by you on Mr. Hogarth. I am happy that old Coram[3] is in your lordship's collection, and any other painting I have in my possession I shall with pleasure oblige you with."

---

[1] *See* p. 2.

[2] At Castlebar, county of Mayo.

[3] Hogarth's portrait of Captain Thomas Coram, through whose exertions the Foundling Hospital, London was established in 1739.

48.—Richard Livesay to Charlemont.

i.—1786, September 18, London.—"You must think I am either dead or lost at not hearing from me of so long a time, and indeed I am quite ashamed at my omission, and would not for a great deal have you half so angry at me as I am at myself. The best plea I can make in my excuse is that writing so much might trouble you, and I know in the summer months you would be engaged in the country reviewing; therefore I thought connoisseurship might sleep a little. However, if you will kindly forgive me for my fault in not writing, you shall find I have not been so neglectful in other respects. I have had the picture of the 'Harlot's Progress' passed through a public auction, which, though it was not a capital sale, being public, was all I wanted; but since then I have got such opinions of its value as are highly pleasing. Mr. West tells me that, considering every circumstance, the picture is [worth] two hundred guineas to any gentleman. Other capital artists and gentlemen of great knowledge in pictures are of a similar opinion; and yet, strange to tell, I bought it in at the auction at thirty guineas, and Sir Joshua Reynolds is not quite ready to pronounce upon its originality. He has seen it only once, but I intend to shew it to him again before I send it off. Mr. Walpole has no doubt of its originality.

"In the course of this week, I intend to pack it up with the prints and drawings I have got, and your portrait, and I hope they will come safely and speedily to hand.

"I must now inform your lordship of a droll humour that has seized the collectors of Hogarths of not suffering the least sketch or drawing to be made from scarce prints; so that, except the 'Satan, Sin and Death,' and the other print of Milton (which I have paid for the permission of drawing from), I don't think I shall be able to get any memorandum of three or four others I wished to do, viz., the 'Inhabitants of the Moon,' the 'Frontispiece,' and the 'Black woman in bed'; with one or two more in Lord Exeter's collection that I do not now recollect. Within this fortnight I bought three prints, two of which, I think, will be particularly desirable, and the other, though not quite so much so, yet, as I could not get them separately, I was glad to take them together. The first is 'Sancho at supper,' with Hogarth's portrait in the person of Sancho; the second, a mezzotint portrait done in Ireland, but exceeding scarce; and the third, the 'Angel and Palm' shop-bill—not behind either of them in scarcity, though perhaps not of equal value in your lordship's opinion. With the accession of these portraits, I believe in that point you will be complete.

"The original 'Kent's Altar-piece' I have not parted from, therefore will send it, also the 'Rabbit-woman, 'Taste in High Life,' 'South-Sea Lottery,' 'Political glyster,' and 'Mystery of Masonry'; but the large portrait of Herring[1] and the first impressions of 'The Bench' and 'Sleeping Congregation' I have not yet been able to get. Here, I believe, will end for the present what I can do for your lordship in this business, as I keep a list of what I send, and what you yet want that are effectual, I hope a favourable opportunity may offer of getting them; if not, we must be content. You have expressed a wish to know how that sketch came on the print of 'Sarah Malcolm.' I am of opinion he [Hogarth] made it with an intention to have engraved it there, but dropped the idea. The history of 'Old Coombes,' as far as I know, is that he was a poor labouring man in Dorsetshire, who had lived and laboured very hard, and at the time his portrait was painted had so much strength left as to walk five or six miles to sit, but soon after, being taken into a gentleman's family, ease and good living killed him. The value of pictures depends so much on accident and opinion, that I don't know anything more difficult than fixing a value upon them. However, as far as my judgment extends, I think the head of Coombes very well worth 20*l*.

---

[1] Thomas Herring, archbishop of Canterbury, 1747–1756.

"I am exceedingly sorry to hear from Mr. Callaghan that the prints of your lordship are not so well approved of as I could wish. When I sent them, I selected half a dozen of the best proofs, and desired he would deliver them to you; but whether he has or not, I don't know. From the number I had subscribed for, added to what you have and some sold to Mr. Callaghan, I [guarded][1] myself from loss, with which I should be [content],[1] but I have reason to fear some of the subscribers will fail me, which I can't help considering unkind, for they may well suppose no endeavours of mine have been wanting to have it well done; but I have not been well treated by the engraver.[2] However, let the event turn out as it may, your lordship's kindness to me in sitting and intention thereby to serve me is still the same, and I should be ashamed in consequence of ill success in one part of the business to comfort myself by loading you with an expence which primarily you had no intention to incur, nor I any thought or right to expect; therefore I must repeat my request of your acceptance of the picture."

48, ii. 1786, October 7, London.—"On Thursday I delivered to the Chester waggon a case directed for your lordship containing all the things I mentioned in my last letter. . . . I believe I have nothing to add to the account I gave your lordship in my last respecting prints and drawings, saving that by the favour of a gentleman I am enabled to send you a sketch from the 'Frontispiece,' and by mistake mentioned sending a print of the 'Rabbit woman,' which I am not able to get.

"I have shewed the picture[3] to Sir Joshua Reynolds again, who is now fully convinced it is original, as is Mrs. Hogarth; so that it now comes to your lordship with the completest authority of its being original. I will candidly confess I feel some regret at parting with it; and give me leave to say that if, on inspection, it should happen not to interest your lordship so greatly as it does me, it will very far from mortify me to receive it again. I hope you will not think amiss my having got the picture cleaned and lined and the frame re-gilt; for though I should not be sorry it should not please, yet I have taken every means in my power to make it pleasing.

"I dare say your lordship will be a little surprised to find me still in England; but I have the pleasure to inform you that I believe the delay of my setting out will be attended with considerable advantage to me when I do go, as the consequence of my commissions will thereby be much encreased. At least until next spring I shall not now go, and before I set off I wish to God some happy concurrence of circumstances would bring your lordship to England. . .

"I have enclosed my account, in which there are two articles that appear more than moderate, viz., the three drawings and the three scarce prints. But when you consider that the power to make two of the drawings cost me almost half the amount of them, and that, respecting the prints, in the whole course of my hunting after Hogarths, I never before met with them, I believe your lordship will not think too much of them.

---

[1] MS. torn.

[2] John Dean. According to an inscription on the engraving it was published in London on 20 December 1785.

[3] One of the series of the "Harlot's Progress," *see* p. 36.

[Enclosure.]

"London, October 7, 1786. The right honorable the earl of Charlemont to Richard Livesay.—Balance of account delivered, 13*l.* 3*s.*; Hogarth's head, 'Sancho at supper,' and the 'Angel and palm' shop-bill, 5*l.* 5*s.*; drawing of 'Satan,' ditto from Milton, ditto 'Frontispiece,' 7*l.* 7*s.*; original of 'Kent's Altar-piece,' 3*l.* 3*s.*; the 'Lottery, South-Sea,' Gormagon's 'Political glyster,' and 'Taste in high life,' 12*s.* 6*d.*; 'Terræ filius,' 'Richardson,' and a 'Child's head,' 14*s.* 6*d.*; six proofs of your own portrait, 6*l.* 6*s.*—36*l.* 11*s.* Packing case, 4*s.*—36*l.* 15*s.*

Cost of the picture was 15*l.* 15*s.*; cleaning, lining, etc., 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* —18*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*"

49.—EDMUND BURKE to CHARLEMONT.

1786, October —, Oldtown.—"Our rapid motions and little time must be our excuse for every irregularity. This, I fear, will not be sufficient in itself; whatever is wanting, and much is wanting, must be drawn for upon your large fund of good nature. You wished us to name a day for dining with Mr. Ponsonby, but whether with you at his house or with him at yours, I really do not recollect. Whichever way it turns out, we are equally at your lordship's service, secure that in either way we shall have the satisfaction of your company, and that will be on Wednesday next, if you please."

50.—CHARLEMONT to MALONE.

1786, November 1, Dublin.—"You ought sometimes to transgress, as you know so well to make up for your transgressions. You were, to be sure, too long silent, but your last kind letter has more than compensated for that fault; neither should your silence have prevented my teazing you with repeated letters, if I had not been absolutely precluded from writing by a weakness of sight by which I have been horribly tormented and which, for your comfort, though better than it had been, will render this letter much shorter than I could wish. Your acquisition for me is magnificent, and what is still better than magnificence, though seldom allied with it, extremely cheap; you are certainly the best book-jockey that ever existed. I long to see my new old treasure, and expect it daily. Payne, however, has not been quite so active as you have been, as I do not find that he sends some of the principal books on my list. The best quarto of Dante is surely to be had in London. Have you endeavoured to make Elmsley send me a complete third volume of the life of Petrarch instead of the imperfect one which I had from him? You see how I teaze you; but you may thank your own goodness for my unreasonable importunity respecting my creed on the subject of your intended dissertation, I cannot say that I have positively formed any. My various avocations, joined to the weakness of my eyes, have almost disabled me from that sort of study, to which you know I am fondly addicted. Whatever external proofs you may produce to the point you wish to prove will, I doubt not, be weighty; but, as for internal, the inequality of Shakspeare is such as to render all evidence of this kind precarious and doubtful. It must, however, be confessed that the trash of these plays is very unlike the trash of Shakspeare. It is of a colour wholly dissimilar, and seems rather to partake of the manner of his immediate predecessors. Their beauties, on the other hand, are so perfectly Shakspearian that it is impossible for a moment to harbour the smallest doubt of the source from whence they spring.

This observation is certainly in your favour, and so far my creed coincides with yours. Among the less noted passages in these plays, there is one which had always struck me as extremely beautiful. It is a simile of 'Eleanor' in her first speech : 'Why droops my lord, like over ripened corn,' etc.[1] Can anything be more beautifully expressive of that man's situation, who is sad in the midst of felicity, and seems to be weighed down by his good fortune ?

"But my eyes tell me I have written too much. I have the nineteen volumes, in large paper, of Prevost's 'Histoire des Voyages,' but imagined that a supplement had been published. The new 'Tatlers' by all means, and any other novelties which may be worth perusing. There is something lately published about Egypt. Is it of any character ? My old and dear friend Burke, after having made us happy by his unexpected arrival, has now [made us][2] as miserable by his too speedy departure."

51.—HENRY FLOOD to CHARLEMONT.

1786, November 6, [London].—"I have received a notice sent after me to pay in my subscription to the Irish Academy or Philosophical Society, which has the honour to have your lordship for its president. I have desired my friend, counsellor [Ambrose] Smith of Digges-street, to pay it in immediately, and should have done so sooner had I sooner received the notice.

"Had I known that parliament here was not to meet till after Christmas, I should have been in less hurry in leaving Dublin ; but a packet offering the day I got into town, I, who do not love hesitation, popped into it, and have gotten here much sooner than I need have done. London is at this moment as dull as London can be ; probably, however, not more so than Dublin. I was stopped by an acquaintance to-day and asked, with an earnest and confident tone, 'Was not a union to be proposed this winter ?' I answered very truly that I had no reason to suppose any such thing, but his confidence did not seem to abate. Do you talk on this subject in Dublin, for God sake ? As to the commercial treaty, I do not ask your lordship any questions, because the nature and extent of it are not authentically known. It would not be amiss, however, that our most rational merchants should weigh a little in what points and how far it is possible for Ireland to be the better or the worse for more intercourse with France. They are very apt to neglect such speculations till it is too late to give them any aid, which I flatter myself your lordship is convinced I should be glad to do, as an unalterable friend to the constitution and commerce of Ireland."

52.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1786, Nov. 14, Dublin.—"It cannot be true that the town of Belfast have petitioned for a police bill, that such a request should be made by those guardians of our freedom, from whom I expected every support against the most distant attempt at any extension of that arbitrary measure. Is it then possible that they can wish for a plan which was rejected by London with indignation and abhorrence, and which is borne by Dublin with indignant reluctance ; that they should give their powerful aid to the designing encroachments of administration, and their honourable sanction to a measure which is not only the badge but the means of slavery ? I cannot suppose it possible, and must believe that such proceeding must have arisen from some court faction, who call themselves the inhabitants of the town of Belfast. If so, for heaven's sake let no time be lost to counteract this dangerous measure. For the honour of Belfast, for the sake of consistency, for the sake of freedom, let not a moment be lost. The design of ministry in the last session was, I veribly believe, to extend the police bill all over Ireland. This they were made to relinquish, and found themselves compelled to be content with establishing it in Dublin, where, tho' by this means the corporation is put into their hands and though the enormous expense of twenty thousand pounds a year is incurred, the danger to liberty is trifling when compared to an extension of this *maréschaussée* through the country. This I believe to be the present object of their wish. For the attainment of this, the disturbances of the south have been magnified, and, perhaps, tolerated; and in aid of this design the town of Belfast has petitioned. I have not, however, as yet, seen this formidable petition. It is not in my paper, and perhaps there may be some mistake in my information. If there be, I conjure you to inform me by the return of the post; if there be not, let no time be lost to prevent fatal consequences by a numerous and vigorous protest. You will perceive by the manner in which this letter is written how greatly it has been hurried. Indeed, I can scarce see the paper, but, if I be intelligible, it is all I desire. Let me hear from you immediately.

---

[1] Henry VI., Part II., i. 2.

[2] MS. torn.

"Is Belfast infested by robbers? What then has become of the Volunteers? I remember an incomparable epithet of yours, where you termed the police bill hollow. In truth, upon second thoughts, I cannot but believe that the fact had been mistaken, and consequently misrepresented to me, but my anxiety was such that I could not avoid writing to you. I have seen in some of the Belfast papers something relative to the markets. Perhaps this may have given rise to the mistake."

53.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1786, Nov. 19, Shane's Castle.—"We have been long plagued and tormented, our properties invaded, our eyes and noses insulted, our lives and limbs endangered, by a host of refractory miscreants who infest our streets; they go under the denominations of porters and carmen, higglers, forestallers and butchers, dunghills, coal measurers and pigs. The magistrate is at his wit's end—no long way to the wit's end of a magistrate—how to deal with this formidable combination. They rejected all treaty, nor could even a truce be obtained; and, as his wits had failed him in negociation, he found his hands too weak for open hostilities. He was obliged to content himself with the *petite guerre*, surprise, foraging parties, and stratagems. But his magnanimous spirit disdaining to be longer confined to so inglorious a winter campaign, and we, his liege subjects, still suffering in our purses by the contributions some of these combined powers continued to lay us under, and trembling for our lives as we were waylaid by others of them, it was agreed, nem. con., to solicit parliament for aid, not in the way of subsidy or troops, but of certain needful and wholesome regulations. This, I understand, is the whole of the matter; nor will any counter-petitioning go up unless the said porters, pigs, dunghills, etc., unite in framing one, which is not likely to happen, as, though they are all combined against us, they have great divisions among themselves. It is even whispered that the butchers have come to blows lately with the pigs, and that more blood has been already spilt in the quarrel than in the Dutch civil war at Hattem. Indeed, there is a very good understanding between the coal measurers, porters, and carmen, the former declining to lay heavy burthens on the others, though they have a very good right to do it, and the curses of the poor for not doing it. But then the dunghills are looked upon by the party as too deep and treacherous to be much trusted; nay, I am told detachments from both parties have agreed to fall upon them, after the next feast of St. Michael the Archangel, if the night prove dark. Something of this sort actually happened after the last feast of St. Michael the Archangel, as I have been credibly informed by Mr. Greg, Mr. Hyde, colonel Craig, and ensign Fenwick, who were detached late in the evening from the sovereign's head-quarters, and executed the business entirely to the satisfaction of the rest of the body, though not quite to their own.

"Your lordship asks if Belfast be infested by robbers? I answer, by none but the king and parliament. What, then, is become of the Volunteers? Joy's last paper answers that. When they can cheerfully forsake their beds soon after midnight, and march two-and-twenty miles over a difficult road in the dark and in the cold for the purpose of supporting a resisted sheriff and vindicating insulted law, peace, and order, one may guess what is become of them."

54.—CHARLEMONT to MALONE.

1786, Nov. 28, Dublin.—"I write to inform you that the books are arrived safe and in good condition, having already been looked over with all the eyes I have; for, though somewhat better, my sight is still too weak for old reading, which is unfortunately best adapted to young eyes. The Shakspears are beautifully bound, though I could wish the binder had been a little more careful to keep the leaves uncreased. With regard to the other quartos in your possession, I mean those of the plays generally accounted spurious, I should wish to have them bound also, without adding to the margin, but uncut, in morocco, as I would pay that compliment to every thing which had borne Shakspear's name, and more especially since, in my opinion, there are few of them that have not been honoured with some touches of his hand. Let 'Pericles,' of which I am convinced he wrote a great part, be placed foremost, and 'Titus Andronicus,' in which I cannot discover a spark of his genius, no more than in 'Locrine,' stand last. Between the plays I would have a couple of blank leaves, upon which—now I am going to be unreasonably impertinent—you might possibly be kind enough to take the pains to mention in two lines what part you think the reputed author really had in the subsequent play. But this would add infinite value to the book, and greatly endear it to me. Do not comply with my saucy request unless you can do it without inconvenience. Perhaps, too, you might be able to pick up what is wanting of this spurious collection. The more I consider the three parts of Henry VI., the more confirmed I am in my opinion that they were not originally written by Shakspear. The second part has most of him, though even here much of the tragick wants that peculiar colour which even in his worst writing is always discernible. 'Jack Cade' is certainly his. Much of the third part is strongly marked for his own, and I really believe that, with due attention, through all these plays one might with tolerable certainty select his gold from the dross of the original writer.

"Our Academy[1] goes on well, and we shall in two or three months publish our first essay, which will not, I hope, displease you. But why are you not here to assist us? . . . Did I ever mention Hickes's

---

[1] Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

'Thesaurus' to you? It is a book I greatly want. Can you make nothing of Elmsley? Unless you should think of some better title, the volume may be labelled thus: 'Old quartos of plays attributed to Shakspear.' Would it, in your opinion, be better that they also should have a margent added? In that case they must be numbered 'Vol. iii.' But this I leave entirely to your discretion. Did not I mention in my last list the volumes that I want of Villaret's 'History of France' in quarto?"

55.—LAURENCE PARSONS[1] to CHARLEMONT.

i.—1787, January 16, St. Alban's Street, London.—"I have just seen a paragraph in one of the papers which says that Mr. Corry[2] is to move this session for an explanation of the navigation act, and I suppose it may be true, as he has more than once threatened to do so. To agitate that matter at present appears to me to be so impolitic that I cannot refrain from troubling your lordship upon it. The navigation act has never yet been adopted by any Irish statute. There are two which some say have done so; but, upon perusal, you will see they are both inadequate. One is a mandatory clause in what is called, I think, the book of rates or customs, and tho' this might authorize the execution of that act, when the validity of English laws was a matter of dispute, it certainly will not do so at present. The other is an act passed in 1782, commonly called Yelverton's act, the words of which are too vague to give an English statute efficiency, for who shall decide what acts 'confer equal benefits and impose equal restraints' upon two nations so differently circumstanced? Is it a revenue officer? But I will not argue those points now; that would take up too much time. When you look into the two statutes you will see their adoptive insufficiency much more strongly than I can state it.

"Mr. Corry's object is to obtain for Ireland the same construction of that act which it receives in England; and, if this was an object of much present magnitude, it might be some excuse for starting a subject at a time when there is no probability of doing any good, and almost a certainty of doing much mischief. Any quantity of foreign commodities which Ireland can export for many years to come to the English market must be very trivial, and this I recollect Mr. Hartley stated in the debate upon the propositions. Therefore there is no immediate necessity for pressing the matter. Besides, the construction Mr. Corry seeks might be obtained any day; if not, I am sure it would be in vain attempting it at present. The consequence of his stirring the business now will be, that under the fair appearance of obtaining an equal construction of that act, he will lay upon our commerce an irrevocable imposition of it.

"It is a subject of deliberate consideration for Ireland whether she should at all lay herself under the restrictions of the navigation act. Its operation may be found more burthensome upon the trade of Ireland than of England, and this for many reasons. The misfortune of Ireland is, besides a want of integrity, a want of knowledge upon such subjects. We want men who understand them—we are not yet ripe for them. But even if we were to adopt the navigation act, I think it should be for a limited time. We should keep every hold we can upon a country which has so many holds upon us; yet any act that Mr. Corry now proposes will undoubtedly be made perpetual. Nay, more, let him propose the best act imaginable upon the subject, and before it passes the Commons it will be cooked to the taste of an English secretary. I think the policy for us at present is to act upon the defensive, and in doing so I am afraid Mr. Corry will find sufficient opportunities for the display of his talents. The Speaker[1] once said he would introduce this measure himself, and our ministers certainly wish for it, however they may coquette when it is talked of. No doubt they would be glad to fix the navigation act upon Ireland, and rather it were proposed by a member on our side, to make the mischief popular. Let Mr. Corry once set the measure afloat, he gives them an opportunity of throwing in what cargo they please, and then they will steer it into port under opposition colours. Added to all this, as we have no navigation act at present, to adopt it in any shape is a favor to England; it is a sacrifice in so much of our trade to her marine, and if we are to have another commercial treaty, which I fear, it would be something to give up.

---

[1] Member of Parliament for the University of Dublin.
[2] Isaac Corry, member for the borough of Newry.

"I do not find by my letters from Ireland that the people have thought much upon the commercial treaty with France. As it appears to me, upon all those articles upon which England loses, Ireland must lose, but upon those by which England gains, Ireland cannot gain. However, our parliament, I suppose, will adopt it as expeditiously as it did the first commercial propositions, without knowing anything about it—whether in itself it is a good treaty for us, or whether it may interfere with others which we might enter into, as with Spain for instance, that would be more beneficial.

"I do not propose setting out for Ireland till about the beginning of next month, unless I find that ministers intend to precipitate mischief."

55, ii.—1787, January 19.—"I take the opportunity of sending you by Mr. Hamilton a pamphlet which has just come out on the French treaty, as it touches upon its operation with respect to Ireland. One word more as to the navigation act. I believe Mr. Corry's object is to procure the same admission of foreign goods from Ireland into England as at present there is from England into Ireland. Now a reciprocal exclusion would be much better for Ireland than a reciprocal admission; for while foreign goods are admitted from England into Ireland, Irish merchants will in few instances attempt to procure them directly from foreign countries. For suppose that an Irish merchant speculates that at a certain time there will be a demand for a certain commodity in Ireland, he will not venture to order it directly from the foreign country, for before it arrives a superabundance of that commodity may be poured in from England. England at present excludes our foreign commodities; what we ought to do would be to follow her example, exclude hers. But this we cannot do at present; therefore we had better do nothing. It would be a most pernicious thing for the trade of Ireland to confirm the navigation act in any shape, but especially so upon an explanation of reciprocal admission of foreign commodities. Being satisfied in my own mind, from long reflecting upon this subject, from the reasonableness of the thing itself, and from every information that has fallen in my way, that I am right, I will make no apology to your lordship for troubling you upon it."

56.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

[1787, February —.]—"Long since should I have written to you, but have not a moment's leisure, and now indeed I have but a moment to express my concern that it is has not been in any way in my power to be serviceable to Mons. de Metalcour. The place of master of the ceremonies at the Rotunda (an office, by the way, which government has not thought fit to take into their hands, for one reason only, because it is without salary) has for many years past been possessed by a Mr. McNeil, who, as he has never misbehaved himself, or neglected the very important trust committed to his charge, could not be superseded without injustice ; and, as for private recommendation, I have not been able to find any family unprovided of that necessary officer. Indeed, I have scarcely seen your protégé. He called upon me once, and, not finding me at home, delivered his letter in the street, where he chanced to meet me on a day so very cold that I was almost tongue-tied by the frost. Since then I have not seen him ; but, if any occasion should offer, will certainly do him all the service in my power. You have, indeed, amply repaid my balloon recommendation, as I am precisely as conversant with dancing as you are with flying. This session is a busy one, and a busy session is always dangerous. Those cursed 'White-boys' have given government ample pretext for bringing forward laws of an arbitrary tendency. The attorney-general has at last produced one of his bills, which is exactly what from him might have been expected, no less than a faithful transcript of the English Riot act, with a supplement of sanguinary [1] clauses against the deluded wretches of the south. We had some thoughts of procuring addresses from the counties, etc., against this enormous law; but, upon due consideration, found that, from want of time and from the absence of gentlemen who are almost all of them in Dublin, such addresses could neither be universal nor sufficiently respectable. We have, therefore, thought it better to delay all such petitions till the time of the assizes, when they may perhaps be more effectual towards its repeal if we should not be able, as we hope to be, to render it less noxious than it now is. This paltry government is apt to bring forward measures with a view of giving up a great part of them, and this, I hope and believe, is at present the case. At all events, I would wish that our friends at Belfast would hold themselves in readiness, if it should be necessary, to petition at the time of the assizes. I never write but to give you trouble, and must now beg that you would, as usual, put the following advertisement into Mr. Joy's paper, where it may be continued five or six times. I wholly forgot how that of last year was worded, but believe it was to the following effect:—'The earl of Charlemont takes this method of reminding the Volunteers of Ulster that the time of their respective annual meetings for settling all matters relative to the reviews of the ensuing summer is now approaching, and of repeating his constant wish that such meetings may be well attended.'

---

[1] John Foster.

"Fitzgibbon's bill will be debated next Monday,[2] and I have great reason to hope that we shall be able to make it, though not palatable, at least far less noxious than it now is."

57.—To CHARLEMONT from BARRY YELVERTON, Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland.

1787, March 1.—"It happened very unfortunately for me and the parties interested, that, during my weeks of attendance on the lords, an uncommon number of bills was referred to me and my colleague, though the duties of my court, and of the commission of oyer and terminer which is now sitting, employed my whole time, while all the other judges, except those of the exchequer, were entirely disengaged. However, as soon as the exchequer rises, which I hope it will to-morrow, I shall give those bills every attention I can, and particularly to that which you have recommended to me. The objections to that bill, which are very serious ones, might have been removed in a way which I recommended to the counsel and agents, but which they do not seem disposed to follow. If they can convince me that it is possible to remove them in any other way, I shall very readily change my opinion. If not, I am sure I shall sincerely lament the miscarriage of a measure in which I find the feelings of your lordship are so deeply interested. But it will, at all events, be only a temporary miscarriage, because if the parties will follow our advice, any difficulty which stands in the way at present may be obviated before the next session."

---

[1], [2] *See* "Speeches of Henry Grattan," London, 1882, vol. ii., p. 1 ; and "Memoirs of Grattan," London, 1841, vol. iii., p. 283.

58.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

i.—1787, March 8, Belfast.—"You were very right, my dear lord, in considering the odious bill, lately brought forward, as one of those paltry acts of this disingenuous administration, where less 'is meant than meets the ear,' where more is attempted than they can hope to carry, and merit claimed for their candour in giving up clauses peculiarly offensive; while the abandoning of these reconciles people, in some sort, to a measure which can only appear tolerable from a worse having been threatened. This appears to have been precisely the case with the riot act; which, temporary as it pretends to be, will be found perpetual. Our goodly sister will never rob us of any bad part of her constitution or her practice, while her tender mercies will carefully withold from us any of those better parts or securities which we shamefully acquiesce under the want of. Pensioners and commissioners and contractors (if we had any) will be permitted to sit on in the house, and placemen continue sitting there without that mark of reprobation which sending them back to a new election plainly implies. But we will never be permitted to restrain the power of pensioning nor to limit that control over the treasury which his majesty exercises by his royal letters. She will keep those ports shut against us which she has kindly opened to France, while she will neither let us shut ours against her, nor keep them shut against her fashionable ally, though this must prove the destruction of one important and growing manufacture—the cambrick. Like a surly mastiff, she guards the premium of fabrics, but would be ready to tear us to pieces should we presume to withhold ours. Yet we boast of our independency, and plume ourselves on a British constitution, while we can bear to be told that a reform of parliament would be a very bad thing for us, at the very time the minister pretended to think it a good and necessary thing for England. But it was not this stuff I meant to trouble your lordship with.

"I find there has been a petition for aid to establish a seminary under the sole guidance and control of that narrow-minded, bigoted body, the synod of Ulster. I speak of them as a body, not individually, and I have a right to speak of them with severity, seeing they persecuted my father [1] for avowing and supporting the rational and liberal principles of genuine Christianity. Indeed, I believe they hated him for being an accomplished gentleman. I can foresee little good to arise from a seminary under such exclusive direction. I say exclusive, for though adding the respectable names of a Leinster, a Charlemont, an O'Neill, and a Stewart to the priestly junto may impart a sort of dignity to it, yet it will not improve the institution, for which of you will act or interfere? Yet far be it from me to wish to obstruct their views; but I think it my duty to observe that if such a scheme is entitled to public countenance and protection, our thriving academy at Belfast, under the management of the subscribers, lay as well as clerical, and these of any religious pursuasion, must be so 'a fortiori.' The efforts we have made are indeed great, the merit of the principal, Dr. Crombie,[1] uncommon, and it has been well seconded by that of the other masters and assistants. The number of the scholars already exceeds one hundred, and they are training up for every line of life. As they advance we would wish soon to open the classes of rational, moral, and natural philosophy; but we are unable to raise the necessary funds for appointing such decent salaries to the respective professors as, together with their fees, might induce men of ability to accept of the chairs. If we could get aid from parliament, we should be thankful, and it would not be thrown away. I have taken the liberty, my lord, to write in confidence, for I do not wish to make enemies."

---

[1] Rev. Samuel Haliday, minister of the First Presbyterian Congregation, Belfast.

58, ii.—1787, April 5, Belfast.—"I hope the hasty measures of my fellow-citizens met your lordship's ideas. I was prevented by absence from attending the meeting; but have written at some length to Mr. Forde and Mr. Leslie, stimulating them to a call of their respective counties, as the very sound of such a thing, I thought, might have some effect, though their petitions might come too late. If people endure this, they will evince that they were fairly broken to endure anything. Could the most unconstitutional nature and the pernicious tendency of this bill admit of aggravation, they would receive it from the circumstances attending it,—brought forward in the teeth of a declaration that an extension of the odious police bill was not intended,—at the close of a session,—during the time of the assizes,—and with such determined precipitancy. Blisters on the tongues that could articulate 'innovation,' when attempts were made to restore parliaments to their purity, and that say 'aye' to this direct and dangerous innovation. For this measure is at once one of corruption and lavish coercion, and a downright rape on the franchises of the people. I recommended to Mr. O'Neill the strong measure of a secession. Nothing would so effectually rouse the people to an assertion of their rights and a vindication of the insulted constitution."

59.—EDMUND BURKE to CHARLEMONT.

1787, June 1, Gerard-street, [London].—"I have a high respect for your lordship of old, as I trust you know; and, as I have the best wishes for my friend Mr. Francis, I am exceedingly desirous that he may have an opportunity of paying his compliments to the person in Ireland the most worth the acquaintance of a man of sense and virtue. Mr. Francis has not been in Ireland since the days of his childhood[2]; but he has been employed in a manner that has done honor to the country that has given him birth. When he sees your lordship, he will perceive that antient morals have not yet deserted, at least, that part of the world which he revisits; and you will be glad to receive for a while a citizen that has only left his country to be the more extensively serviceable to mankind. . . . I hope Mr. Francis will bring back such an account of the health of your lordship and all yours as may make us happy."

---

[1] James Crombie, D.D., minister of the First Presbyterian Congregation, Belfast.

[2] Philip Francis, born at Dublin in 1740.

60.—EDMOND MALONE to CHARLEMONT.—Boydell's edition of Shakspeare.

1787, June 9, London.—"I am afraid you have, with too much justice, long since set me down as the worst of all correspondents; and all I can say in my defence is, that I am not so faulty as I appear to be. I could urge some circumstances in alleviation, but that the very statement of them would be too painful, and not very proper for paper, as they would only furnish you with proofs of a weakness which I fear no time will overcome. But, independent of them, the true cause of my long silence has been my unceasing employment in the printing-house. I have not, however, neglected you, as my draft of yesterday proves. Very soon after the proposals for the splendid edition of Shakspeare appeared, I subscribed for you and Daly [1]; Mr. Boydell afterwards told me he had a letter from you desiring to be put down as a subscriber for 'proofs.' You will not, however, be burthened with two subscriptions; your name is only transferred from one list to the other. It is a magnificent scheme, if it can but be effected, and if we can but live to see it effected. At all events, let posterity have it. There is something remarkable in the history of it. It took its rise from a conversation between Dr. Farmer, Mr. Hayley, Romney, the painter, and Nichol, a Scotch bookseller, at Boydell's house. Before the scheme was well-formed, or the proposals entirely printed off, near six hundred persons eagerly set down their names, and paid their subscriptions to a set of books and prints that will cost each person, I think, about ninety guineas; and, on looking over the list, there were not above twenty names among them that anybody knew. Such is the wealth of this country. This was before the meeting of parliament, and, when they assembled, it was supposed a great body of new subscribers would have appeared, nothing less. They have since, I believe, not got two hundred subscribers. However, there are sufficient to enable Boydell to carry the scheme into effect. Much will depend on the execution of the first number. Mr. Steevens was not in town when the thing was first started, but, arriving soon after, he immediately set himself at the head of it, though he had long called himself a 'dowager editor,' and professed that he had done with Shakspeare for ever. He is one of the most accurate correctors of the press, I believe, in the world; so the work will derive great benefit from his accuracy. But after all, if he prints from his last edition, the text itself will not be accurate; for by collation, revision, etc., I have restored and corrected it in not less than a thousand places; I mean not fanciful changes, but restorations of the readings of the original and authentic copies, and of the true order of the words, which has been disturbed and tossed about most capriciously by various of our predecessors. I have seen reason to adhere to the old copy in so many instances, that I never depart from it (except in case of mere errors of the press), without fear and trembling. Can you believe it? I have within these two days found that this line of 'Hamlet,' as it stands in the original quarto copy is right:—

> 'That he would not beteeme the winds of heaven
> Visit her face too roughly.'[2]

Which Theobald altered very plausibly to 'let e'en.' After this, 'nil desperandum est.' I found the word 'beteem' in an old book of that age, exactly in the sense required here.

---

[1] Right Hon. Denis Daly, of Dunsandle, M.P. for county of Galway, and member of the privy council, Ireland.

[2] Act i., scene 2.

"The newspapers have informed you of the great sale of the books of an old brother collector, Dr. Wright, who had a great many, and some very curious, old plays. The price that all the rarities went at was beyond all former examples. The king used to be a very wary and limited purchaser, but his sub-librarian dashed away here most furiously. There was a very curious collection of all the works of Nashe, the celebrated pamphleteer of Elizabeth's time, to whom we are indebted for many minute allusions, and some literary history, that are no where else to be found; for scarcely any miscellaneous essays appeared at that time except on politics or divinity. They were in three volumes, quarto; and I had myself arranged them and got them bound for the owner only a few days before he died. Having more than half of the tracts contained in them, I bid for you; but his majesty beat. I gave up at 12*l.* 15*s.*, and perhaps you will think I was mad to go so far. I got scarcely any quarto Shakspeares for you; only, I think, a copy of Richard III. I bid as far as 3*l.* for 'Much ado about nothing' for you, and then surrendered it to the king at the moderate price of three guineas. I got about fifteen old dramatic pieces for myself, that cost me, one with the another, about 2*l.* 5*s* each. But then these were some of our 'ultimatums,' which perhaps never may appear again Your collection not being so complete yet as mine, I was enabled to purchase some for you that you want, and among them some not very easy to be procured; but even these, though not so extravagant as the others, were by no means à bon marché. I hope to make you up three new volumes; and for that purpose pray let me know what is the number of your last volume in small quarto; and at the same time be so good as to add a list of the quartos of Shakspeare (with their dates) contained in your morocco volume, lest I should purchase duplicates. I forgot to make a list of them. In general, I hope I have kept pretty clear of duplicates. I was aware of the defect in the binding of that volume, having suffered in the same way myself; but the binder, who is the best in London, said it was impossible to avoid the creasing; for, some of the plays, before let into paper, being smaller than others, when they are beaten and pressed, the pressure is unequal in different parts of the paper, and hence the leaves become crumpled. I do not know, as 'Bayes' says, 'whether I make myself understood,'[1] but so it is.

"Your collection of the spurious Shakspeares is not complete; I will endeavour to complete it, and then bind it in the manner you desire. I believe Payne sent you a second parcel of books; but I know not whether you have had Hickes's 'Thesaurus,' I will talk to him about it.

"My brother, who left this about three weeks since, mentioned to me that I was in disgrace with our Academy[2] for non-payments of subscriptions. I know not how this has happened, for when Dr. John Kearney was in London last September I paid him five guineas,[3] that I understood he had advanced for me on being chosen a member. Are the members to pay five guineas a year? If so, I should hesitate a little, as here both the Royal and Antiquarian [societies] pay but two guineas a year. If this last is the annual fee, I beg you will be so kind as to pay it for me, and in our book account it can be adjusted.

"London has been deserted this year sooner than I remember it this long time, and indeed without much temptation; for this same ninth day of June is the very first day that has had the smallest pretensions to the title of summer. I suppose before the rising of parliament most of the minutiæ of the prince of Wales's business reached you. Did one of

---

[1] "The Rehearsal, a comedy," 1672, act i., scene 2. [2] Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.
[3] Amount of entrance fee.

George Selwyn's pleasantries? Just before the important matter of Mrs. Fitzherbert was to be agitated, on which it became very material to disclaim publicly any marriage, the prince had a meeting at his house with Charles Fox, and authorized him to say what he did say in the House. Selwyn, however, who does not much love Charles Fox, chooses to make Pall Mall or St. James-street the place of meeting on this occasion, and swears he heard him call Fox to him from the other side of the way, and in the warmth of protestation, cry out:—

'Villain, be sure you prove my love ——.'[1]

"The prince has shewn himself a very dextrous manager, for he conducted the whole business himself, and strongly against the opinion of the duke of Portland and some others of his friends, who wished him to do nothing till next year. The king and Mr. Pitt were fairly frightened into the arrangement that has been made. The prince had a meeting at Carlton house, soon after alderman Newnham made his motion, of 190 members; and would either have beaten Pitt, had it come to a question, or the majority of the other side would have been so small as would have amounted to a defeat. His revenue is about sixty-two thousand pounds a year; and he sent in an estimate on the lowest and most reduced plan, that came to seventy-nine thousand pounds a year. What he solicited therefore was an addition of twenty [thousand]. This the king positively refused, nor would he consent that the debts should be paid till the prince gave his honour that he would not incur any new debt. The prince rejected this as an absurdity and impracticable on the face of it (without the addition) if he was obliged to keep up his present establishment, which consumes near thirty thousand pounds a year of his income. At length the king, finding he would be beaten, agreed to an increase of ten thousand, to pay the debts, and to finish Carlton house. The debts, after all, are not near so great as they were represented, nor so unaccountable. For, if his income for four years has been twenty thousand less than his establishment required, that accounts for eighty of it; and the debt incurred by Carlton house (for which he has value) is 53,000*l.* That makes 123,000*l.*, and the total debt is under two hundred thousand pounds, I think. I do not know what rules the ladies govern themselves by; but since Mr. Fox's declaration in the house of commons by the prince's express desire, she is cour[ted][2] and queens it as much as ever. Perhaps . . .[3] of France is adopted, and ladies in this . . .[4] are to have a considerable and acknowledged rank, though not the highest. The best of all was Sheridan's very gravely saying in the House, when the whole business was over, that he was sure it was impossible this lady could suffer in the smallest degree in the mind of any one of sentiment, delicacy and honour! I have almost worn my pen to the stumps, to say nothing of your patience. You complained much in the winter of your eyes, but I hope are no longer plagued with that very troublesome ailment. I am sometimes a fellow-sufferer, in consequence of reading small print too much by candle-light."

[Enclosure.]

"Account.—Received from Mr. Nesbitt in March 1785, 50*l.*; by draft, June 1787, 25*l.*; — 75*l.* Disbursed:—At Henderson's sale, 10*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*; at Wynne's sale, 8*l.* 14*s.*; to Antiquarian Society, 28*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*; subscription to Shakspeare, 3*l.* 3*s.*; at Wright's sale,

---

[1], [2], [3], [4] MS. torn.

13*l.* 6*s.*; for sundry plays, purchased since March 1785, binding, etc., 11*l.* 16s. 3*d.*; — 76*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.* Balance due to me, 1*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.*"

61.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1787, June 19, Dublin.—"The gentleman[1] whom I mean to recommend to you is just now setting out for Belfast on his way to England; so that I have only time to tell you that he is a particular friend of all my dearest friends, and, though a new, a very favourite acquaintance of mine. I need not add that he is one of the principal of those who have laboured to bring [Warren] Hastings to justice."

62.—CHARLEMONT to MALONE.

1787, June 21, Dublin.—"That you have not been the best of correspondents is most certain, and yet your silence, though sufficiently obstinate, could never for a moment induce me to suspect that you had forgotten me. My esteem for you, and my own vanity effectually concurred to prevent the possibility of any such disagreeable and unjust idea arising in my mind. Shakespear alone is an unanswerable excuse, and your pious regard to a dead hero, whose fame is so nearly connected with your own, is fully sufficient to apologise for any little deficiency in attention towards a living friend. One excuse, indeed, you hint at, of which I never should have thought, and am extremely grieved that any such should exist. But the best hearts are generally the weakest, and their weakness is but too apt to prevail over the strength of the most vigorous understanding—'experto crede Roberto'. Yet one remedy there is which has not yet, as I believe, been tried. Vacuity is probably the source of the disorder. Why is not the void filled up? When a picture has gotten a dint, the best method of cure is by new lining. But no more of this. Many thanks for your long and entertaining letter, which has fully compensated for your former silence. Many thanks also for your kind and persevering attention towards supplying my literary wants. The number of my last volume in small quarto is 33; in the larger size, 29. The morocco volume contains:—'Hamlet,' no date; 'Henry V.,' 1608; 'Henry VI.,' no date; 'Midsummer's Night's Dream,' 1600; 'Merchant of Venice,' 1600; 'Merry Wives of Windsor,' 1619; 'King Lear,' 1608. What others of my Shakespears have you not got, and what have you been able to procure?

"I am sorry to find that Steevens is wedded to his own last edition, as it would certainly be provoking if the text of such a masterpiece of art as that now preparing should not be made as correct as possible. Your 'beteeme' is certainly a wonderful discovery. Take care, however, that the 'beteeme' of your 'old book' be not also a typographical error. I have, by accident, lost Oldys's book,[2] which was good and useful, and must beg that you would procure me another copy. I want much the large and modern quarto edition of Dante. It is strange that it should not be common in London. Remember that there are two papers, and that I am coxcomb enough to wish for the best.

"Our [Royal Irish] Academy goes on well, and our first volume is almost printed, though we are not yet fully determined whether we shall give it to the public before autumn; I hope and think that it will do us credit. We have not the assurance to exceed our elder sisters in expense. The subscription is but two guineas, and I will take care to settle it for you. Dublin has emptied itself into the country, and yet I am still here, but in a few days set out for the north, on my annual plan of reviews. There I shall remain a very short time, and then settle at Marino. News I have none that can be entertaining to you. Administration has had a victorious session, and has made a desperate use of its power. The minority was, however, highly respectable both in property, name, and ability, and would have been so in numbers had they drawn together as they ought. But discipline, as you know, is the distinctive property of mercenaries. Pay-day is, however, now at hand, and, as great arrears are due, there will be, I doubt not, both mutiny and desertion to such a degree as may give the next campaign a very different complexion.

---

[1] Philip Francis.

[2] "The British Librarian:" by William Oldys. London: 1738.

"Our peers have been wonderfully lucky in London this year. One of them has just now interrupted me—lord Aldborough.[1] In England, I suppose, there are now no husbands to be had, and the poor ladies, who do not wish to do worse, must marry."

63.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1787, June 22, Belfast.—"I heartily thank your lordship for giving me an opportunity of being a little acquainted with a gentleman whose conduct in India and the house of commons—those dangerous theatres for virtue—I have very much admired. How the arduous attempt he is engaged in, with our friend Burke, etc., will terminate in other respects, neither your lordship, I believe, nor they can tell; but surely the steadiness and the abilities with which they have, in spite of infinite discouragement, exerted themselves to redeem the Hindoos eventually from a most rapacious and cruel tyranny, and to reserve the British name from infamy and detestation, must secure them a high degree of reputation and a warm place in every good heart. I wish the wretches in the south of this unfriended isle, who are equally miserable, though not quite so innocent as the others, could meet with as able and persevering advocates.

"Mr. Francis spent yesterday evening with us, much to our satisfaction, save that he would on no account accept of a bed, determining to pass on to Donaghadee this morning; but the more persuasive eloquence of W. Cunningham[2] hath wrung from him his hard consent to eat a dinner with him, of which I am to participate; and after being bored with gardens and hothouses, and the linen market, and ships, and regaled with the productions of the four quarters of the globe, I shall have the pleasure of drinking your lordship's health, while we are contemplating your martial equestrian lineaments on the the tablecloth.

"Mr. Cunningham told me, some time ago, that at a late council of war, while every member wished to do the general all possible honour, it was the general opinion that the ceremony of receiving your lordship in the street had better be laid aside, as it would be some saving of the troops in point of dress and fatigue, and therefore tend to a better appearance at the review, but that this could not be thought of unless it was motioned by your lordship; and he expressed their wish that I should hint it to you. But on my conversing next day with a gentleman of a different colour, he seemed to think it would be wrong, in these times, to abate anything of the old pomp and public testimony of respect, adding that he was persuaded 'the blues' would insist on turning out, let others determine as they might; and their captain, who has just been with me, seemed rejoiced that I had not mentioned the matter to your lordship, though I think myself obliged to state the pro and con, both for your information and as I had told Cunningham I should. As I conceived that the dropping this parade would be a saving of your lordship, as well as of your gallant army, and give me an opportunity of kissing your hands an hour sooner, I was rather biassed in favour of Cunningham's question, and I made the encumbered state of the old parade, from the building of the bank, his lordship's office, and other edifices, an objection to captain Brown's system; but he diluted this effectually, by observing that the general might make his entry through our new street, where the troops might parade to great advantage. What I am chiefly anxious about is that your lordship and your suite may be ready to close your ranks (am I not a tolerable adept in the military phrase?) round my table by five o'clock on the tenth instant, which I think is the eve of the review; though I should be much better pleased you could repose yourselves a day or two previous to it."

---

[1] Edward Stratford, second earl of Aldborough, in the peerage of Ireland.

[2] Waddel Cunningham, M.P. for Carrickfergus, 1784.

64.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1787, June 26, Dublin.—"A thousand thanks for your kindness to my friend Francis, of which his merit, your hospitality, and your unremitting goodness towards his recommender left me no room to doubt; indeed, I would not have addressed him to you if I had not thought him worthy your acquaintance, and that degree of worth must at all events have insured his good reception. I am somewhat puzzled with this difference of opinion between the Belfast corps, and can only entreat that they would settle it as may seem best to them, certain of my approbation in either way; and as it is their kind wish that any alteration should originate from me, if such should be deemed proper, I beg they would adopt it as my motion; perhaps a middle method might accommodate both parties, as I might be received by detachments only from the several corps. As I have no written memorandum of the precise time of the Down review, I am not positively certain whether it be fixed for the 13th or for the 14th, and must therefore beg that you would inform yourself and me of the precise day, in order that I may settle my measures accordingly. I think it is the 14th, but am not certain, as I had it from Forde by word of mouth only, and had not the precaution to put it into writing. I shall, as usual, sleep at Hillsborough on the 9th, and consequently shall be with you on the 10th."

65.—Haliday to Charlemont.

1787, July 2, Belfast.—"I am sorry I troubled your lordship about our military etiquette. I have heard nothing more of the matter since, and I shall take no farther notice of it, unless I am applied to. Strange as it may seem, I have not been able to learn, with certainty, the day of the Down review, but I believe it was fixed for the 19th. Our good bishop[1] will meet you at five o'clock at my house on Tuesday. Bishops are zealous in making converts, and getting such at least as may do them credit into the pale of the church; but we dissenters, my lord, must stick together. I have long been a notorious one, and the journals of the house of lords testify pretty well for your lordship; at least I must insist that we ask a blessing, and return thanks together, on the day of the review. I wish I could command you longer. Thus far I am absolute."

---

[1] William Dickson, appointed bishop of Down in 1783.

66.—EDMUND BURKE to CHARLEMONT.

1787, July 10, Beconsfield.—"Mr. Francis called upon me in his way to his own house, charmed, as I expected he would be, with your character and conversation, and infinitely obliged by your reception of him. Give me leave to convey his thanks to you and to add mine to them. Every motive induces me to wish your house provided with all the ornaments that are worthy of it. The bust you desire is that which is most essential, and that in which you combine your taste, your friendship, and your principles. When I go to town I shall see Mr. Nollekens, and hasten him as much as I can. There was no bust taken from lord Rockingham during his lifetime. This is made from a mask taken from his face after his death, and of course must want that animation which I am afraid can never be given to it without hazarding the ground-work of the features. Tassie[1] has made a profile in his glass, which is, I think, the best likeness—I mean the best uncoloured likeness which exists. I will recommend it to Nollekens. Perhaps he may make some advantage of it; though I have observed that artists seldom endeavour to profit of each other's works though not in the exact line which they profess."

67.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1787, July 21, Marino.—"No sooner are you rid of the trouble which always accompanies my presence than the plague of correspondence commences; neither do I now write to thank you for all your repeated kindnesses, as the common course of ceremony would seem to require. Ceremony, I thank fate, cannot possibly have a place in our connection, and, besides the difficulty of finding fit expressions, I greatly doubt whether the man, whose 'summum bonum' is to oblige, ought to be thanked. The unconquerable itch of conversing with you is one cause of my writing, but the principal I must confess to be the infernal flummery of the Drogheda address. For heaven's sake, do not let Belfast, which naturally must entertain and of consequence address,[2] so far forget its dignity as to re-echo the same fulsome stuff. Do not let flattery, the natural product of southern climes, travel farther northward. If salutary laws are to be thanked for, let those laws be specified, and confined, if any such be found deserving, to commercial regulations; but do not let riot acts and magistracy laws seem to be included. As to the last of these curses, perhaps something of the following import might not be improper: 'Whatever our opinion may be, we do not presume to decide whether some law of this complexion may not have been made necessary by the peculiar circumstances of certain parts of Ireland. Should this be the case, we can only express our sincere and heartfelt concern. But of this we are confident, that no such necessity exists in any part of Ulster, and that nothing short of absolute necessity can possibly justify a measure of this nature, which will, we trust, cease, as it certainly ought, with its cause, if any such exists.' These words, as you may perceive, are hastily thrown together, merely as a hint; but if anything more than bare personal compliments be put into the address, something of this kind may possibly be not amiss. Yet still, perhaps, mere unmeaning compliments might be best of all. I say 'perhaps,' because I will not venture to decide in a matter of this delicate nature, which must be conducted according to the dictates of your prudence, and according to the state of the corporation. Pardon this hasty and incoherent scrawl. I must again repeat that what I have written is merely intended as a hint, which may probably be useless, and I now send it indigested and unconsidered, because I would always wish to communicate with you my thoughts as they rise. At all events, my letter may perhaps be useful towards urging you on to oppose with all your well-merited influence every undignified attempt of unreasonable and dangerous adulation."

---

[1] James Tassie, modeller.

[2] The duke of Rutland, lord lieutenant of Ireland.

68.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1787, July 24, Belfast.—"I have used my best endeavours to have the address to his grace nothing more than a simple civility. But as it goes with the freedom and the gold box (of lord Donegal's workmanship) merely from the corporation, I can interfere no farther than by modest advice, of which I have not been sparing, but which being perfectly unsolicited might probably have been disregarded, had I not hinted that should anything very adverse to the old and avowed principles of this town drop from them, we might think ourselves called on to assert and vindicate our better opinion; which would be a disagreeable and awkward sort of business, as indeed I consider this whole affair to be. His grace is to dine here on Monday, and I suppose the whole Hillsborough[1] gang with him. I have declined being one of the party, as have many other more respectable people, who admire neither the public nor the private character of the duke, while they detest the Hillsborough slaves, who have given (and it needed not) a recent proof of their abject servitude, in their abominable address. Besides, we like not this paltry oligarchy the corporation should take the lead, and the more respectable people of Belfast follow as their train-bearers. Time was, when the former stood aloof, and we were ever ready, in some such public manner, to mark our respect, not for rank, but eminent public merit. In those days the 'populus Belfastiensis,' though less numerous and less opulent than in these, had infinitely more weight and efficacy in their voice, than the united one of the 'senatus populusque' ever can possess. His dukeship has already tried his prowess at drubbing a northern man into a knight, having made a Dr. Atkinson of Hillsborough (late surgeon to lord Salisbury's regiment of militia, and deputy recorder for the nonce) a very valiant one, and, I suppose, lord Hillsborough will take care that his valour, like Peg Plunket's,[2] shall be rewarded with a pension. I am more and more convinced, my dear lord, of what I hinted to you in Belfast, that though it might have been right to suspend the addresses to the general for a year or two, it would have been at least equally so to have revived the good old custom on the late occasion—there was so much new matter, new ground for alarm, and I know these papers, but especially your lordship's answers, had a wonderful effect in awakening the attention, informing the minds and animating the spirits of our people all around. A review is confined to a spot, to a day, and without a comment has become to the million no very intelligible thing. These defects would all be remedied by a revival of the original mode. After all, if your lordship thinks I should go to this fête, I shall; for though I have no respect for our high and mighty guests, I have all possible deference for your lordship's opinion."

---

[1] The duke of Rutland, viceroy, was, in July 1787, the guest of the earl of Hillsborough, at Hillsborough, county of Down.

[2] Known also as Margaret Leeson.

69.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1787, July 26, Marino.—"Your draught for a line shall be immediately answered, though drawing upon me at sight for advice is rather unreasonable, as I have never much of that sort of cash in hand; thus has many a petty dealer been at once undone by the draught of a wealthy merchant. But to the point. If you like to laugh at riot and absurdity, that is to say, if you have much of Democritus about you, I see no harm in your attending at Comus's court,[1] provided always other respectable people do attend. But if you should have the least spice of Heraclitus about you, and if you are likely to be the Abdiel among the revolted angels, you had, in my opinion, much better stay at home. The danger is that every person present may seem to concur in whatever nonsensical adulation may be the result of this meeting, and the smallest seeming concurrence in you would be far worse than the flattery of the whole corporation. The hint you have given is undoubtedly a good one. If anything reprehensible be said, it ought most certainly be discountenanced and disavowed by the real people of Belfast, whose unanimous sense will be infinitely an overmatch for the nonsense of your burgesses. With respect to what you mention of your wish that there had been a Volunteer address, it would take up too much time to give you all my reasons why I think it was better let alone. Let this, however, for the present suffice, that, if the Volunteers were everywhere now in their former force, I should myself have been the first to desire it, but let the people, in whom the Volunteers are included, speak out as much as they can; and I would most sincerely wish that at the next assizes every county should testify their abhorrence of past measures, and their desire and instructions for speedy repeal. Antrim, I believe, will, and probably Tyrone. Down has already and will not now be backward. As for Armagh, I wish it may. I have done my part, but the court is strong among our gentry, and defeat must be cautiously avoided. I saw Cunningham in town, and deprecated dangerous adulation. He has assured me that Belfast will not be so foolish as Drogheda."

70.—MALONE to CHARLEMONT.

1787, October 24, London.—"Immediately after I had the favour of your letter, I obeyed your command, and got Mr. Coxe's pamphlet from Cadell. I have sent it, and my dissertation on the plays of 'King Henry VI.,' by lord chief justice Carleton,[2] so that you will probably receive them in a few days after this letter. The dissertation makes part of the sixth volume of my work, so I must request you will not on any account lend it out of your library till the book appears, which I hope will be in spring. I took off only four copies of it, in the form in which you receive it, which was effected by a little trickery at the press, changing the paging and signatures, and adding a title-page, after the sheets were worked off for the book itself. We antiquaries, you know, sometimes set a value on a thing not for its merit, but its rarity; and as queen Anne's farthing (of which I think there are but twelve) is inestimable, I expect your grandson will in the next century set a proportionable value on this morceau. With respect to the thing itself, you will read it with some disadvantage, as there is a perpetual reference to the notes on the plays themselves, to support my argument. I beg you will fairly tell me wherever you find it weak, and I assure you I shall take it in better part than the Spanish archbishop.[1]

---

[1] In allusion to the duke of Rutland and his associates.

[2] Hugh Carleton, created in 1797 viscount Carleton of Clare, county of Tipperary.

"All this, my dear lord, I should have told you sooner, but that very soon after I received your letter I made an excursion to Cambridge to see my friend Dr. Farmer,[2] and am but lately returned from thence. For near three years I had not been out of London for more than two days, so that Shakspeare has no great reason to complain of me.

"You have been misinformed relative to Mr. Walpole's having published any account of Strawberry Hill. He has, indeed, long been employed on such a work. I asked him about it some months ago, and he then told me that it would not appear during his life-time. I have since heard from others that it is now finished, and that he has by will bequeathed copies to various friends. No doubt you will have one, though on these terms I am sure you will not wish for it soon. Two or three of the plates have got abroad by the roguery of the engraver or copperplate pressman, at which he was extremely angry. This might have given rise to what you heard. It will certainly be a very curious work, as it will contain engravings of the outside and inside of his house, of all his miniatures and other pictures, etc., with an historical account of the persons, anecdotes, etc. This is a very sensible plan for a great collector to follow. To tie up a sum of twenty thousand pounds would be unjust to his family; to dispose of the collection, without any memorial, is mortifying to the collector; but by Mr. Walpole's method all his rarities will have a kind of perpetuity from the hand that assembled them. He himself alleges as a reason for withholding the publication, the apprehension of criticism, and the perpetual trouble he should have from inquirers, when everything he has was thus precisely pointed out; perhaps a more substantial reason is, that his house would be a constant object of temptation to thieves, if the value of its contents were thus ascertained. Now that I am on the subject of antiquities, I beg you will let me know how many volumes of the 'Archæologia' you have received, and that you will also send me a list of the prints you have got, as many were out of print when your case went, and have since been reprinted, and there also, I think, have been two new volumes published since. When I have your list, I will get an order for all that you have not received, and send them. I will send you some volumes of old plays, etc. I am afraid it will be a great while before I can make up a second volume of a quarto Shakspeare for you, as I have only got a Richard III. towards it. The remaining copies of yours that I have are not worth binding, being subsequent to the folio."

71.—MALONE to CHARLEMONT.

1787, November 7.—"I fear I must have appeared extremely blameable to your lordship, and I am free to confess that I have partly been so, yet from the motive of caution and great averseness to order a costly thing[3] till there could be a better prospect of its turning out satisfactory. Neither the picture nor Tassie's profile could be of any help, as Nollekens said; but in the summer, when his business permitted him, I got him to prepare a fresh model and bring it down here; and he was so patient as to work upon it, after my instructions, two whole days, and alter a million of times according to my wish, till I really thought a great degree of likeness was obtained, and a spirit given to the countenance which I am sure the other casts were totally void of; for there was a poverty of character in the visage of those, and a tame agonized look which expressed nothing of him either in life or death, for his complacency of countenance had nothing of tameness when living, and I was assured that the agony of dissolution was presently restored to a sweet serenity in every feature. I sent to Mr. Burke to come and see the amendments. Mr. Byng also came by chance, and their opinions of the visible improvement gave me infinite satisfaction. Had I wrote to your lordship just then, it would have been in a sanguine strain, but I postponed till a cast was made, which had some delay from Nollekens having some distant journeys to take; but when he brought it, though the appearance in the white plaster did not quite answer to me as the brown clay model, yet I thought nothing further could be done, and therefore, as he said he had a remarkable fine piece of marble, I ordered him to begin the bust and get forward with it as fast as possible, to make up for the long delay which my hatred to bespeak what (from my own feelings) I judged would be so unanswerable to your kind wishes in having it, had occasioned. I hope the waiting a while will prove more acceptable to your lordship in receiving rather a more expressive resemblance of your beloved friend, and that you will excuse my weakness in this matter. Believe me, it has not been neglect. I did not chuse to prejudice your ideas by giving you the whole of mine with regard to the cast I sent; but I will now say that I could never bear any of them, neither can I yet say that I am content, though vastly more so. I will have the honour of writing to your lordship again when the bust is near finished.

---

[1] Of Granada: "Histoire de Gil Blas," vii., 3.

[2] *See* vol. i., p. 373.

[3] Bust of marquis of Rockingham.

"I was shocked to hear of the death of your lord lieutenant, the poor duke of Rutland, who was our relation, and once very partial and affectionate to our house. I fear he took no care of his health, and that at last his case was not rightly managed. Poor Aubert, our old cook and clerk of the kitchen, has been very unfortunate in the loss of another master high in station and office; I wish he may be continued by the successor.

"The only good bargain I made for you at Dr. Wright's sale was in the purchase of the first folio translation of Boccace, 1620, very elegantly bound, which I got for twelve shillings, little more than the price of the binding. Perhaps, however, you have it already. If so, I will dispose of it to Payne. I could have bought a very fine copy of Puttenham's 'Art of Poesy,' 1589, but I had some recollection of having asked you about it once, and that you are possessed of it. You shall have Hickes's 'Thesaurus' and Oldys' 'British Librarian' with the rest. I very early desired a copy of the first edition of the 'Paston Letters'[1] to be laid by for you, and it is now valuable, as the editor has suppressed in the second edition a letter that was thought indecent. They are original letters written in the time of king Henry VI., and are very curious, though not so much so as one would expect. Among other things they contain some poetry dated in 1460, the very era that poor Chatterton fixed upon; on that account alone, therefore, I know you will wish to see them. When are we to have the first essays of the Irish Academy? Some years ago I published the poem of 'Romeo and

---

[1] Published by John Fenn in 1787.

Juliet,' on which the play was founded. It is too bulky to reprint entire, but I mean to add at the end of the play the more material parts of it. To the former edition I subjoined two extracts from the original Italian novel of Luigi da Porto; but I now think it will be better to give translations of them. You will find them in p. 278, and p. 379 of my supplement to Shakspeare. It is so long since I have looked into an Italian book, that I fear I should make but sorry work with them, and shall be much obliged to you if you will translate these two passages for me, as closely as is consistent with elegance. It will not be more than a morning's work. I have lately taken some pains to find out who it was that first gave such a strange turn to the classical story of Venus and Adonis, as Shakespeare has done, who has, you know, represented him as insensible to the charms of the goddess. Two or three English poets before his time had, I find, misrepresented the story in the same manner; but I strongly suspect this twist first came from some of the Italian poets. Can you give me any information on this subject? What says Marini in his long poem?

"Here is an unconscionable long letter to make up for delay; and yet I have one or two matters to mention. Dr. M. Kearney[1] mentioned to me when he was in London that on Dr. Johnson's receiving his diploma from Dublin, he wrote a very civil letter[2] to Dr. Leland, who transmitted it. Mr. Boswell wrote some months ago to young Leland about it, and he promised to search among his father's papers, but he has not written since. I wish much it could be found, because a story has gone abroad that Johnson set no value on this Irish degree, which this letter would confute. He likewise very kindly wrote to some man who was employed in the college kitchen, who had a mind to breed his son a scholar, and wrote to Johnson for advice. Perhaps Dr. J. Kearney could recover this. There is, I am told, no trace of Johnson's answer to the diploma on their books. Sir J. Hawkins[3] has very fairly and very deservedly been wrote and laughed down. Hardly any of his second edition have been sold. Though he hung about Johnson at the latter end, he never knew him. His denying that Johnson ever loved his wife, and that he had merely talked himself into thinking so, is one of the most curious assertions that ever biographer produced. There is scarcely a material fact in his book truly stated. He has brought much odium upon Johnson by saying that he deserted a near relation, one Hely, and preferred his servant to him. The truth is the man was no relation, and he did not desert him. He was married to Johnson's cousin, by whom he had no child, and then married another woman. Notwithstanding the bond of union was then broken, Johnson was always very kind to him, and very often gave him money, though he had no good opinion of him. You perhaps have not heard of a very curious fact. Sir John wanted to cheat poor Frank, Johnson's servant, of a gold watch and cane, and Frank, not choosing to lose them, from that time became as black again as he was before."

72.—CHARLEMONT to MALONE.

i.—1787, December 7, Dublin.—"As the execution of your commissions will necessarily take up some considerable time, I could not prevail on myself to leave your letters for so long a space wholly unanswered, and therefore now write merely to inform you that I shall be diligent in my endeavours to obey your commands. Johnson's [1] very civil letter to Leland,[2] upon receiving his diploma, is in the recollection of many of the fellows, but, as no entry either is or could have been made of it in the books, I fear it will be difficult to ascertain its contents. The best chance is that it may yet be in the possession of young Leland, and I hope to find some one who may have influence enough to prevail on him carefully to search for it among his father's papers. The other letter, to an officer in the college kitchen, is also well remembered, and John Kearney [3] has promised, if possible, to find it, though he seems almost to despair. I greatly fear that the council books [4] of the period you mention have been destroyed, and have not as yet been able, from a variety of occupations in which I have been lately engaged, to find a proper person to examine into that fact, and, if still extant, to search the records; every possible investigation shall, however, be made, as well in the council books as in the auditor-general's office.

---

[1] Michael Kearney, D.D., appointed archdeacon of Raphoe in 1798.

[2] *See* page 63.

[3] Sir John Hawkins, author of a history of science and practice of music, 1786; "Life of Samuel Johnson," 1787.

"With regard to the task you have assigned me, I fear that, through absolute inability, I must, however unwillingly, decline it. A morning's work to you, who from genius and practice have acquired a facility, such it may appear; but to me it seems a work of labour and of real difficulty. Besides, alas, I have neither mornings nor evenings, the former being wholly employed in that tiresome discipline which is necessary to my health, and the latter being absolute nullities, as the weakness of my sight will not permit me to read or write a line by candlelight. In order, however, to obviate the self-accusation of having, through laziness, refused to obey those commands which I shall ever receive with pleasure, I have translated the whole passage, but with so little success and so little to my own liking, that I cannot prevail upon myself to send it to you, and must, I fear, leave you to seek the assistance of those public notaries of literature, those sworn translators, with which London swarms.

"You do me perfect justice in supposing that I should be sorry indeed to receive Mr. Walpole's book at the price you mention. My most truly affectionate compliments and sincere respects to that most amiable of men. Thank you for having procured for me the first edition of Fenn's publication.[5] It appears to me so very curious and valuable, that, if you think there are any additions of consequence in the second edition, I would keep that also, which otherwise I will return to my bookseller. I cannot find that Marini has ascribed any degree of cruelty to his Adonis.[6] He is desperately in love at the first interview, though his timidity renders the 'agaceries' of the goddess necessary. Neither do I know of any Italian author who has treated the subject differently. Dr. Stock [7] has received your letter, and probably you have by this time had an answer.

"Your most acceptable present is not yet arrived; you may be assured that it will be dear to me, not only as a collector, but as a friend.

"I well know that many of my Shakspear quartos were subsequent to the folio edition, and consequently of no value, but what I meant, when I last wrote, was a third volume, to consist of the imputed plays, if you should find it possible to complete the collection, to which a few only were wanting. I have not the first translation of Boccaccio, and beg that you would send it. Has it not yet been possible to procure the modern quarto of Dante in the best paper? Of the 'Archæologia' you sent me the 1st, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th volumes, so that the second is wanting to complete seven volumes, and I believe some have been published since these were sent. A list of the plates is not so easy to make out, as they are not all numbered. I have, of the second volume, plate 36 and 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, together with some letter-press thereunto belonging; unnumbered, I have London Bridge, the chapel of St. Thomas, and two maps of London, a tesselated pavement near Woodstock, plan of St. Martin's church, south and west prospects of the same, one plate of a mummy, and another of its coffin. These are, I believe, all the plates in my possession, so that there are a great many wanting; and perhaps it might be best, in order to prevent mistakes, if the set of plates could be sent complete, in which case I would return those I already have. If this can be accomplished, I would wish that you would get them bound, or, at the least, stitched together, as there may be some difficulty in arranging them here. You see how perfectly prudent I have been in writing to you so as to divide my letter, as my eyes would never have been able to accomplish the contents of this, and of another which I hope soon to send you, at one sitting."

---

[1] Samuel Johnson; the letter here referred to will be found in his Life by Boswell, edited by G. B. Hill, Oxford, 1887, vol. i., p. 518.

[2] Thomas Leland. *See* vol. i., p. 449.

[3] Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin; provost, 1799; bishop of Ossory, 1806.

[4] Of the English Government in Ireland.

[5] Original Letters: Edited by John Fenn. London: 1787–9.

[6] "L'Adone," poem by Giovanni-Battista Marini, who died in 1625.

[7] Joseph Stock, D.D., prebendary of Lismore; subsequently bishop of Killalu and of Waterford.

72, ii.—1787, December [9,] Dublin.—"To begin with what is most interesting, I have carefully perused your dissertation, and, not as a friend but as a critic, must declare that it appears to me not only ingenious but convincing, and replete with argument as decisive as the nature of the subject will admit. My sentiments upon the point have always been nearly similar to yours, and I am now happy in finding that opinion, which arose merely from the appearance of dissimilitude in the colour of composition, confirmed by proof. As an indication, however, of my strict impartiality, I must say that there is one circumstance in which I find it difficult perfectly to agree with you, as I cannot easily suppose that Shakspear would have ventured to exhibit on the stage his 'rifacimento' during the life-time of the original authors, or that, if he had, these authors would patiently and silently have suffered him to enjoy that applause, a part of which was due to them, without reclaiming their right of originality. When Berni new-wrote the 'Orlando Inamorato,' he had at least the pretence of modernizing an ancient poem, written half a century before his time, but he would scarcely have hazarded his 'rifacimento' during the life of Boiardo. This circumstance is, however, of little importance respecting the general scope of your argument, and I only mention my doubts to evince the sincerity of my commendations.

"I am sorry to say that I have been able to do scarcely anything in the business of your commissions. The very diligent and ingenious Mr. Walker[1] having undertaken to search the records, reports that the council books have been all burnt, down to the year 1711, and that, after the strictest search, he can find nothing in the auditor-general's office relative to the acting of plays at the castle [of Dublin]. The most ancient theatre of Dublin appears to have been a booth erected in Hoggin Green,[2] now College Green, where 'Mysteries' principally were acted, to which the lords lieutenant were frequently invited. A theatre in Werburgh-street[3] succeeded to this, which was open till the year

---

[1] Joseph Cooper Walker, author of "Historical Memoirs of Irish Bards, etc." *See* p. 74.

[2], [3] *See* "History of the City of Dublin," 1854–9, vol. i., p. 38; vol iii., pp. 3, 7.

1642, and the last play there exhibited was 'Langartha,' a tragi-comedy, by Henry Burnell, an Irish gentleman. Respecting the rejoicings mentioned by Ware in a manuscript in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, is the following passage: 'In the parliament of 1541, wherein Henry VIII. was declared king of Ireland, there were present, the earls of Ormonde and Desmond, the lord Barry, McGilla Phadrig, chieftain of Ossory, the sons of O'Bryan, McCarthy More, with many Irish lords, and on Corpus-Christi day they rode about the streets with the procession in their parliament robes, and the Nine Worthies was played, and the Mayor bore the mace before the deputy on horseback.' This is all the intelligence Mr. Walker can at present procure. If anything to your purpose should hereafter occur, it shall be communicated to you.

"With regard to Johnson's letter to Leland, I have spoken to some friends of the young man, who will endeavour to persuade him diligently to search for it among his father's papers. I have, however, as yet heard nothing of it, and have some reason to fear that a very unprofitable purpose of publishing some memoirs of the doctor will make him unwilling to find it. The other letter is, I fear, absolutely irrecoverable, as no trace can be found of any papers belonging to the college steward, who has long since been dead.

"Dublin, 9 December, 1787.—So far had I written when I was fatally interrupted by an event of the most tragical nature, in which, I am confident, your grief will join with mine. Poor Ned O'Brien is dead, carried off by a putrid fever, the effect of a cold caught in the exercise of his duty as sheriff. Judge of our distress—he has left a widow and nine children. His second daughter, a most amiable and lovely girl, has for some time past been with us, and her grief is, if possible, an aggravation to ours. This house is really a house of mourning. But no more of this shocking subject, which will, I know, greatly affect your sympathizing tenderness. Let us, if possible, talk of something else.

"If I were sure that you would either alter it without mercy, or throw it into the fire, I should be almost tempted to send you the translation, as I wish to shew you how implicit I am in obeying your commands. Should I find a method of sending it without postage, which it certainly is not worth, I may perhaps hereafter be imprudent enough to suffer myself to indulge my natural impulse towards an acquiescence in every desire of yours, but it must be under certain conditions, which, if my mind holds, I will specify. Adieu. Indeed, I am not in the humour of writing, and except to you, I know not to whom I could write."

73.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1788, January 4, Dublin.—"It is most true that during the late administration I seldom, if ever, attended the privy council, and that for two cogent reasons: because I did not chuse to assist at measures which I disapproved, and could not oppose with any possibility of effect; and because I did not wish weekly to set my name to infamous libels against my country. It is also true, as reported by the news printers, who do me a most unmerited honour in giving importance to an occurrence so perfectly trifling, that, since the arrival of our new viceroy,[1] I have sometimes attended at council, because there was a probability the above-mentioned reasons might no longer exist, and because it is a maxim with me that every new lord lieutenant should be well received and narrowly watched. The marquis of Buckingham certainly merited a good reception. During the short time he was here [1] his attention to business was miraculous, and its effects began already to be felt; defaulters were ferreted out of their most secret holes, and there was every reason to hope that, had his administration lasted, the honey of their hive would have been no longer a prey to drones and wasps. The financial wounds we have lately received are deep and dangerous, and without immediate remedy would probably be mortal. A surgeon's aid was necessary, and we had reason to expect from our present operator skill, care, and boldness. So far for his reception, which, however, I am free to confess was, in my opinion, too extravagant (and that for reasons which I have not now time to mention), but in which I verily believe the majority of the people will be disappointed. Respecting his future administration, time alone can discover its tendencies. But of this I am sure, that if watchfulness be necessary over all viceroys, it is more peculiarly so in the present instance. If lord Buckingham comes over unincumbered by any damnable project, he will make an excellent lieutenant. But if, on the other hand, he has anything bad to push forward, no man can be more dangerous, since he will be skilful, violent, and obstinate, 'quicquid vult, valde vult.' I have, however, no reason to think at present that he means any harm; he professes otherwise. But from what I have said you will readily conclude that I, for my own part, keep myself clear from any intimate or, in any degree, pledging connection; and that while I give no peevish opposition, from which indeed I have ever been averse, I am ready upon any occasion to oppose strenuously and violently.[2] But, indeed, I have written till my eyes inform me I ought to conclude, and I greatly fear that neither my character nor my composition will be intelligible to you.

---

[1] George, marquis of Buckingham, appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland in November 1787.

"Why do you blame the faculty for the poor duke's [3] death? Alas, he destroyed himself, and no skill could probably have saved him."

74.—Malone to Charlemont.

1788, January 7, London.—"I ought long before now to have thanked you for both your letters, and am at present so overpowered with accumulated business of the press that I can make you but a very poor and inadequate return for the trouble you have had the goodness to take. Though we have not obtained much information, yet it is something to know that little or none is to be got. As no credit could be obtained from such a small matter, I never intended to put your name to the translation of the extract from Da Porto's novel; so you can lose nothing by it, were there any imperfection in it,—a suspicion that no one would entertain but yourself. I request therefore you will send it to me, as I shall have occasion for it very soon, otherwise I must be under the necessity of scouring up my Italian and working it out myself, a task for which I at present have very little time to spare, for I am very desirous to publish before the end of May and have yet four plays to revise and print, besides prefaces, etc. A frank, I imagine, would not be difficult to get from Mr. Fitzherbert or Sackville Hamilton, and would bring the whole at once. . . . It is a melancholy thing to reflect how very few of those with whom we set out in life will remain to us towards the close of it; but it is the necessary price we must pay for long life, and the only relief is to draw the cords more tight with the few that remain. . . . I have lately heard that your Academy volume has just made its appearance, and hope you will be so good as to send it to me whenever you have an opportunity. The Dante (large paper) which you want so much Payne seems entirely to despair of; the small one could more easily be procured. Your books have been a long time delayed for this.

---

[1], [2] *See* vol. i., pp. 156-8.

[3] The duke of Rutland died at Dublin on 24 October 1787, in his thirty-third year.

"I think there is a great deal of weight in your objection with respect to my hypothesis of a 'rifacimento' while the original authors were yet living; but my endeavouring to mark out the original authors was merely 'ex abundanti,' and my failure in that, as you justly observe, would not at all affect my principal argument. Since the dissertation was printed off I have found that I was led into a mistake by Mr. Tyrwhitt's manner of stating the passage from Greene's[1] pamphlet, which was the supposing that the words, 'a crow beautified with our feathers,' etc., were addressed solely to George Peele.[2] Upon examining the pamphlet, they are clearly addressed to all the three persons before alluded to, Marlowe,[3] Lodge,[4] and Peele, and therefore any one of them may have been the person joined with him in writing 'The Contention,' etc. Dr. Farmer has pointed out to me a passage which renders it much more probable that Marlowe was the coadjutor. Greene died in 1592, and Marlowe in the same or the next year; so if we suppose the 'rifacimento' made in 1593, or 1594, it would get over your objection, but then the passage quoted from Greene could not apply to the subject. I have suggested in the latter end of the essay that these two dramas (or one of them) were written by the author of the old 'King John,' and I many years ago suspected Marlowe to be the author of that play. Marlowe at his death left so ill a fame behind him that no piece could derive any credit from his name, and hence perhaps it happened that it was suppressed."

75.—CHARLEMONT to MALONE.

1788, January 12, Dublin.—"My principal scruple being now removed by your assurance that you do not mean to affix my name, in obedience to your command I send you my very inadequate version, with this stipulation, however, that you correct it without mercy—which may be the more necessary as my idea of translation differs in some respects from that which is generally received. Not content with giving the sense of my author, I would always wish, if possible, to communicate his manner, which is, in my opinion, best done by, as far as the difference of idiom will permit copying his phrase, a mode of translating hostile to elegance, but friendly to fidelity; and I would at all times rather chuse to be faithful than elegant. Above all things, the characteristic of the original should be preserved, which is, in the case before us, a certain simplicity or naiveté, and this I have endeavoured to copy, though in so doing I may very probably have rendered my language so faulty as to require much correction. There are some parts of the original which, as printed, I believe to be erroneous, but they are of no great consequence, and I have given what is, I am pretty confident, the true sense.

---

[1] Robert Greene, writer and actor, a contemporary with Shakspeare.

[2] Dramatist and poet.

[3] Christopher Marlowe.

[4] Thomas Lodge, physician, poet, and dramatist.

"I send you the impression of an amulet of gold, with an inscription, which perhaps some of your learned friends may be able to decypher, though it has hitherto baffled our antiquarians, and my reason for communicating to you is that the name 'Modo,' or 'Mahu,' seems to be often repeated in it. The prince of darkness is a gentleman, 'Modo' he is called, and 'Mahu.' There is also an inscription on the other side, but without that important word. If you look into page 102 of Johnstone's translation of the 'Death-song of Lodbro'[1] you will find something relating to MacDuff which may possibly be worth your notice. I am surprised that the large paper of Dante is not to be met with in London; but, as I wish for this edition principally for its magnificence, the small paper would not answer my purpose. Could not Payne send to Italy for it, and, in the meanwhile, transmit the parcel without it?"

76.—MORNINGTON to CHARLEMONT.

1788, January 25, Hertford.—"Will you permit me to request your countenance and protection for one of my brothers, whom the lord lieutenant has been so kind as to take into his family? He will wait on you with this letter, and I flatter myself that you will not receive him unfavourably. I cannot close my letter without expressing the sincere pleasure which I take, from the report of your having declared your approbation of the appointment of lord Buckingham; because, loving him most warmly, I am rejoiced to hear that he is likely to meet with that support which I know to be the most creditable in Ireland."

77.—CHARLEMONT to MORNINGTON.

1788, January.—"Recommendations which contribute to our own satisfaction are always cheerfully received and punctually executed. Such is this of yours. Your brother's acquaintance must necessarily be not only an honour but a pleasure to me. We have visited each other, but hitherto without success. Reports in England, as I hear from all hands, do me much more honour than I deserve. Since the arrival of the marquis, though received with politeness and even cordiality, I have not had a moment's private conversation with him. The truth is that I have nothing to say of importance sufficient to justify me breaking in upon that time which is constantly and I doubt not usefully employed; and he has not sent for me, because he has had no particular business with me. In so doing he has acted just as I could have wished—doing right, according to my taste. You are well acquainted with my sentiments respecting him, and you heard that I have openly supported those sentiments in opposition to all such as maligned him, when departed, for those very measures which had gained him my esteem. But viceroys departed and inchoative are two very different things, and you know me well enough to be assured that, even with the most sanguine hopes, and the highest expectations, I will in no sort pledge myself to any administration."

78.—WILLIAM CAMPBELL, D.D., to CHARLEMONT.

1788, February 9, Armagh.—"It is with peculiar pleasure, at all times, that I receive the honour of your lordship's letters. Your last, which I received yesterday, filled me, however, with concern and a mixture of surprise. Because, though last year there might have been room to speak of riots in our county, yet at present and for a considerable time past I have not heard of any outrages committed, and particularly since last assizes, I have not heard of one instance of riot or tumult committed by the 'Peep of day boys,' which is the name given to the Protestants who, more than a year ago, took the arms from Roman Catholics, in doing which, for want of knowledge of the law, they thought they acted legally. I have heard that numbers of Roman Catholics have assembled, sometimes of late with arms, near this town. But these accounts are apt to be exaggerated, and where the meetings were said to be most numerous, no outrage was complained of. I have heard of some being committed elsewhere, but of such a nature as might easily be punished by the common course of justice. So far as I know, and am able to judge from information, there appears to be a becoming disposition in Protestants to live at peace with their Roman Catholic neighbours. It is their opinion that Roman Catholics should not be armed. That is a political question which properly lies before government.

---

[1] "Lodbrokar Quida," published at Copenhagen, in 1782, by James Johnstone, chaplain to British envoy at the court of Denmark.

"The surprise I expressed above is somewhat removed, shall I say, or heightened, by reading a letter which our sovereign[1] has been kind enough to shew me from Mr. Secretary Fitzherbert,[2] in which he says that my lord lieutenant had received information that very violent outrages have been committed and are still continuing in the county of Armagh, and earnestly exhorts the magistrates to exert themselves in restoring tranquillity and preserving the public peace; and to enable them to do so effectually, had ordered troops to march to Armagh, Tanderagee, Keady, and Newtownhamilton, where it appears disturbances are most violent, where they are to remain stationed and assisting to the civil magistrate in the execution of his office, etc. This letter was communicated to a number of gentlemen yesterday, who had met here for the purpose of choosing a surgeon for the county infirmary, and was heard by some of our magistrates with no little indignation. They expressed their astonishment that anyone should abuse the ear of government by giving information of so alarming a nature without first consulting and taking the opinion of the magistrates of the county at a publick meeting. Mr. Workman, I am told, for I was not present, intends to pursue this matter as far as he can, and to have it thoroughly inquired into, if in his power, and I hope a meeting of the magistrates will be called that a just representation of the state of the county may be laid before his excellency.

"In regard to the whole of this matter, it is the common opinion of the most intelligent men I have conversed with, that if the magistrates had exerted their authority at the beginning, the peace of the country would have been preserved; and it is their opinion at present, that the magistrates have it easily in their power to preserve peace and tranquillity without the army; and there is no doubt but that they would be highly supported in the execution of their office by numbers of men who have shewn themselves determined always to preserve the peace. Among these I must mention, and you will hear with pleasure, your lordship's company of Volunteers, who have on every occasion shewn themselves actuated by that love of their country and of the laws, which acquired them the approbation and protection of your lordship. The same must he said of the Volunteers of Tanderagee, under the command of their worthy and spirited captain Patten, who suppressed the riots there at the beginning, and have preserved the peace of the town and neighbourhood. And yet, I observe the towns of Armagh and Tanderagee have been pointed out to the lord lieutenant as places where violent outrages are continuing, tho' they are in peace and tranquillity. If in remote parts of the county, or among the mountains about Newtownhamilton, outrages and religious wars are carried on, I know it not. But this I know, that every drunken quarrel, or rescue of cattle, or unfortunate accident that happens, is immediately ascribed to these parties, though in no sort connected with them. And it is an observation that occurs to everyone, that these representations are made in hopes of introducing the odious establishment of the police into our county. But this I do not give as a charge I would bring, because I know not the authors of such information, or with what view they have given it, or whether they were led away by ill-grounded reports, or by imaginary fears, or by want of just judgment of the temper of the people, or by limited, partial views of ill humour that may appear about themselves, and which they may too hastily suppose reaches further. I will take the liberty again of expressing my wishes that a meeting of the magistrates should be called, as I think in that way the justest information of the state of the county must be had, and must be satisfactory to the lord lieutenant.

---

[1] Of the town of Belfast.

[2] Hon. Alleyne Fitzherbert, chief secretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland.

"For some time I have had it in my thoughts to write to your lordship about our affairs[1] in particular; but I was averse from giving you trouble, well knowing your kind attention and disposition to serve us. It is said that government intends to bring forward some plan of education. I hope it will not be Mr. Orde's. But is there any reason to hope that Presbyterians will be considered in it? Or are we to remain neglected? When earl Temple was lord lieutenant, he thought highly of the Presbyterian mode of education, and recommended to the commissioners for establishing 'Les Genevois,'[2] that they would also establish a college under their care, and after the model of Geneva. Might not we, whose fathers were long fixed in this kingdom, have some claim to the like privilege? In reviewing our history, we sometimes think our services to our country lay in a claim. But I am now grown old, and have seen too much of the world to indulge sanguine hopes."

79.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1788, February 13, Belfast.—"I write, my lord, amidst the cracks of musketry and the thunder of artillery. The regiment quartered here and the Volunteers of the town are actually firing, in one line, 'feux de joie' in commemoration of the revolution, to which their and our artillery are pronouncing loud amens. At least three hundred good Whigs are to dine presently at the inn, but in different corps and clubs, and as I have the honour to be appointed president for the day over the oldest and largest of them, I must set about preparing a long string of toasts. I was going to make my bows, but shall not, in hopes that I may be able to assure you at a late hour that we have not burned the town. If I am not 'compos calami' when I get home, it must e'en wait for to-morrow's post.

"When your lordship looks at the head-piece and the tail-piece of this epistle, and perceives that they are as little connected in point of time as of situation, you will conclude that I was not even 'compos mentis' when I returned from our carnival, especially if you have seen my bead-roll of toasts in Joy,[1] every one of which, I fairly and freely confess, I did drink in a bumper. But your lordship for once would be mistaken; and two facts may convince you of the injustice of such a conclusion. The one is, that I retired immediately after our good bishop; the other is, that some years ago (and I am able though not willing to drink more now), when I was honoured with the chair on occasion of the town's entertaining lord Camden, then recently dismissed,[2] I actually drank sixty bumpers, (so fond am I of my own toasts,) after riding forty miles in a hot summer day; made a most eloquent speech to his lordship ('facundi calices,' etc.) and walked steadily home to my hovel. Our jubilee went off notably—perfect harmony and much animation. I got home, however, too late for the post, was hurried abroad next morning, and have but just returned."

---

[1] Of the Presbyterians in Ireland.

[2] A viceregal warrant to promote the settlement in Ireland of a colony from Geneva was issued at Dublin, on 4 April 1783.

80.—Robert Perceval to Charlemont.

1788, February 28, Dublin.—"I have the honour to acquaint your lordship that, on the 23rd of February instant, the Royal Irish Academy came to an unanimous resolution of perpetuating by a medal[3] the grateful sense they retain of your lordship's unremitted zeal in promoting the interests and designs of their institution; appointing at the same time a committee for the purpose of soliciting your lordship's acquiescence in their wishes and of carrying into effect their resolution. I am directed by this committee to request your lordship will have the goodness to appoint an hour on Saturday next at which they may wait upon you with the above resolution, hoping that, under the sanction of your lordship's consent, they may be enabled to acquit themselves of the trust reposed on them by the Academy."

81.—Malone to Charlemont.

1788, March 12, London.—"I was much vexed, on calling at Payne's yesterday, to find that he had sent away the case with your books without giving me notice, so as that I might have forwarded to you such books as I had myself collected by the same conveyance. I had particularly desired him not to send them without apprizing me, but in the hurry of business he had forgot; so my parcel must go by another conveyance. Perhaps it will be better to wait for the sale of major Pearson's books, which is to come on the beginning of next month, at which I shall be able to pick up something for you, and shall probably be quite broken myself, for it is the greatest collection of curious old English poetry and plays that has come to market since that of the late Mr. West. You may guess what a desperate state things are come to when I left an order at a sale yesterday for the 'Massacre at Paris'[1] by Marlowe to be bought for you, and on the bookseller assuring me that he had two most extravagant commissions for it, I was obliged, in order to secure it, to tell him he must buy it at all events, though it should cost two guineas. It is a very rare piece. Almost all the old plays that I bought at Dr. Wright's sale last year I was forced to give two guineas for, and for some three pounds. This out-does all former out-doings. In fact, by these things being so much quoted in the late editions of Shakspeare, the curiosity of many new purchasers has been excited, and we are now suffering by our own communications.

---

[1] The "News-letter," Belfast, was published by Henry and Robert Joy.

[2] In January 1770.

[3] The die for this medal was executed from a design by William Mossop. On the obverse is a portrait of lord Charlemont. Legend: 'Jacobus, comes de Charlemont, præs[es].' On the reverse is a figure of Hibernia, with a harp, cap of liberty, and emblems of the objects for the cultivation of which the academy was instituted—science, literature, and antiquities. In exergue: 'Veteres revocavit artes. Acad[emia] reg[ia] Hib[erniæ] Inst[ituta] Jan. 28, MDCCLXXXVI.' The medal is known as the Cunningham Prize Medal of the Royal Irish Academy, the disbursements in relation to it being derived from a fund bequeathed in the last century to that institution for honorary premiums by Timothy Cunningham, author of archivistic and juridicial works.

"I ought long since to have thanked you for your excellent translation of Da Porto, which was everything that I wished. I took the liberty of making one or two very slight alterations in the epistle dedicatory, which I hope you will not disapprove of. For 'a man of about fifty years old,' I printed 'a man about,' etc., as I conceive it should be either so, or 'of about fifty years of age.' 'Accostarmi' no doubt means 'accosting me,' as you have rendered it; but as 'accosting me, thus addressed me' sounded not pleasant to my ear, I ventured to substitute 'This Peregrino, drawing near me, thus addressed me,' a sense which I imagine 'accostare' will bear. For one other change I have ventured to go still farther. I could not make any sense out of 'because a cruel fair one, pretending otherwise, (ultramente mostrando,) does not love you.' You very truly observe that there are some misprints in the Italian; and on turning that sentence again and again in my mind, I cannot but suspect that I printed it inaccurately, or that the copy from which I transcribed the passage was incorrect. I had not the original novel, and was forced to make use of a modern re-impression of it printed at Venice, with many other old tales, in six volumes, about twenty years ago. If the lady 'pretended otherwise,' she pretended to love him, and this is directly adverse to old Peregrino's argument. So, in the true spirit of a commentator, I cannot help thinking that the author wrote 'mostrando alteramente,' and so I have printed 'because a cruel and disdainful fair one does not love you.' With these very slight changes I hope you will not be displeased. I have not presumed to alter one word of the long passage that contains an account of the lovers' death, nor do I see a word that could be changed for the better. The only word that I have any doubt about is 'petto'—'receiving the draught into his bosom.' I am not quite sure whether this is not too literal, and whether it would not be more agreeable for English idiom to say 'into his stomach'; though the other is more elegant and perhaps defensible in a tale of this kind. This last is not yet printed off.

"I suppose you have heard much of Burke's astonishing performance on the business of [Warren] Hastings. I had the good fortune to hear him on the first, second, and fourth day, but could not get a ticket on the third, when he gave so pathetic a description of the tortures that had been practised in India. All the papers have made sad stuff of his most delicate touches, on a point of so nice a nature that nothing but the most consummate art could have guarded him against ridicule. . . . You may easily judge how the lords lean, from the determination that they came to—not to decide on each article separately, but to lump the whole together. The fifth reason in the protest is levelled at a most extravagant Tory speech of the chancellor's in the debate, in which he compared Pym, Hampden, and the other patriots of the last century to a gang of highwaymen. Charles

---

[1] "The Massacre at Paris, with the death of the Duke of Guise: As it was plaide by the right honourable the lord high admirall his servants." London. Undated.

Fox, however, in spite of this determination, asserted at the bar that the proofs of criminality were so decisive, that he defied the lords not to find Hastings guilty on some or other of the charges. He made one of the best legal speeches that I ever heard on the mode of procedure—whether by articles separately or to take the whole—and fairly laid the lawyers on the opposite side on their backs. The opposition are in high spirits on their numbers, the other night, relative to the question of the board of control paying the four regiments that are now going to India out of the revenues of Bengal. They assert that Mr. Pitt's new declaratory bill, coupled with his former bill, will exactly do, without pretending to do so, what their famous bill, which cost them their places, openly professed to do, and which was so clamourously decried by the present ministry as annihilating the king's prerogative as well as the company's charter. Pitt was forced to re-commit his bill, and he is this day to try how he can meet with the objection.

"In Payne's catalogue just published is a book that I thought you would like, but the price being fourteen guineas, I would not venture on it without your knowledge. I enclose the title. The drawings are finely executed, many of them whole-length figures of the savage persons discovered in the voyage, and the whole in fine preservation. Payne promised to keep it unsold till I could get your answer; let me know therefore by return of post.

[Enclosure.] "'284. The pictures of sundry things collected and counterfeited according to the truth, in the voyage made by Sir W. Raleigh, knight, for the discovery of La Virginea, in the 27th year of the most happie reigne of our soveraigne lady Queene Elizabeth. Seventy-five drawings, coloured, in the original binding. Folio.—Fourteen guineas.'"

82.—CHARLEMONT to MALONE.

1788, March 16, Dublin.—"By the paucity of your amendments, I have reason to fear that you have been much too partial to my translation; but a heart like yours can with difficulty defend itself from partiality where a friend is concerned even in the most trifling degree. The only correction I doubt of is your alteration of 'mostrando altramente,' not being clear that the phrase you have substituted is perfect Italian. The sense of the words as they stand appears to me natural enough: 'Will you always live in misery because a cruel fair one, who pretends to love you, loves you not?' Or, in other words: 'Because you have now discovered that the love of your mistress was a pretended passion, and that she has cruelly deceived you.' Your embarassment, I suppose, principally proceeded from the epithet 'crudéle'; but is not deceit in love the greatest act of cruelty? The man who finds himself deceived is far more cruelly treated than he whose addresses were never admitted. Besides, we may well suppose that this jilt from having appeared extremely fond was now become the contrary, slighting and illtreating the lover she had formerly caressed; so that, at the time of Peregrino's speech, she was really cruel, and the more so as her present cruelty was contrasted with her former apparent fondness, and the unhappy lover felt not only the pangs of slighted love, but the corroding shame of haveing been deceived. But enough of this. It does not signify a farthing which way it is printed or translated. The book of which you have sent the title must be worth the money if the drawings be well executed. If you think them so, by all means purchase it for me. I see in Payne's catalogue a quarto edition of Scott's travels. Let that also be sent in the next parcel, together with the best copy of the 'Ovidius Delphini.' I am so very partial to Ford's plays, that I would wish to have them all bound in one volume, and for that purpose would unbind those I have provided I could get the remainder. Those in my possession are—'The Broken Heart,' 'The Lovers' Melancholy,' 'Love's Sacrifice,' 'The Fancies chaste and noble,' 'The Chronicle of Perkin Warbeck,' ''Tis Pity she's a whore,' 'The Ladie's tryal.' Of these 'Love's Sacrifice' is imperfect.

"As a man, and for the sake of human nature, I am happy that Hastings has been so ably attacked. As a friend, I am delighted with Burke's success; when next you see him, tell him so from me. It is, I think, impossible that even partiality can screen the tyrant of the east from punishment, and the disgrace will be greater in proportion to that partiality.

"I have no news to send you from hence. Our session has gone on rather sleepily—no new mischief done, but none of the old corrected. Considering what passed, even this cessation of evil is something, [though far] [1] from satisfactory. Grattan made a great [figure in] the business of tythes, but the published speech is a wretched one, making nonsense of all his excellences."

83.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1788, April 2, Belfast.—"I have this instant received a letter from Armagh, and I shall take the liberty of troubling your lordship with a long extract from it, having nothing equally interesting to fill my paper with:—'Our assizes ended this way: our grand jury found no bills against Popish rioters, and our petty-juries acquitted all Protestant rioters, except about seven unfortunate traversers, who were charged where I was one of the twelve judges, and whose rioting did not savour of the religious war. Power [2] and Toler [3] have both declared their intention of representing our county as in a state of riot, and that the police should be extended to us. The clergy say it is necessary. How shall we avert it? For, bad as we are, and as we have, first by the supineness and next by the folly of magistracy, been allowed to become, I still flatter myself the virtue of the county is quite sufficient to get the business under. I would to God our worthy governor was to call for fairer information and more just representations of matters than I fear he gets, and was he to honour us with a short residence during the summer and inquire into matters himself, it might serve the country and the public essentially.' I beg your pardon, my good lord, for trespassing on you by so long an extract; but as the thing hath a serious aspect, and might merit your attention, I thought it my duty to lay it before you. For my own part, I begin to 'despair of the republic'; it seems to tend fast to a quiet euthanasia; the corruption and profligacy of all orders seem to announce it. Doth not the late declaratory law demask the present immaculate administration?"

84.—J. C. WALKER to CHARLEMONT.

1788, May 5, [Dublin,] Eccles-street.—"I hope your lordship will pardon the liberty I have taken in giving to the public my essay on the

---

[1] MS. torn.

[2] Richard Power, baron of the Exchequer, Ireland.

[3] John Toler, solicitor-general, Ireland; subsequently lord Norbury.

Irish dress,[1] in its original epistolary form, and honour with a place in your lordship's library the copy which accompanies this. Having made two feeble attempts to elucidate the antiquities of my country, I am now about to abandon the subject. Indeed, I doubt if I shall resume it again, unless it be for the purpose of doing what the herald to the order of St. Patrick (if there be such an officer) ought to do, that is, to collect materials for an historical memoir on knighthood in Ireland, chiefly with a view of preserving from oblivion the several circumstances attending the institution of that order.

"In a letter which I had the honor to receive a few days since from sir William Jones, there is the following passage which I transcribe, as I am convinced it will give pleasure to your lordship :—'We shall soon, I hope, see faithful translations of Irish histories and poems. I shall be happy in comparing them with the Sanscrit, with which the ancient language of Ireland had certainly an affinity.'"

85.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1788, June 21, Belfast.—"Lord Donegal[2] figures here in the character of colonel to the Belfast battalion, whose drums and fifes rattle and squeak from his portals every night and morning. Would it be improper, or ineligible, to solicit his dining with the general? I suspect, indeed, it would be in vain. In matter of meats and drinks he thinks it more blessed to give than to receive; fines and rents are of a different family, a much younger one, it is true, yet more respected. At any rate, you should make him an honorary member of your royal Irish academy. He has expended 20,000*l.* on books not yet opened, and 10,000*l.* on shells not yet unpacked ; and on Thursday night he exhibited a magnifique museum at the rooms—three hundred and sixty vassals and vassalesses, all alive, though they had their skins stuffed before morning, for he led us off at midnight to sup in seven rooms at the 'Sun.' It was a mighty quiet and pleasant, though but a half-dressed sort of thing, very few of the money 'begums' wearing jewels. What idiots were those vagabonds to troop off that very morning! They would have seen more viands, I do suppose, on those seven tables, than are in the whole kingdom of Scotland; indeed, even the English squad confessed that they could not have such a supper out of London. His lordship is exceedingly pleased with his town and his navigation, and we are all pleased with him; he certainly is a courteous, well-disposed nobleman.

"I am charmed, my lord, with your volume[3]—Mr. P.'s tuneful, arch little ode[4] particularly delights me. It is a fine political allegory, beats Barclay's 'Argenis'[5] all to nothing. The moon, forsooth, as if she had anything to do with it except in the making! Does he think us such Arcadians as not to find out, that 'Changeful orb, mysterious power!' means the lieutenancy of Ireland? Till we hit on this key, the thing appeared a 'monstrum informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum'; the eye, however, was only locked up, and this key opened it, to stare and wink alternately. Read it now, my lord, and you will be delighted with the applicability of a hundred lines, from half an inch to six inches in length, to the chief, or the wrong-headed people. Indeed, most folks here swear the paper [1] on the woollen trade is worth all the rest of the volume. But you know what patriots we are,—it is merely because that paper does honour to Ireland."

---

[1] "An historical essay on the dress of the ancient and modern Irish," addressed to the earl of Charlemont, 4to., Dublin, 1788.

[2] Arthur Chichester, earl of Donegal, created earl of Belfast and marquis of Donegal in 1791.

[3] First volume of the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

[4] "Irregular ode to the moon," appended to "Thoughts on lyric poetry," by William Preston.

[5] "John Barclay his Argenis, or the loves of Poliarchus and Argenis." London: 1625.

86.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1788, August 1, Dublin.—"The situation in which I found the county of Armagh has given much uneasiness. I have, however, laboured to pacify all sides, and to allay that rancorous hate which existed between the parties. My labours have, I trust, had the desired effect, and I have reason to believe that all disturbance is now at an end. How strange is the inconstancy of the people! A few years ago, I was compelled to hazard all my popularity to prevent the Protestants from ruining themselves and their country by giving up all to the Papists; and now I am forced to a risque of the same popularity, to prevent them from cutting each others throats."

87.—JOHN CAULFIELD to CHARLEMONT.

1788, October 1, Clover Hill, near Cavan.—"It is to be hoped, by the spirited exertions of the few who compose the family your lordship presides over, the name of the real blood will be more numerous in the next, than it is fortuate enough to be in the present century. Considering the length of time since we have been transplanted into this kingdom, it is singular you should only have five cadets in your train, James, Thomas, Charles, Wade, and your humble servant, John, the whole of us the sons of the same great-grandfather; so we may thank the Byrnes, the Macgowrans, and the other Macs [2] who, by assuming our name, have obviated the possibility of its extinction, even had we all continued bachelors. Some unlucky incidents, however, have intervened to check in us this pride of numbers, as not a few of our allies have happened to figure away in the 'hue and cry,' and commence orators [3] at the place of execution. From the catastrophe of these pseudo-namesakes, it is demonstrable their inducement was not honourable; and I must, of course, impute it to the wicked artifice of some of your ministerial enemies, who, anxious to disgrace by any means a family in such high estimation from the patriotic virtues of its root, untainted by any degeneracy of the branches, has held out some allurement, for purposes ineffectual as illiberal. This is a plain solution, for if they were inveigled by lucrative motives of a less unworthy nature, they would have preferred the patronymics of Beresford, Boyle, Agar, Annesley, or any other in the index of offices, places, and pensions, to the honest and Roman name of Caulfield. It is therefore time for us to set about the recruiting business in good earnest, that we may display under your banners, 'Deo duce, ferro comitante,' [4] a squadron or two of aborigines, to counteract the conduct of the spurious breed, which must otherwise disgrace us."

---

[1] "The antiquity of the woollen manufacture in Ireland, proved from a passage of an ancient Florentine poet." By James, earl of Charlemont, president of the Royal Irish Academy. Read 20 February 1786. *See* preface.

[2] The Irish name Mac Cathmhaoil was occasionally changed to Cawell and Caulfield.

[3] In the delivery of "dying speeches."

[4] Motto of the earl of Charlemont.

88.—Marchioness of Rockingham to Charlemont.

1788, October 21.—"For a length of time past I really have not had the courage to write to your lordship, knowing myself to have been the only cause of your not receiving the bust as soon as it was finished; which certainly would have been the case, could I have consented to its going without my seeing it, and a variety of things which would appear trifling and incomprehensible to another person were serious impediments to my being able to go to town. I was two nights there in the spring, just to see Mr. and Mrs. Weddell, at which time the bust was not completed. After that time the unhealthiness of London at one period made me fearful of changing a very wholsome air (I had been living in uninterruptedly for above a twelvemonth) for a very unwholesome one; and after that, till quite the end of last month, the weather was too oppressive and hot for such a creature as I am to stir from home. I am sensible that these sorts of reasons to one at a distance must appear too poor to be offered as just excuses, but they are the real truth, and the distress and uneasiness it has cost me not to have been able to exert myself better, can hardly be expressed, and the satisfaction at having at last fulfilled my devoirs is as great. My own health and cool weather enabled me to go to town the last week, which before I could not comfortably have done. I had no call thither but to see the bust, and therefore I am returned, and am writing to your lordship from Hillingdon; and Mr. Nollekens assured me that he would pack up and send with the greatest care the bust by the first ship, and acquaint your lordship of it. I must now speak a word upon its merit. The marble is as beautifully perfect as anything can be; and I really am as much contented with the resemblance as it is possible to be with that sort of thing. I hope you will think it has greatly profited from the pains I took, and the patience that the artist exerted in following my directions. Be so good as to place it so as for the right side of the bust to strike the eye first. The front and the left side have not to my eye so strong a resemblance; but, upon the whole, I hope it is worthy of the place your lordship has kindly destined for it; and your accepting it as a mark of my gratitude for so flattering a testimony of your regard to the original, will be the highest satisfaction you can confer upon me."

89.—Charlemont to Marchioness of Rockingham.

[1788, October, . .]—"In writing to your ladyship I never was really distressed till on the present occasion. My gratitude for your perpetual favours was already exalted far above my powers of expression, yet still I hoped that your goodness would supply my deficiency. But how can I answer your last letter? Ought I to accept, or can I refuse your magnificent and most precious present? On the one hand, its value and the expense attending it appear too great, though not for your munificence, certainly for my acceptance; and, on the other, I fear by a refusal to offend against the duty I owe you, and to deprive you of a pleasure which experience assures me is most grateful to your heart. The sacrifice, however, must be made, and, as your feelings are, and ought to be, far more respected by me than my own, I must and will accept your bounty, and can only plead, as an excuse to myself, that a free acceptance was the only method left me to repay your kindness. But no more of this; my resolution is taken, and by expatiating farther upon this subject I should only offend your delicacy.

"The situation intended for the bust happens fortunately to be precisely that which your ladyship would have chosen for it; at entering the door of the apartment, the right side strikes the eye. It will stand at the end of an ornamented room, and the light comes from above. The pedestal is, I think, well imagined and executed, and the inscription, though far inadequate to my wishes or feelings, has been dictated by justice and by friendship. With the first opportunity I will take the liberty of troubling your ladyship with a copy of it. And now, madam, I shall be unhappy till it arrive. Every blast of wind, and unfortunately in this season we may expect many, will make me tremble for my treasure at sea."

90.—William Campbell, D.D., to Charlemont.

1788, November 26, Armagh.—"It is with deep concern that I have to inform you of a riot that happened about three miles from this town, on the road to Benburb. The Volunteers of that place were marching on Sunday morning last to attend divine service in the cathedral of Armagh. On their march they were assaulted by a large body of Papists, who took a bayonet from one of the lads, and pursued them with vollies of stones. As the corps had only their side-arms, and being apprehensive for their safety on their return, they borrowed some firelocks from their friends in this town, and got, as I was told, eight. The company was commanded by lieutenant Young, son of Mr. Young, curate of Eglish. He found the roads beset with much greater crowds than in the morning. He behaved with as great moderation and steadiness as could have been expected from an experienced man; expostulated with the people upon their menacing behaviour; told them he had got the firelocks merely to defend themselves, that they intended no insult or injury to any of them, and requested they would behave peaceably, and not obstruct their passage. While he was expostulating, he was attacked by several of them, knocked down, and his firelock taken from him, and at the same instant vollies of stones were poured in upon the company from the surrounding crowds, and several of the Volunteers were much hurt. They then fired. One man was killed, another had his thigh-bone broken, and several others wounded. Such was the issue of this unhappy affair! I was informed, that it appeared by their own evidence, on the coroner's inquest, that the Papists had beset the road on purpose to attack the Volunteers and to disarm them. I did not see the depositions; but Mr. Livingston can give your lordship a particular account of what appeared in evidence, as he attended as coroner.

"By every account I have heard, it appears that the Volunteers most reluctantly had recourse to arms, and that they acted entirely on their own defence. The officer that commanded is of a mild and gentle character, and of a most inoffensive behaviour, and his conduct on this unfortunate occasion was marked with the reverse of rashness. However, his assembling the Volunteers at all is imputed to him as a crime. I heard a reverend gentleman of our cathedral declare with no little warmth, that parading the Volunteers was an insult to the Roman Catholics, and that the peace of the county could only be restored by 'disbanding the Volunteers.' When complaint was made to your lordship that the Tanderagee Volunteers would not be amenable to law, I had no doubt that this was at the bottom of it. But this dignitary of the church spoke out plain, and he is deep in the politics of the cabal. From the beginning, they looked on the Volunteers with a most jealous eye; for there is a certain class of men that cannot endure to see arms in the hands of freemen. What these men aim at has been often conjectured; and whether the establishment of the police would please them better may appear in a little time. But I have so fully given my sentiments of these gentlemen at different times, that I will not trouble your lordship now with any further observations on them. Young Mr. McGeough was present at the conversation referred to; he is a sensible man, and an useful magistrate, and took up the reverend gentleman with becoming spirit on the importance and necessity of Volunteers for the protection and safety of the country; contended that they were not unfriendly to Roman Catholics, but enemies to rioters of every denomination, and that their great aim was to maintain the peace of the community and give support to the laws.

"When shall I have a more pleasing account to give of the state of our country? These things grieve me. Wisdom in our magistrates would have prevented them, and still might bring a remedy. 'Sed quis custodiet ipsos custodes?' As your lordship in the last letters you honoured me with, expressed a desire that I might give you an account of what might happen in a county whose welfare you have so much at heart, I thought it my duty, however distressing, to give you as exact a relation as I could of this late unfortunate affair."

91.—THOMAS PRENTICE to CHARLEMONT.

1788, November 28, Armagh.—"It gives me very great concern that I should have occasion to write to your lordship on a most disagreable and melancholy business which happened lately in this neighbourhood. But as reports of it may reach you, without any particular statement of the circumstances, I think it a duty and respect I owe your lordship to send you such particulars as I have been able to collect, and I have every reason to believe they will be found, on a more minute enquiry, to be a real and impartial state[ment] of this very unfortunate affair. On Sunday morning last the Benburb Volunteers paraded in uniform and side-arms, in order to march into Armagh to church. Captain Anketell and lieutenant Waring not being present, the company was commanded by lieutenant Young (son of the Reverend Mr. Young, curate of Eglish[1]) and by a Mr. Staples, a relation (I believe, nephew) of Mr. Staples of Lissen. They had proceeded about two miles when there appeared on the road and in the neighbourhood an unusual number of people, who they supposed had assembled to see them pass. One of the Volunteers, who was prevented from attending on parade, intended following, and his bayonet and belt were given to a boy who was walking with the party. At the part of the road I have mentioned one of the crowd snatched the bayonet from the boy, and ran off with it across the fields; a number of the Volunteers ran after, when he dropped the bayonet and took to a house. They attempted to follow, but a musquet was presented at them, and they were immediately attacked with stones by the crowd, which obliged them to seek their safety in flight, some of them being cut and bruised by the stones thrown at them. After service, Mr. Young having received certain information that they would be waylaid on their return, he and such of the party as had acquaintances in town borrowed arms (in all eleven stand) to take with them, either to intimidate the party by their appearance or defend themselves if attacked. On reaching the place where the scuffle happened in the morning, they saw several hundred men assembled at a narrow, hollow part of the road, where they had collected heaps of stones which they intended to make use of in their attack. Mr. Young sent forward some of the countrymen he saw on the road to intreat they would not attempt to interrupt the Volunteers in getting home, and to assure them he had no intention whatever to molest them. A message was sent him that they might pass unmolested, on which they went forward and had almost got through the crowd (which lined the ditches on each side of the road), when a few stones were first thrown, and instantly after a volley from all quarters, which knocked down two or three Volunteers and struck many more. Mr. Staples (who had not a musquet) being one of those knocked down, cried: 'D—n you, fire, or we'll be all murdered!' on which three or four of the party fired, which not taking effect, the assailants cried: 'D—n them, they have nothing but powder!' and continued stoning them. A second party instantly fired, and two who were foremost in the attack were wounded and fell. Mr. Young ordered the Volunteers to quit the road, or they would be surrounded, on which they crossed into a field, and he, in attempting to follow, was knocked down by a stone, and when down his piece was taken from him. The crowd that attempted striking him was so great that they prevented others from doing him a material injury, till two or three of them who knew him were actuated by humanity and declared he should not be farther injured, but dragged him out of the ditch and got him from among the crowd. On Mr. Young's being knocked down a number of shot were fired, and a sort of running fight continued in which three or four more men were wounded. The Volunteers halted at some distance till Mr. Young was brought to them. One of the first two that were wounded died in a few minutes. The other received a ball in his knee, which went out at his hip and broke the thigh-bone, but [he] is in a fair way of recovery, as are the others, who I understand were wounded but slightly. The day after this unhappy affair Mr. Livingston was called on as coroner to hold an inquest on the deceased man. It appeared on evidence given by some of the party (who were all Roman Catholics) that they had assembled with an intention to disarm and beat the Volunteers, but that they had no intention of killing any of them; that, being persuaded from their intended attack, there were but two or three stones thrown, when the Volunteers fired; that some of their party had fire-arms, but [they] did not know whether they used them or not, nor could they say who was the person that shot the deceased. That the reason for the intended attack on the Volunteers was, their playing tunes which were an insult to Catholics. 'The Protestant Boys' and 'The Boyne Water' were the tunes alluded to. The verdict of the jury was 'that the deceased was killed by a shot from a gun, the person who fired it not being known,' or words to that purpose. This very unfortunate business has given the deepest concern to every man who wishes well to the happiness and peace of this country, as it may probably rekindle that animosity between the lower rank of Protestants and Catholics, which appeared to be subsiding for some time past. I understand there are a number of very strong examinations lodged on both sides; those against the Catholic party before Maxwell Close; those against the Volunteers before Mr. McCan.

---

[1] A benefice in diocese of Armagh.

"On all such unhappy occasions there are generally faults on both sides. That the Catholic party meditated an attack on the Volunteers there is no doubt of. But it is to be doubted whether the others might not have irritated them by some means, so as to bring what were probably only half-formed resolutions into action. It must, on Mr. Young's behalf, be acknowledged that he is a young man of a very amiable character, and that every one I had an opportunity of hearing speak on the subject allows that he behaved with great precaution and moderation, till he conceived the lives of the whole party (thirty-nine in all) were in danger from the attack of so large a body. The principal things that Mr. Young may be blamed for were his and the other officers at any time allowing the tunes alluded to to be played so as to give cause of offence (though I do not know that this was ever the case), and that Mr. Young did not (on receiving information of the intended attack) take the company home another road, which he could have done by going a mile or two about. To this Mr. Young alleges that his information was that there would be a party on both roads, and that he therefore thought the shortest one the best. I would have done myself the honour of writing to your lordship a post or two sooner, but waited till I could learn as true a state of the matter as can be obtained till it is farther explained by the trial of some of the parties. The Volunteers are determined, as soon as it can be found out who are sworn against, to give public notice of their intention to take their trial at next assizes. The funeral of the man who was killed being attended by immense multitudes of Catholics from many miles around, there were fears that it might occasion some attempts to retaliate in the neighbourhood of Benburb, but they happily dispersed without any mischief being attempted. It was in some degree fortunate that, in an affray so confused as it must have been, no person was hurt by the shots but such as were most forward in the [attack, many][1] of whom live four or five miles from the scene of action. The detaining of your lordship's attention so long would on any other occasion require an apology, but my wishing to give you as many particulars of this business as possible will, I hope, be a sufficient one for the great length of this letter. The piece taken from Mr. Young has been privately returned."

92.—The EARL OF KENMARE to CHARLEMONT.

1788, November 29, Killarney.—"I received the honor of your lordship's letter [of the] 25th instant. The gorget I sent you up by my son is curious both as to its fashion and substance. An officer who saw it here, and who lived many years in America, said that on the[1] . . . at many of which he had assisted with the natives, their . . . always wore such an ornament, but in brass. Whether your society[2] might infer from thence that the continent of America was peopled from Ireland, [I know not,] but am happy to have had an occasion of shewing my high respect for their president."

93.—MALONE to CHARLEMONT.

1788, December 2, Cobham Park.—"I was much surprized to find, by a letter which I received this morning from my brother in Dublin, that it was supposed there that the king was recovered and almost quite well. I suppose this must have been [Dublin] castle intelligence. The fact is, that he is in no actual or immediate danger of death, but is quite insane. Whenever the physicians in their reports mention his 'fever,' they always mean his insanity. Great has been the struggle made by Mr. Pitt to effect a regency of eight persons, not a regent; or, in other words, to keep the present administration in their places. After endeavouring to effect this, and having made the prince his irreconcileable enemy by the attempt, he has at length given it up, chiefly, I believe, because he found the chancellor would not support him, but would vote for the prince. Parliament, I understand, has agreed, when they meet the day after to-morrow, to make no battle, and that the house should adjourn for ten days, at the end of which time the prince of Wales is to be appointed sole regent. During these ten days all the new arrangements will be made, and I suppose every single member of the present administration, except the chancellor, will receive his dismission. Here is a most extraordinary conjuncture of affairs and a very extraordinary question likely to arise at your side of the water. By the statute[1] of Henry VIII. we have by our own act agreed that the king of England is, ipso facto, king of Ireland, but there is not a word of regent, or other substitute, in the bond. It cannot be pretended that on the king's becoming incapable the executive power is instanter vested in his son. If that indeed were the case it might be said that, according to the spirit of our act, we should submit to whoever was virtually possessed of the regal power, by whatever name he enjoyed it. But that there is no such immediate devolution of the regal power from the incapable father to the son, appears clearly from its being necessary to appoint a regent by the resolution of the only two existing branches of the legislature. Now, according to our present acknowledged constitution, we are not bound by any act of the English legislature, and much less are we bound by a resolution of the two houses of the English parliament. From all this it follows that your houses have a clear right to nominate their own regent, and if they should here vote a regency of eight, and you should nominate the prince sole regent, he could employ his army of Ireland against France or any other power [unless][2] he were outvoted by his colleagues. Here is abundant food for speculation. I suppose in the new administration Fox and lord North will be the secretaries, Sheridan chancellor of the exchequer, for I imagine lord John Cavendish will hardly think of it again, Burke certainly paymaster. They have lost their first lord of the admiralty. I should think lord Fitzwilliam not unlikely. I cannot guess who will be lord lieutenant of Ireland. Perhaps your old friend lord Townshend.

---

[1] MS. torn.

[2] The Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

"5 o'clock.—I have this moment heard that lord John Cavendish will accept his former place, and Sheridan be treasurer of the navy. Pitt means to endeavour to have the regent only for a month."

94.—H. F. O'NEILL to CHARLEMONT.—Charlotte Brooke.

1788, December 14.—"I have disclaimed any endeavour to procure Miss Brooke any pecuniary assistance, and shall therefore give you no other trouble than presenting the paper. I have not been able to learn how Miss Brooke obtained a competent knowledge of the Irish language for such a work, but she is under the patronage of Mr. Hayley, who represents her as a very uncommon genius, struggling in adversity."

[Enclosure.]

'Proposals for printing by subscription: Reliques of Irish poetry, consisting of heroic tales, odes, elegies, and songs, translated into English verse with notes explanatory and historical. To which will be subjoined a legendary tale, by Miss Brooke. Conditions: i.—That the work shall be printed in one volume quarto, on fine paper, and in a beautiful type; with the original Irish at the end of the book. ii.—That the price to subscribers shall be fifteen shillings; half a guinea to be paid at the time of subscribing, and the remainder on the delivery of the book in boards. iii.—That the names of the subscribers shall be printed. Subscriptions will be received at T. Payne's at the Mews Gate, and at T. Cadell's, and P. Elmsly's in the Strand.'[1]

---

[1] *See* "Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland," 1879, Part III., plate lxxiv.
[2] MS. torn.

95.—Robert Livingston to Charlemont.

1788, December 17, Armagh.—"Another of the 'Defenders' is dead of his wounds he received in the affray of the 23rd ultimo with the Benburb Volunteers. It is said two others are so ill as not likely to recover. Mr. McCan, a magistrate in Armagh, went to the house of one of the 'Defenders,' and took informations from some of them against said Volunteers, setting forth that the 'Defenders' had only assembled to look at the Volunteers, and without arms or offensive weapon; that said Volunteers (naming several of them) had without provocation fired on and wounded several (naming them). He, Mr. McCan, issued his warrant on said informations and therewith. On the night of the 8th instant, some hundreds of the 'Defenders,' not less than one hundred armed with firelocks, the others armed with swords and spears, etc., assembled about the bleach-house and green of Messrs. Jackson and Eyre, near Benburb, in the county Tyrone, in order to apprehend and take two of the said Volunteers who were employed there as bleachers, and who secured themselves in the mill with arms. The 'Defenders' continued around the same all the night and next day untill Jackson and Eyre came to Armagh and requested Mr. McCan to come to their relief and disperse the mob, and then Mr. McCan went with a part of the army from Armagh barrack. On their arrival, the 'Defenders' carried arms as the soldiers passed them; the two Volunteers surrendered to the soldiers, who brought them into the county Armagh, where Mr. McCan and two other magistrates also assembled, took bail for their appearance at the next assizes; and then the 'Defenders' were pleased to disperse. This day four or five of your lordship's Protestant or Presbyterian tenants came to me and complained that, on their going out yesterday (the ground being covered with snow) to fowl, and on their, as usual, entering the grounds of the Catholicks (others of your lordship's tenants), the said Catholicks with others, a large number, assembled with arms, fired at their dogs, and declared they would shoot both them and dogs if they ever again would come on their grounds. Two of the Catholics appeared in their own defence, and alleged they had no right to enter their grounds. To this I agreed, and observed that I was much concerned that such rancour should now subsist between neighbours who had until of late lived in friendship; observed that notwithstanding the Protestants had no right to trespass on the Catholicks' grounds, yet the latter were not entitled to carry arms, and recommended their lodging their arms with me, and that the others hereafter should not trespass or otherwise do them hurt. Their answer was that they would not give up their arms until the king would send the military to demand them. In short, I am at a loss how to prevail on them to become peaceable and industrious, and to pay their rents. However, I am not altogether without hopes that the worst is past. Were the magistrates active and unanimous, we would soon have quiet and industry. I gave Mr. Simpson the gorget, for which he is much obliged to lord Caulfield. There are two other companies of the tenants inclined to unite under lord Caulfield, but a priest says if the Volunteers quit parading that the 'Defenders' will also quit."

---

[1] The work was published at Dublin in 1793.

96.—CHARLEMONT to JOHN FORBES,[1] M.P.

i.—1788, December 18, Dublin.—"In the present most important and delicate crisis of public affairs, I had flattered myself with some expectation of hearing from you; but, since my hopes on that head have been disappointed, and indeed were ill-grounded, as your whole time must necessarily be taken up in listening, reflecting, and hinting such advice as may be advantageous to your country, I now think it a duty not only of patriotism but of friendship, to remind you of the high expectations entertained by your friends here that your presence in London, and that of other patriotic countrymen, especially of Grattan, will be highly serviceable to Ireland at this critical and unprecedented juncture. A weakness in my eyes, which would prevent me from writing upon any other occasion, forbids my expatiating upon this important and interesting subject, and therefore, thoroughly confiding in those principles which must ever assimilate our political wishes, I will abstain from all dissertation, and hasten to intreat that you would be watchful 'Ne quid respublica detrimenti accipiat.' Whatever is thought necessary to be done by the convention in England must be done by the parliament here, or the constitution, whose health we have jointly laboured to restore, will receive a wound in her vital part. Respecting the matter in debate, I confess myself, though at the first glance somewhat startled at the proposition, upon mature consideration firmly of Mr. Fox's opinion, and, had his doctrine been carried into execution in its full extent, the same principle would have taken place in both kingdoms and, possibly, a simple act of recognition might have been sufficient to secure us in the enjoyment of our rights; but should convention proceed to anything at all resembling election, appointment, or even adjudication, the same process must be repeated here. I hope, however, and firmly trust that nothing else is intended. My thorough confidence in the party whose principles confirmed our rights, and who are now, thank heaven, likely to succeed, and in those Irishmen who are fortunately, not to say providentially, at hand to advise them, renders any doubt on this head almost criminal. Yet my anxiety must be pardoned when my circumstances are considered, when all that is dearest to me, the only fruit of the labours of a long life, is at stake; and when I cannot help anticipating the horror I should feel at finding myself compelled to oppose, at the very outset of their administration, the men whom I have ever loved and honoured, whose principles are congenial to my heart, and the prince, who holds, and ever has held, the highest place in my respect, esteem, and veneration, nay, if I may presume to make use of the words, in my most sincere and warmest affection, and whose conduct upon the present delicate occasion, by justifying and realizing all my most sanguine expectations, has rendered him, if possible, still dearer to my heart. But my fears are groundless. The Whigs are in power, and Grattan is at hand to advise them—Grattan, who from every principle, from every motive, from every duty, is bound to protect the constitution, and who ardently loves that which his duty calls him to protect. The line also which ought to be, and must be pursued on the present occasion is so plain and evident that any idea of deviating from it is too absurd to have entered into the head of any man. Shall we, who have peremptorily and justly refused to be bound by the act of an English parliament complete in all its parts, in all its powers, be, in the most important point, bound by the declaration or adjudicature of a convention? The king of England is necessarily king of Ireland. This bond of our union, which after the liberty of my country is the second ardent wish of my heart, shall ever by me be respected, and, had the prince succeeded of right to the regency, he would have been regent here, and as such must have been recognized. But an elected, appointed, or even adjudicated regent stands upon a footing totally different. If adjudication be thought necessary in England, it must be so here, and, thank fate, there is not the smallest doubt of its obtaining here a much more perfect unanimity of sentiment than, I am sorry to say, it is likely to meet with on your side of the water. Till this essential ceremonial is gone through, no new lieutenant can be sent. Lord Buckingham, or justices of his appointment, or a deputy elected by council, under the act[1] of last session, may hold the parliament. The necessary documents, viz., the examination of the physicians, may be transmitted by the English speakers of both houses to the Irish, proofs which, supported by notoriety, will, I should suppose, be fully sufficient, and parliament will instantly proceed to adjudication, adjourn and wait for the appointment of a new viceroy. Thus matters will proceed smoothly and unanimously, which would not be the case if other methods should be pursued, and the administration would meet perfect unanimity at their first outset. Excuse these crude, undigested ideas. I hazard them to you, my dearest Forbes, because your friendship will pardon their inaccuracy. . . . My most sincere and congratulatory compliments to the duke of Portland and to Mr. Fox, to which latter, presuming on the privilege of an old acquaintance and former correspondent, I would have written, but that I know his time at present to be too precious to admit of any avocation from that great and salutary business in which he ought to be wholly occupied. The monstrous idea of a mixed regency would never have gone down in an Irish parliament. I think I could answer for many, but am sure I could answer for one. I say nothing of poor Burroughs, as Metge[2] has undertaken to write my sentiments and wishes on his behalf."

---

[1] *See* p. 21.

96, ii.—1788, December 19, Dublin.—"As I yesterday wrote in a hurry, and with that confusion of ideas which is always occasioned by weak eyes, and as I would not for the world hazard an opinion which could in the smallest degree affect the honour of my country, to satisfy my feelings upon this delicate point I find it necessary to trouble you again on the subject of the necessary documents to be laid before parliament here, which seems to be a question of some difficulty. Perhaps, as I suggested, the letters from the English to the Irish speakers, supported by public notoriety, might be deemed sufficient; and yet I cannot avoid seeing that the more dignified method would be that the Irish state physicians should be permitted to visit his majesty, and should in consequence make their report. You will, I am sure, pardon this second trouble, when you consider how nervous I am when the honor of my country is in any degree concerned, and when you reflect that I never can fear being troublesome upon this point to one who has that honour so much at heart. I do not, however, assert that the mode of proceeding last mentioned would be absolutely necessary, but I am sure it would be most eligible because most dignified."

97.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1788, December 27, Belfast.—"You hug yourself in the hope that, along with your other northern troubles, you have got rid of a petulant correspondent; but, my lord, I am a leech, and it will be long before I shall be cloyed with the blood of your ink-bottle. Have you no suspicion that the royal maniac has bit some of his ministers? Was it wise to involve a mutilated or non-existent legislature in the perplexities of enthymeina, where there are ten postulates for one datum, and in the intricacies of no precedents? Allowing it true in constitution, law, and reason, that the right to appoint a regent rested in the two houses, and that it was necessary to declare this, should they not have contented themselves with such declaration, and immediately proceeded to give integrity to the legislative body? I hope we shall hear no more of the king's never dying; it is as good sense to say the king never goes mad; the only meaning being that the executive power is to know no pause or interruption. Anything beyond that declaration must flow from the spirit of party—I had almost said faction. What if the prince should refuse to take upon him the executive power, maimed and chained down, on this principle that the constitution would not be complete and intire? What a scene of difficulty and confusion would be opened! I throw out all this under the correction of your lordship's better and more enlightened judgment. But 'felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum,' and my chief inducement to trouble your lordship at this time was my wish that Ireland may profit by what I conceive to be errors—to give things no worse a name—in the conduct and management of the sister kingdom. I mean that our parliament after asserting their right, on this new and unexampled crisis, to re-establish the functions of the executive power, should do it in a liberal, and what I conceive to be a constitutional way, I mean in their unhampered plenitude. Such a course would probably be remembered to our advantage by him, who will probably one day, and possibly at no very distant one, wear the crown, whatever may become of the regency, and I sincerely hope the corporation of Dublin will not by any means be induced to follow the example of London, in that hasty and unadvised step of siding with a party. If my notions be right, your lordship can and will do much; if they are wrong, I shall feel no confusion for having betrayed my weakness to you. We give great honour in these parts to our northern friend, Hamilton Rowan, for his manly and spirited exertions in that monstrous business of Lewellen,[1] which has sunk with us the reputation of the chief governor much below par, and it never was above it."

---

[1] 28 George III., cap. xxxii. "To repeal an act passed in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of king Henry VIII., entitled an 'act of appeals,'" etc.

[2] Peter Metge, baron of exchequer, Ireland.

98.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1788, December 31, Dublin.—"I perfectly agree with your admirably expressed sentiments upon the present unprecedented and wonderful occasion; nay, such is my agreement in all respects, that I have hazarded the liberty of transcribing the political paragraph of your incomparable letter, and of sending it to my English correspondent and friend as a specimen of the opinion of my northern countrymen. For heaven's sake, exert yourself in inculcating the same doctrine as far as your extensive influence prevails, as it may be important that the people should understand the point, and be alive to the conduct of their parliament, which may, I think, from various causes, not all of the most virtuous kind, be prevailed upon to act as they ought, by restoring the executive power unshackled and without factious limitation. The unlucky abstract proposition did much mischief in England, and had, perhaps, better be avoided here, but, if it be brought forward, we must decide. Pitt's views are obvious, and the part he has acted has been cunning in the extreme; but his power is probably at an end. . . . Powers and occurrences must determine our proceedings, as no victory must be allowed to our opponents."

---

[1] Mary Llewellyn was tried at Dublin and sentenced to death in 1788.

99.—William Burroughs to Charlemont.

1789, January 31, St. James's Coffee-house, London.—"Since I had last the honour of addressing your lordship, I have had interviews with Mr. Burke and Mr. Francis, both of whom received me in the handsomest manner, and declared they would have the utmost pleasure in forwarding the success of any person in whose fate your lordship should take an interest. They both desired me to present their respects to your lordship, and to assure you that your recommendation would insure me any assistance they should have it in their power to give to my pursuits. Mr. Burke in particular was as warm in his professions of attachment to your lordship as he could be. 'Tell lord Charlemont,' says he, 'that I love and honor him, and that I will always think myself obliged by his calling on me to do anything in my power which may be agreeable to him.' He did me the honor of inviting me to dine with him on the day I first saw him, put round a bumper to your lordship's health, paid me the kindest and most flattering attention, and told me he would present me to the duke of Portland, and use his influence with his grace to aid me. He listened to my story, appeared to feel for what I had suffered with sincerity and humanity, and on the whole encouraged me to expect his favour should his friends have power to serve me. I may with truth say that none of those who know your lordship most intimately in Ireland, not even my dear baron[1] himself, have appeared at any time more to respect and love you than Mr. Burke appears to me to do. He does not seem to think the powers of his friends will enable them to indulge their wishes either in public measures or in providing for adherents, and he seemed, I thought, disgusted at the infatuation of the people in their attachment to Pitt at least as much as he was persuaded of that gentleman's arts and ambition. We now look towards Ireland for news, and I need not add that of course the eyes of the whole empire are fixed upon your lordship, your friends waiting with solicitude for the credit your lordship's support will give them, and their opponents at least as anxious to escape the humiliation of a decision in Ireland, with your lordship at its head, adverse to their doctrines here. It is not expected that the regent will be in office here sooner than Monday fortnight, and of course my negociations, like those of all other great men, are for the present suspended. I am to wait on Mr. Francis, as soon as the prince is in power, to know my expectations from him, he being himself ignorant at present of Indian arrangements. Your lordship has, no doubt, much more authentic intelligence than I can give you of all matters here which make the news of the day. The king's situation is the only topic upon which I ever hear any accounts which are not to be found in the papers. He is certainly much worse than ever. On Tuesday he was so furious as to strike, bite, and kick at his attendants, and five men were with difficulty able to put on his coercing waistcoat. He is dreadfully emaciated notwithstanding these exertions of strength, and now sees the queen without any emotion. When not furious, there is every symptom of fatuity, even that of his tongue hanging out of his mouth. This account of him I heard given by Mr. Frederick Montague, who said he had it from Lord Fauconberg, and that his lordship had declared it from his own knowledge, having seen the king at the time of his walking in the garden at Kew, where he threw himself head over heels into a small and shallow pool of water which had settled in a hollow part of the grounds. He has made one or two attempts, as I heard yesterday from a strong partizan of Pitt's, at whose house I dined, and who was my old schoolfellow, to knock his head against the chimney-piece, and in one of his paroxysms he gave a kick to one of his pages which laid the unfortunate man senseless on the floor.

---

[1] *See* page 85*n*.

"I should not at this time take the liberty of breaking in upon your lordship, but that I thought it my duty to obey the commands of Mr. Burke and Mr. Francis, and that I fear the baron must be ill and unable to communicate their messages to your lordship, should I request him to do so, as I have not heard a word from him. In the absence of others whom your lordship might prefer as commissioners, if I should be thought worthy of receiving any commands your lordship may have to execute here, I need not say how highly honoured and how much indulged I should feel myself at being employed, your lordship not having any person to gratify by your orders who would be more solicitous of obeying them effectually."

100.—MALONE to CHARLEMONT.

1789, February 4.—"I am going out to dinner, and have but just time to tell you, from very good authority, that the duke of Portland wrote last night to our club-mate, lord Spencer, offering him the lieutenancy of Ireland, and that he has accepted it. Though my . . . intelligence did not all prove true, yet it came from a person who is in the midst of things. The truth is, Pitt at various times shifted his ground. Most surely does he now rue that he did not follow the duke of Richmond's advice at first, which was to establish a council of regency, which it is clear from all the late votes he would have carried, and thus rendered the present ministry perpetual, and kept the prince in complete fetters during the king's life. Things are now almost at a crisis. Burke made one of the best speeches ever made in Parliament, on Monday evening, that in which he so happily applied the lines of Prior: 'And handles the rope,' etc. I hope you will have the goodness to let me know what is done in your houses, and that they will act more liberally than the houses here. The prince's answer to Pitt was written by Sheridan."

101.—EDMUND BURKE to CHARLEMONT.

1789, March 19, Gerard Street, [London.]—"If I were to write all that is in my heart and head relative to you and to your proceedings, I should write volumes. At present I abstain from every subject but that which at this instant may give your lordship occasion to remember me. My friend Mr. Shippen, of Pennsylvania, a very agreeable, sensible, and accomplished young man, will have the honour of delivering this to your lordship. I flatter myself that you will think of him as I do, and if you do, I have no doubt that he will find, under your lordship's protection, everything that he can expect (and he expects a great deal) from Ireland. He has been for some time upon his travels on the continent of Europe, and after this tour he pays us the compliment of thinking that there are things and persons worth seeing in Ireland. For one person I am sure I can answer, and am not afraid of disappointing him when I tell him that in no country will he find a better pattern of elegance, good breeding, and virtue. I shall say nothing further to recommend my friend to one to whom a young gentleman desirous of every sort of improvement is by that circumstance fully recommended. America and we are not under the same . . . but if we are united by mutual goodwill and reciprocal good offices, perhaps it may do almost as well. Mr. Shippen will give you no unfavourable specimen of the new world."

102.—CHARLEMONT to BURKE.

1789, March 24.—"I have now told you all my good news, and wish I could stop here; but, writing to you, my heart will not suffer me to conceal anything, and more especially that by which it is oppressed. The late recovery has produced its natural effect. Our party, hitherto so honourably and so successfully supported, is likely to follow the fate of all Irish parties. An amnesty has been offered by the castle, and accepted by some. The terms, to be sure, appear rather disgraceful to the lieutenant. Perfect oblivion for all that has passed, and nothing stipulated but that the ordinary business should be suffered to go on. The party, however, is hereby split, and just vengeance is, at least, intermitted, to which I can never subscribe. On this subject a very numerous meeting was held, where all the leaders were present, and in which I ventured to take an active part. Lords Shannon and Loftus, though silently, expressed their intention to accede, and were supported by the provost and some few individuals. After combating as long as I was able, and peremptorily expressing my determined resolve never to treat with, and for ever to oppose, the men who had insulted my country through her parliament, I brought forward a resolution expressly and fully declaring the final determination of the meeting for ever to maintain the full and exclusive right of Ireland to appoint her own regent, and to exercise that right whenever occasion should occur, by appointing the prince of Wales sole regent for Ireland without limitation or restriction. This resolution no one ventured to controvert, and it passed unanimously, I confess beyond my expectations. I afterwards moved some other resolutions, which, though they could not be controverted, were not completely agreed to. Mr. Grattan, who remains unshaken, was my principal assistant, and the duke of Leinster has acted a noble and firm part. He has positively refused to treat, and offered instantly to resign his office, which, for obvious reasons, I for the present dissuaded. Several other lords are staunch and firm, and Mr. Ponsonby has acted with the utmost propriety and consistency, declaring his determination to refuse the amnesty, and never to treat with the marquis. With regard to his future conduct, he waits, as I believe, for the opinion of his English friends. The provost and his son have taken different parts, and the latter has acted with all the vigour which could be expected from an excellent and ardent youthful mind. Thus you may perceive that, spite of defalcation, our party is still strong and most respectable, and many of us are determined to proceed in constant opposition, but, in order to secure individuals, it will be necessary that it should be understood that in case of a change, the martyrs to their duty will be replaced, and retaliation made."

103.—HENRY JOY to CHARLEMONT.

1789, March 31, Belfast.—"Your lordship's favour of 26th instant I received. The postscript to it requiring an answer, I shall as briefly as

I can mention the changes of public opinion that have occurred in Belfast since the commencement of the regency business. During its progress in the British parliament, we were, with a very few exceptions, with Mr. Pitt, in which we were in a considerable degree influenced by the danger apprehended from an unlimited regal power placed under the direction of needy ministers, and of a prince whose private virtues we had not been in the habit of admiring; though his subsequent conduct through the whole of this trying scene demands every praise. The attempt to encourage the prince to vault into his father's seat, with or without the sanction of the remaining perfect branches of the legislature, we all reprobated; whilst it rivetted our former suspicion that the possession of power was as much the prevailing motive of opposition as of government. On the other hand, we had a few who, with much ability and argument, urged the danger of so long and unprecedented an interruption of the regal functions to the balance of the constitution.

"When it came in turn for Ireland to enter on the subject, or for some weeks before it, we were taught by an ingenious northern author, in a public print, that a glorious opportunity presented itself for a great record of the independency of Ireland, in the nomination of an Irish regent, even before one had been appointed for Britain; an appointment that would be ratified by the second character in the realm, an heir apparent, who in the common course of nature would at a future day be the sovereign of these countries. When it was proposed in parliament, we consequently embraced with fervour the first idea of the measure. During its progress, a plausible, though perhaps not solid, objection was started to an expression in the Irish address, viz., that the prince would 'take on himself the government of this realm.' It was alleged that, by misconstruction, this might be supposed to imply a right in the heir apparent to take it by virtue of his rank in the state, without the concurrent desire of the houses of lords and commons. It was added that words strongly expressive of an absolute appointment would have been preferable. It was also subject of question with some, whether a regent with plenary regal powers was, even for Ireland, a measure of safety; considering that the monstrous curtailing of the regent's authority in England would of course occasion our pension list to be swelled, to gratify disappointed friends of the new government in that country. In reply, it was argued that no danger could be apprehended from that quarter, as the prince, or those who were to become his ministers, had engaged to some of our leading men then in London that the royal assent should be given to a bill for restricting the Irish pension list, when offered for it. This was not admitted, on the ground of all personal bargaining or traffic between individuals being inconsistent with our dignity as an independent state.

"Notwithstanding these several objections, the addresses, on the whole, produced perfect unanimity, as so happy and unequivocal a testimony that we were in practice, as well as theory, independent. In this state were the feelings of our inhabitants, when the refusal to transmit the addresses was announced, an event which was heard with the utmost possible indignation of all ranks and parties. As the opinions of the people, or even of virtuous portions of them, have ever been found grateful to your lordship, I have thus attempted a hasty sketch of the sentiments which have prevailed in this town; without considering how far they may have differed in the minute shades of colouring from your lordship's own. In the meantime, the difference can never be great when, as is decidedly the case, an unalterable attachment to the rights of this country is the basis of both."

104.—W. Burroughs to Charlemont.

1789, April 3, [London,] St. James's Coffee-house.—"In addressing your lordship for the last time before the commencement of my exile, and possibly for the last time of my life, though I will not allow myself to fear it shall be so, I could wish for language better and stronger than any my pen can find to thank your lordship for all your goodness to me. Your protection of me has rescued me and my whole family from the brink of ruin, and when beset with difficulties and dangers that threatened the total destruction of all my hopes in life, when persecuted by enemies whose injustice to me rendered them remorseless and implacable, your noble and venerable name has lifted me from humiliation and distress, and opened prospects of the most serious importance to the unfortunate partner of my hard destiny and the unconscious little companions of her fate. The honours and the services I have received here, merely because it became known that your lordship condescended to express your wishes for my prosperity, are far, very far, indeed above any I could ever have raised my most aspiring hopes to from any other source. It is not possible for me to recount all the compliments and advantages Mr. Burke has procured me by introducing me to his friends as a person recommended to him by your lordship, nor is it possible for me to convey to your lordship one thousandth part of the respectful praises given your lordship's name by every one I have heard speak of you. But I cannot in silence pass the additional proof, if any such was wanting, of your lordship's weight with the prince of Wales, and of his affection, his love for your person, and his anxiety to take hold of any occasion he could find of shewing how much he honours your character, how much he thinks himself obliged to you, and what pleasure he would feel at doing anything which might gratify you. I happened on Tuesday last to visit poor Doyle, who is confined to his lodgings in Pall Mall, where he now is, by a cold and a fall he had on the stairs, and while we were chatting he happened to shew me a visiting card left for him by a Mr. De Courcey, who is a friend of mine, and who left his name thus: 'Mr. De Courcey, Prince of Wales's C. House.' We, who knew De Courcey to be a man of good family, thought he might have had an apartment at Carlton House, and did not know he meant by 'C. House' coffee-house, or that there was any such coffee-house. I wanted to see him, and went to Carlton House to make enquiries for him. Hearing there, very much to my surprize, that no such person was known to anyone, I was coming away, when I met Mr. Burke going in. He took me, as he always does, cordially by the hand, and led me back with him into the house. The prince was not up, having been the night before at a ball. We walked round the apartments, which I had never before seen, and he told me that he came to deliver what he knew would be a very pleasing message from your lordship to the prince. While we were waiting to know if Mr. Burke could see him, he introduced me to Mr. Anthony St. Leger, and asked me if I would wish to be presented to the prince. 'It may,' says Mr. Burke, 'at present be nothing more than an honor to you, but there is no saying what prize a man may draw who has a ticket put into the wheel for him.' I bowed my thanks, and Mr. St. Leger soon after went up to the prince, and brought his commands down that Mr. Burke should attend him that day at five, and that I should be at Carlton House the next day at two. Mr. Burke appointed me to dine with him, and at his interview with the prince took occasion to mention me as a man who had been very unfortunate, had a large family, great merit, and the good wishes of many of his royal highness's friends in Ireland, and what was more effectual, as I afterwards found, than all the other circumstances, he stated that your lordship had taken an interest in my fate and had recommended me to him warmly. The prince told him he would be glad to see me, and I went according to appointment the next day at two. About five the prince came down, and while I was waiting Mr. St. Leger, on whose mind Mr. Burke had laboured to impress the most favourable ideas of me, conversed a good deal with me on my past fate and future pursuits. In the course of our conversation, I asked him whether the prince corresponded with Lord Cornwallis, and whether he entertained any attachment to him. He said he believed they were on very good terms, but that he could not tell whether his royal highness was likely to write to him or not. I said if he did it might make my fortune to be the bearer of his dispatches, and that I wished some good creature would put it into his head to permit me to do so. Mr. St. Leger made no reply, but when he had presented me did not forget the hint I gave him. The prince received me with the most flattering condescension; told me Mr. Burke had related my story to him, and had informed him that I bore the strongest testimonials of merit he could ever wish to have of any man, the good opinion and regards of his friend, lord Charlemont. 'I love and respect lord Charlemont, sir,' says he; 'I am greatly obliged to him. He is an honor and an ornament to his country, and it is impossible for any one to have a stronger recommendation to me than the esteem of lord Charlemont gives him.' His royal highness spoke so fast that I could not carry away all he said of your lordship, but in my life I never heard praise more sanguine or more affectionate. Mr. St. Leger, as soon as the prince had finished his professions of attachment to your lordship, said to him that I was going to India in a few days, and that I would think myself greatly honored if he would entrust to my care any dispatches he might wish to send to lord Cornwallis. Upon which the prince immediately turned to me and said he would write a very confidential letter by me, and asked when I was to sail. I answered, on Tuesday next, and he then directed me to be with him at twelve on Monday to receive it. It is his intention, I understand, to recommend me to lord Cornwallis's protection, and of course I may consider my fortune as secure. Such, my dear lord, was the event of this accidental rencontre with Mr. Burke, and such the honor and the benefit arising to me from the well-earned and I may safely say unlimited influence of your lordship's name with this very accomplished prince. His manner delighted and charmed me, but would not, I conclude, have had half so much music for my ear if your lordship's praise had not been his theme. I have thus minutely stated all that passed, that your lordship may know perfectly every circumstance. It is not only a most agreeable employment to me to state the particulars, but it is also right that your lordship should hear them fully, lest you might suspect that I had suffered my situation to tempt me to any presumptuous use of your lordship's name. Mr. Burke and Mr. St. Leger (to the latter of whom I am most extremely obliged as well as to the former) I have named thus particularly, that they may be vouchers for me and acquit me of any forwardness in representing myself improperly under your lordship's auspices. My respect, my affection, my duty and gratitude, are too great to yield to any such temptation, nor need I indeed wish for more interest with the prince and his friends than to have it known that your lordship wishes me well. Favours that the first men in or out of office might solicit in vain, be assured this young prince, if ever king, as most people think he soon will be, would be happy to bestow on your lordship if you should do no more than suggest your desire of them. Mr. Burke has been indefatigable for me. He seized on lord Rawdon at Carlton House on Tuesday, introduced me to him, and made such an impression in my favour as made his lordship offer me a letter to his friend lord Cornwallis in the handsomest manner. Mr. Fox I have also been presented to, and have been most kindly received by him. Mr. Francis has given me letters, and Mr. Burke adds his. On the whole, therefore, I may safely say I stand in the fairest manner possible for the port of eastern profit, and feel a kind of presentiment that I shall yet return and be happy. If so, to your lordship I shall owe all my prosperity, and every proof of gratitude I can give you. That I may live to thank your lordship personally is, next to the independence of the unfortunate Mrs. Burroughs and her children, the wish nearest my heart, and my mind tells me I shall obtain it. I shall write to-morrow a long letter to the baron, and shall take the liberty of referring him to your lordship for the detail of this transaction, my time being now so limited. On Tuesday I expect to leave town for the place of embarkation, and should I not succeed in India, under the royal protection I have (which, however, I think I must, unlucky as I have generally been through life), I may hope for some attention here on my return, as the prince, who will then be king most probably, will not, I dare say, neglect me at home, if his letter should be neglected in India.

"The duke of Portland is able to go about a little, and sees his friends. We have every reason to think that some speedy event of much ministerial consequence will take place. I saw a letter written by his grace this day, which concludes by mentioning the dismissal of Mr. Ponsonby, and by observing that the time is not very distant when those who have been steady will be well pleased at their own conduct.

"In looking over this hasty letter, I find I have omitted to tell your lordship that the prince said he intended to write to your lordship himself in a few days hence."

105.—EDMUND BURKE[1] to CHARLEMONT.

1789, April 4.—"You do no more than strict justice in allowing the sincerity of my attachment to you, and my readiness on all occasions to obey your commands. My affections are concerned in your thinking so, and my pride in having it believed by as many as know me. After I had received your lordship's letter of the twenty-fourth of March, I lost no time in attending the prince of Wales. Late as I have been in learning the trade of a courtier, I am not so bad a scholar as not to know that being the bearer of a pleasant message is not to pay one's court amiss. I cannot say that I executed your lordship's commission literally. I thought it better to let you speak for yourself. To have done otherwise would not have been to do justice to the prince, to your lordship, or even to the person charged with your commission. There never was anything conceived more justly, or expressed with more elegance, than what you have said of his royal highness. I did not think it right to spoil so just and so handsome a compliment by giving it in any other words than your own. Having got myself up to that point, I risked more; and without your authority put the letter into his hands. I was not sorry afterwards that I had taken that liberty. The prince was much pleased, and I think affected. The account your lordship has given of the state of politics in Ireland was certainly not what we could have wished, and indeed expected. It was, however, a relief to his royal highness, as he found things much better than from other accounts he had conceived them.

---

[1] A very defective copy of this letter appeared in Sir James Prior's "Memoir of Edmund Burke." London: 1839, p. 310.

"We are so much used to cross events, that I met this last turn with tolerable temper. The generality is so much guided by things out of their own breasts, that I do not wonder that the sudden change that has happened should a little disconcert them. But then I really thought that, in the present case, the prospect of a different system here had only hastened and animated an opposition, which the dispositions and manners of the [lord] lieutenant had been preparing from the beginning of his government, and that, when once it had broken out in a decisive manner, it would not easily have dissolved, but would have continued on a bottom of its own, independently of the state of administration in this country. I had imagined that the object of all the parties which lately acted together was the removal of this lord lieutenant, and if they had persevered with but ordinary steadiness, they might easily have compassed their object in the first instance, and have at the same time, with at least equal advantage and a little more credit, secured that amnesty which has been purchased (if it has been really obtained) by surrendering to those who would gladly have compounded for peace by surrendering to them. I never had the least idea that the opposition in Ireland could continue against the presiding administration here, however some individuals might be, on principle, adverse to it. But when parliament had once come to a direct censure on a lord lieutenant, it was an unnecessary wound to the public dignity to accept pardon from the identical hand that they had dishonoured. Government itself, in my opinion, suffered by it. For their own sakes the censure ought to be expunged, or the object of it quietly removed. I am sure that this policy is reconcileable with the principle (if it deserves the name) of supporting every system of administration. I am charmed with what I have heard of the duke of Leinster. I am happy to find him add a character of firmness to the rest of his truly amiable and respectable qualities. Ponsonby, then, it seems, is the proto-martyr. I never saw him until the time of your embassy; but I am not mistaken in the opinion I formed of him on our first conversation, as a manly, decided character, with a right conformation of mind, and a clear and vigorous understanding. The world will see what is got by having a provoked, a powerful enemy; and how well faith is kept by those whose situation has been obtained by their infidelity. One would have thought that personal experience was not necessary for teaching that lesson. As to what you have said of the care to be taken of the martyrs to their duty, that is a thing of course, in case an opportunity occurs. They would not be injured so much as the leaders of the party here would be eternally disgraced, if they were not made their first objects. It would be a shame, indeed, if those who surrender should profit more by the generosity of their enemies, than those who hold out to the last charge and the last biscuit, might by the justice and gratitude of their friends. Here we seem to have forgot all serious business, and spend our time and money in a foolish emulation by all parties, in an indecorous rejoicing on the king's recovery from madness, which all public and private decency ought to have induced us to pass over in silence as much as possible. The king goes through ordinary conversations pretty much in his ordinary manner, but otherwise he is much and materially altered. He is in the most complete subjection to those who are called his attendants, and in reality are his keepers. With regard to others, all jealousy with regard to his authority, a distinguishing feature of his mind, is completely gone. I have reason to be satisfied that, in all the turnings in and turnings out that have happened, no distinct or definite complaint or merit has been stated to him, but only a short impression, and a dictate. I am equally persuaded that he has had no account at all of the proceedings of parliament, either in England or Ireland, laid before him. I learn, from authority to be trusted, that he does not read the public dispatches, and will give no opinions or directions with regard to foreign affairs, which are nearly, if not altogether, as much at a stand (and are desired by the ministers to be kept so) as when he was in the most declared state of incapacity. As to the lists of offices, he will sometimes sign two or three warrants, and throw away the rest. In short, I believe firmly in his incapacity for business. But whilst he can chat upon common topics, and lend the ministers his name generally, and give way in particular instances to the queen, he is well enough for their only serious purposes. Everything is done to disgust the prince of Wales and the duke of York with Windsor and Kew, and to keep them from visiting there. But they endure and persevere, though, indeed, not quite so much as they ought to do. They have now four of the Willis family in attendance; a young man who has lately taken his medical degrees at Oxford makes a third of that faculty, and with the dunce in attendance, equally bred to the coercive department, makes the 'partie carrée' complete. The equerries, with less éclat, are equally removed from waiting with the pages. The system is accomplished.

"I have a thousand handsome things to say to your lordship on the part of the prince with regard to your principles, your liberality of sentiment, the goodness of your heart, and the politeness of your manners. I think him a judge of these things, and I see that he knows the value of a compliment from one who has his civility for everybody, but the expression of his approbation for very few.

"Will your lordship be so good as to remember my affectionate respects to your late colleagues, and to those who think with us."

106.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1789, April 4, Dublin.—"Our letters then have crossed each other, and we have both of us the satisfaction of having written first. Yours was most delightful to me, not only because, as usual, it was highly entertaining, but more especially because I find from its contents that our political sentiments still continue similar. How, indeed, should it be otherwise, since our principles are the same? Yesterday I wrote a long, but very hasty and unconnected epistle to your townsman, Joy, in answer to a letter with which he favoured me, containing a very good and circumstantial account of the various changes of public opinion at Belfast since the commencement of the regency transaction. This answer I wish you to see, in order that you may explain and strengthen the very incorrect and confused arguments therein contained,—a task not very easy, but to which you are perfectly well adapted, not only by your abilities, and by the similarity of your sentiments to those which I have there endeavoured to express, but still more peculiarly by your perfect acquaintance with my rambling and incoherent manner. My reason for this request is, that I wish greatly that my friends of Belfast should think as we do, since it is not impossible that I may have occasion shortly to call upon them for the assistance of their public opinion. Indeed, it is absolutely essential to the honour of Ireland that the man who has presumed to insult her should not be suffered to remain her delegated ruler. The late change of circumstances has produced its natural effect; yet still our numbers are so considerable and so respectable that, with proper efforts, which shall not be wanting, I do not despair of gaining the point which ever Irishman ought to wish for."

107.—Haliday to Charlemont.

i.—1789, April 11, Belfast.—“However desirable and becoming the step your lordship suggests may be, I am afraid it would be difficult to rouse the townsmen to any public exertion at this time, such languor and listlessness prevail, and so much have they been carried away by the torrent of extravagant and ridiculous joy which burst forth on the return of the best of kings from incidental madness to innate folly. At least, when I have endeavoured to give a different turn to conversation, and fix the thoughts of people on the actual situation of Ireland, I have been very little attended to. Formerly the spirited inhabitants of this place acted independently of, and separately from, our pitiful corporation, whom they despised. At present the two bodies are confounded together, and our worthy sovereign[1] takes the lead and presides at all public meetings—‘nec hoc nihil.’ Nor do I well know in what shape the business should be brought forward. Resolutions were so multiplied some time ago, and to so little effect, that people became sick of them, and as for an address, they might cry out, ‘non dignus vindice nodus.’ In short, the spirit of commerce, here as elsewhere, monopolizes the human mind, and most of our merchants are infinitely more anxious about their own credit than that of parliament or the nation.”

107, ii.—1789, April 13, Belfast.—“Since I had the honour of writing to you, I have seen Joy and your admirable letter to him, and I have talked with him and some others on the subject of your lordship's last letters to me. Joy, who has a pretty good acquaintance with the public mind of this whimsical town, says, in a note which I have just received from him, that the more he thinks of a town meeting, the less chance he finds the measure likely to be attended with, as the season of indignation against his excellency is too long past to be recalled with the zeal and effect the case would seem to require. But, indeed, for my own part, I never did observe anything of this manly indignation which the occasion should have called up, except in one or two. Our merchants hang upon our bankers, and these are more anxious to conciliate a certain neighbouring lord's favour, and procure an introduction for their notes into his office, than about any public measures. I formerly mentioned to you a wonderful instance of the operation of this sordid principle on one of our friends. His next piece of damask will, I suppose, exhibit his lordship shedding crocodile tears in the house of peers. I was in hopes that the infamous address from Limerick would have roused our townsmen, but I know not what would rouse them, unless their demigod, Pitt, was to be turned out of the ministry. Thus fallen, thus changed are we!”

108.—Thomas Dundas to Charlemont.

1789, April 29, London.—“I need not tell your lordship that when our motions partly depend upon princes, we cannot always carry our intentions into execution at the moment we wish or mean. I have been in that situation, for, when I had the honor to receive your lordship's letter, the prince of Wales was at Newmarket. When he returned to town, he stayed one night and went to Brighthelmstone. I did not know of his return from Newmarket, and therefore did not see him. I was very anxious to communicate your lordship's letter to his royal highness, and also to show him the copy of the address from the county of Dublin, before I wrote in answer to your letter. At last I found him alone, by going to him before he was out of bed. I must say I never saw his royal highness more pleased than he was, both with the affectionate expressions in your lordship's letter towards himself, and with the terms in which the address from the county of Dublin is conceived. I cannot convey his royal highness's commands so well as in his own words: 'I desire you will say everything that is handsome to lord Charlemont from me. I wish him to know how highly I value his friendship.'

---

[1] The chief magistrate of the town of Belfast, styled “sovereign,” and elected annually.

"Your lordship has certainly heard of all our great processions, thanksgivings, balls, concerts, fêtes, illuminations, and rejoicings of every kind, upon the joyful event of his majesty's happy recovery. I think the procession[1] to St. Paul's has opened the people's eyes, and has let them into a secret, which begins to take effect in a way very contrary to the wishes and expectations of our great rulers. I will not trouble you further, at present, than to return you my best thanks for the very favourable construction which you put upon my weak attempts to be of use to your lordship and the other delegates. I wish my powers had been equal to what was due to either your private or public characters."

109.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1789, April —, Dublin.—"Though I have as yet had no answer to my letters, either from you or from Joy, I must lose no farther time, but proceed to inform you of my earnest wishes respecting my friends of Belfast. The present situation of affairs is such as to render it necessary that our late conduct should receive the sanction of public approbation. To this effect Dublin has done its part, and has set an example to Leinster, which will, I doubt not, be imitated. The same lead I wish to be taken by Belfast, as, from every consideration, the town most worthy and most likely to be followed by our northern counties. The tendency of the resolutions which I wish should be entered into by your respectable townsmen is as follows, and is nearly similar to what has been done in Dublin. First, that there is no parliament competent to appoint a regent for Ireland, save only the parliament of this realm. Secondly, that the royal assent given to the statute laws of this kingdom is the royal assent of the king of Ireland. Thirdly, that thanks be given to the majority of the two houses of parliament, who, in opposition to illegal and arbitrary doctrine, addressed his royal highness, the prince of Wales, and defended the undoubted privileges of parliament and the rights of this realm against the ministers of the crown in Ireland. Resolutions to this import I the rather venture to propose, as I find from Joy's letter that they exactly correspond with the universal sentiment. Neither can I form the smallest doubt of their being unanimously agreed to by gentlemen who have ever stood foremost among the asserters and defenders of their country's rights. Yet, should any change have taken place, which I can scarcely conceive possible, you, who are upon the spot, can best judge of it, and need not be told that a matter of this kind should not be brought forward without a strong probability of its being carried by a respectable majority. When Belfast shall have taken the lead I mean to try this matter in the county of Armagh, and wish that you would apprize your numerous friends in those parts of your sentiments on this subject."

---

[1] On 23 April 1789.

110.—EDMUND BURKE to CHARLEMONT.

1789, May 27, [London,] St. Stephen's.—"I have no small apprehension of the infidelity of the post office, and, though what I have to write may not be of a nature which may make me very anxious that it should be kept secret, yet there is an awkwardness and constraint in any communication with a friend which is to pass through the hands of an enemy. I have therefore waited for a safe hand to Ireland. I am at length made acquainted with the last steps resolved upon with regard to the official arrangements in Ireland. I must confess that from the moment of the acceptance of an amnesty I looked for nothing better. When those who have in their hands the power of inflicting punishment are satisfied themselves to accept pardon, I have no great opinion of what may be done by them when they have delivered over their means of offence and even of defence to their adversaries. I know the word is, 'that Mr. Ponsonby was the victim of his passion, not of his vote.' But when a man has given a vote not to be forgiven, means will not be wanting to make him fall into a passion, and when there is no cordial sympathy others will be as much too cold as he may have been too warm, and all will go to pieces. I believe I said as much as this before, but the late events bring it more vexatiously again into my thoughts. The ministry (or rather minister) here would gladly have compounded for your accepting another lord lieutenant from his hands. As to the chancellorship, I understand it is still in abeyance. I stated to the prince everything you said, and I am sure it made its proper impression upon his mind. Indeed, I do not know that any opinion of yours could be stated to him without being attended with great weight. What his royal highness may be at bottom it is impossible for me to divine. I do not know him enough to hazard anything concerning the groundwork of his character, but by all that I have seen of him I think it pretty apparent that he does not very precipitately change his sentiments with regard to men; and this I think very extraordinary in one who has lived in such a state of dissipation as he has done. It furnishes a solid foundation for confidence, and gives great reason to hope that if he should ever resolve to quit a course of life in which I believe he finds little more than disgust he may become a great king. I am satisfied that you have as much share in his good graces as anybody, and that it is an object of ambition with him to stand well in your opinion. The queen, I believe, is not quite well; yet she adds fête to fête, and in fact conducts herself as a candidate for everything, and makes no small ostentation of the present power she possesses. She comes more and more forward, and the king disappears in proportion as her majesty fills the eye of all the world. He is, I believe, pretty free from his late distemper, perhaps entirely so; but I believe his strength either of body or mind is not at all advanced. If any other proof were wanting, his total indifference about the affair [1] of the duke of York and Lennox would leave no doubt of it in any mind capable of observation. In any former time a scuffle between two ensigns would have attracted more of his attention. Indeed, he does not attend to anything. I have the satisfaction to let your lordship know that the duke of York's whole conduct has been such, with regard to spirit, judgment, and correctness of honour, as you and every friend of his could wish. Poor Lennox has paid the forfeit of his imprudence, which has been such as I believe has had few examples, even at his imprudent time of life. The deliberate part, that is the circular letter, is the most imprudent part of all. So far as to him. There is, indeed, something which must affect considerate men in the whole of this and some other affairs—that the prince of Wales and the duke of York do not attend so much to their rank as to keep them out of the way of all adventures of that kind; at least their condescension ought to be towards those who are attached to them. But I hope all these things will come right by degrees.

---

[1] *See* page 99.

"Your lordship will naturally expect that I should say something of the politics of our (I think I may call them your) friends on this side of the water. But I can say nothing where nothing is done, and nothing meant to be done. Perhaps in the present strange posture of affairs it is right to let opposition lie fallow for a while. For one, I grow every hour less confident in any political speculation of my own, and this easily reconciles me to any plan of activity, or any disposition to inaction, which may be adopted or which may prevail amongst those of whose general good sense and good meaning I have an opinion. My own little business occupies me wholly. Your lordship will not be surprised to find that the assistance we have had from ministerial self-interest should be withdrawn through their treachery. They thought that by affronting us they might provoke us to abandon a business which, having answered all the ends for which they were induced to afford it any countenance, they are heartily tired of; and then they would have endeavoured to throw the disgrace of this dereliction upon us. Some of our friends think that, after such a manœuvre, we ought to have withdrawn ourselves, and that the enemy, and not we, must have borne the blame. I thought otherwise. Bad as our chances are, and great as the discouragements under which we labour, I thought we owed it to ourselves to shew that our cause was such as called upon us for the last exertions of patience and perseverance. I shall be happy to find that you do not disapprove the conduct I held on that occasion. They are now endeavouring to waste time in the house of lords, and to raise the most shameful cavils with regard to evidence.

"Thus far I had written yesterday morning, as I found myself able to snatch an opportunity. Since then I find that the duke of York has gone out with Lennox.[1] The newspapers, amongst them, have given the circumstances as they were. It is impossible to avoid connecting this with the proceedings on the regency. The affront then given to the royal family, the desire shewn of lowering them, and rendering their situation and their prospects of succession precarious, were obvious to your lordship whilst you remained amongst us. A challenge sent to the king's son by a lord of his bedchamber (to say nothing of the other circumstances combined in the person) is a point that makes the few who have any remaining sense of honour, decorum, the dignity of station, or the feelings of nature, shudder. What does this declare to the world?

"I am now going into Westminster Hall, and have only time to say that the duke of York (supposing him to do right in going at all) behaved angelically. I am sure no man ever conducted himself with more propriety, dignity, spirit, and humanity."

111.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1789, June 14, Marino.—"Many thanks for the accurate result of Dr. W.'s kind labours, which shall be laid before the Academy at their next meeting. Thank you also for writing to me, for indeed my spirits require the consolation of friendly intercourse. I am sick of many griefs, public and private. . . . My own health is by no means as you would wish it; my nerves, the constant source of all my complaints, are much affected, and consequently neither my eyes nor my spirits are as they ought to be. The horrid weather, which I take to be unparalleled, may possibly contribute to produce these effects both in me and in my daughter, and a change in the atmosphere may be favourable to us both. But what alteration in the weather can produce any good effect upon those wretches in county Armagh? Few things have ever given so much concern and anxiety as those nasty broils, and the more so as, in the present estate of the county, I see no remedy. The fools will undo themselves, and I cannot help it. I am sorry to add to these causes of disquiet, the politics of my Belfast friends. Here, however, the case is by no means desperate, since I am persuaded their good sense must bring them back to a right way of thinking, and those principles, which seemed to be a part of their nature, must reassume their empire. I hear that a great entertainment is to be given, and for what? I was formerly a favourite, but suppose I can be no longer so. Opposites can scarcely be beloved at the same time. Excuse my vanity. In other respects, however, matters go on tolerably well. The party is determined and firm, neither do I think it possible that any farther impression can be made by all the arts and powers of administration. With a view to stability, I have forwarded the institution of a Whig club upon the most constitutional principles, which will certainly be of great use; neither can I doubt yet to see in process of time a similar one established even at Belfast. Why, alas, should I be forced to say 'even'? Whether his excellency will return or not heaven only knows. He has no friend that wishes his return more ardently than I do, for many reasons which cannot but occur to you. Will this approaching comet never have done shaking his tail at us? It now rains as if it was just beginning, and I have twenty acres of meadow cut, and, what is worse, it is so dark that I must conclude my letter. Adieu, my dearest Haliday. For heaven's sake be incessant in preaching Whig principles, in spite of this Tory comet, which is not only influencing our climate, but, as I most astrologically believe, our sentiments also."

---

[1] A duel took place on 26 May 1789 between Frederick, duke of York, and Charles Lennox, heir to the dukedom of Richmond.

112.—R. WALSH to CHARLEMONT.

1789, July 6, London.—"I have the honor to present to you Mr. Thorkelin,[1] a professor of the university of Copenhagen, who is travelling by order of the court of Denmark, to investigate the traces of Danish intercourse with these kingdoms in olden time. Visiting Ireland with this view, it would be unpardonable that Mr. Thorkelin should not be furnished with an introduction to those advantages which your lordship's protection and instruction will extend to him. I the more readily take upon myself the office of giving him that introduction, because he is no less estimable for his manners than for his character and learning."

113.—EDMUND BURKE to CHARLEMONT.

1789, July 10, [London,] Gerrard-street.—"I have little to say of importance, and nothing at all to say that is pleasant; but I do not choose to let my friend Mr. Nevill depart without taking with him some token of my constant love and respect to your lordship. Your friendship and partiality are things too honourable and too dear to me for me to suffer them to escape from my memory or from yours if I can help it. Indeed, I want consolations; and these are consolations to me of a very powerful and cordial operation. We draw to the end of our business in this strange session. I have taken no part whatever in the latter part, though in the former I exerted myself with all the activity in my power, and which I thought the crisis called for. Nature has made decision which no art or skill of parties could have produced. When that was done, I had nothing further to do. My time of life, the length of my service, and the temper of the public, rendered it very unfit for me to exert myself in the common routine of opposition: 'turpe senex miles.' There is a time of life in which, if a man cannot arrive at a certain degree of authority derived from a confidence from the prince or the people which may aid him in his operations and make him compass useful objects without a perpetual struggle, it becomes him to remit much of his activity. Perpetual failure, even though nothing in that failure can be fixed on the improper choice of the object or on the injudicious choice of means, will detract every day more and more from a man's credit until he ends without success and without reputation. In fact, a constant pursuit even of the best objects, without adequate instruments, detaches something from the opinion of a man's judgment. This I think may be in part the cause of the inactivity of others of our friends, who are in the vigour of life, and in possession of a great degree of lead and authority. I do not blame them, though I lament that state of the public mind in which the people can consider the exclusion of such talents and such virtues from their service as a point gained to them. The only point in which I can find anything to blame in those friends is their not taking the effectual means, which they certainly had in their power, of making an honourable retreat from the prospect of power into the possession of reputation by an effectual defence of themselves and of the great person whose honour is involved in theirs. There was an opportunity which was not made use of for that purpose, and which could scarcely have failed of turning the tables effectually on their adversaries. But I ought to stop, because I find I am getting into the fault common with all those who lose at any play, that of blaming their partners; and, indeed, nothing has hastened, at all times, the ruin of declining parties so much as their mutual quarrels and their condemnation of each other. My particular province has been the East Indies. This session has shewn the power and predominance of the queen in this province. Hastings is known to be under her protection. Last year her influence, though considerable, was not so decided; and the lords did not look up to her so fully as since the time when the leading cabal in that house had reason in the regency business to attach themselves to her majesty as the head of their faction. Lord Kenyon[1] takes the lead in the protection of Hastings; and as he is a violent, hot-headed, vulgar man, without the least tincture of liberality or generous erudition, and though of some low acuteness, is void of anything like enlarged sense, and has no regard whatsoever for reputation any further than as it may be the means of procuring money, he scruples nothing in the way to any objects he has to gratify on the part of passion or of interest. The chancellor never, without him, would have ventured to take the steps which he has taken. The judges have not been ashamed to quit the dignity of their situation, and instead of being good judges, to become bad advocates, and to plead the cause of the base fellow before us, as if they had been his feed counsel. Their method was to prevent the appearance of the recorded documents of the India house on their minutes, because they knew that if they had once appeared there, his condemnation must have been the infallible result. For this purpose, they not only abandoned the great golden rule of evidence which is founded in the nature and circumstances of the object to be proved, but even the most ordinary course in their own municipal tribunal. The lords were pleased to charge upon them the infamy they were so desirous of incurring; and accordingly they, under the direction of Kenyon, have in reality tried the cause. However, though they have caused much delay and suppressed much evidence, there is ground enough to find him guilty, on this the first of the eight heads, of direct bribery. I do not see how they can resist the matter which is actually before them. We have rest or something like it for the present, but, depend upon it, I shall persevere to the end, and shall not add myself to the number of bad examples in which the audacity and corruption of delinquents have wearied out the constancy of their prosecutors. We may not go through all the charges. I fear it will be out of our power to do this, but we shall give a specimen of each great head of criminality, and then call for judgment. This man has the impudence to complain of the delays he has caused and the hardships he suffers. God knows, we who prosecute him, betrayed by those who employ us, and traversed by the corruption of the judges before whom we plead, are those who really suffer. I believe you will think so. So far as to a general view of my sole share of business. As to the politics of Ireland, as I see nothing in them very pleasant in the contemplation, I do not wish to revive in your mind what your best philosophy is required to make tolerable. Enjoy your Marino and your amiable and excellent family. These are comfortable sanctuaries when more extensive views of society are gloomy and unpleasant or unsafe. May I request that your lordship and lady Charlemont will think of us in your retreats as of those who love and honour you not the least amidst the general good opinion in which it is your happiness to live."

---

[1] Editor of "Fragments of English and Irish History; translated from the original Icelandic." London: 1788.

---

[1] Lloyd Kenyon, appointed chief justice of England in 1788.

114.—REV. EDWARD HUDSON to CHARLEMONT.

1789, July 11.—"I am heartily sorry there should be so much cause for that concern which your lordship so strongly expresses for the disgraceful state of this county, in which party rage seems to have attained its summit. Your lordship's sentiments on the late unfortunate business are such as every man must approve and admire. Would to God they would adopt and be actuated by them. Since I had the honor of your lordship's last favor, I have exerted myself (not as a magistrate) to find out the truth of the first account I received, and the material parts of it I find to be but too true. The Roman Catholicks were assembled to celebrate St. John's eve[1] unarmed. Mr. Moor came with a large body of Volunteers and others; he demanded a garland which they had been carrying. It was delivered to him without resistance. Almost immediately a number of shots were fired. One party say Mr. Moor ordered them to fire; this is contradicted by the other. One man was wounded in the shoulder by a ball, and I believe he is the only one so wounded. Several were hurt with weapons of different kinds. The ill consequences that have resulted from this affair are too many and various to be comprized in a letter. I thank God, Forkhill[1] is at present quiet, and I have some hopes of keeping it so; but from the other parts of the country I hear of nothing but the most outrageous acts of violence. Last week a man was wantonly killed in the fair of Cross. In short, every opportunity of revenge is eagerly seized on, and to what lengths it may at last be carried I tremble to think. The spirit of combination is spreading. That part of Down which lies about Narrowwater and Rosstrevor is completely infected, and the northern parts of Louth are not less so. I confess I have not so much courage as some gentlemen of the country who laugh at those things. I have been a witness of two commotions which gave trouble enough to the country, and I don't think either of them was so formidable in its beginning or so dangerous in its tendency as the present. I just now learn that a company of light infantry is ordered to march to Tanderagee[2] on Monday. And now, my lord, I beg you will accept my thanks for the honor you do me in asking my opinion, and I can with great truth declare there is no person to whom I would give my sentiments with less reserve than to your lordship, because from you I am sure of a liberal construction of them. The inefficacy of former county meetings and the too evident want of honor amongst the gentlemen who composed them, do not, I confess, lead to great hopes from a future one; and yet I do not see any other mode of establishing a system from which any good can be expected. Some defects in the former meetings might be remedied in this. There was no formal notice given; gentlemen had not time to turn in their minds schemes for restoring good order. The evil was then in its infancy; nay, some people would hardly allow its existence. At present no man can be hardy enough to deny the necessity of vigorous measures. Sufficient notice can be given; gentlemen may have time to prepare themselves, and, I think, if the men of property unite, I think it would be easy to strike out a method that would be effectual. I think they might make every townland on the estates in some measure answerable for itself by declaring they would instantly distrain for every shilling of rent due in any townland where an outrage should be committed, or any illegal body assembled. Rewards and encouragement might be held out to every person who would discover offenders, and every practicable means should be used to discourage the private distilling and selling of whiskey. As to the late unfortunate riot, I am perfectly of your lordship's opinion that a legal enquiry should be made into it. At the same time, considering the present state of the country, I would not wish warrants to be issued, as I think they could not be executed without bloodshed, if at all. I would wish to have the informations submitted to the grand jury; if bills are found, the parties will, I dare say, appear and take their trial. If your lordship is so good as to honor me with an answer to this, it will find me at Baltinglass, near Castledermot, for which place I propose setting out to-morrow, and shall stay there three or four days."

---

[1] 23 June.

115.—Charlemont to Malone.

1789, July 12, Dublin.—"A thousand thanks for your last literary transmiss, which has arrived in perfect safety. You are right in supposing that you have forgotten the title of Turberville's poems, which I beg you would supply, as a title-page in your handwriting makes the book more valuable to me than if it were complete in print. Of the three plays by Shirley two were already in my collection, viz., 'Triumph of Peace' and a 'Contention for Honour and Riches,' but the third, 'Honoria and Mammon,' was wanting, and, if a written copy of 'Andromana' could be procured on paper of the same size, viz. 12mo., I would bind it with this last play, and the author's works would be complete. There is a volume of Greene's works marked 1. Have you a second which has not been sent? You have forgotten to get the plays attributed to Shakspear bound for me as the former volume was. I wish to have them, as I do for everything that bore that sacred name. They were almost complete, as you yourself added the 'Puritan Widow.' With regard to the 'Dilettanti,' the 'face money' and my forfeit when last in London, must undoubtedly be paid, and perhaps the money I inherited from my uncle may subject me to ten guineas more. But, as I am not clear respecting this last article, my income having certainly in no way increased, it may remain unsettled till such time as I may have the pleasure of meeting the club. My manuscript plays are all of them written in different hands, and, from many interlineations and corrections, are likely to be the original copies. I believe 'Lady Mob' has been mistaken for 'Lady Moth.' The mistake, however, is not mine, but that of some former proprietor, who has given in the first page a very imperfect list of the plays. With regard to the names of characters in the untitled pieces, when I go to town, if I have eyes and leisure, I will thankfully give you the information you desire. When we meet, which your brother flatters me will probably be soon, I will take your advice concerning the manner in which these plays may be rebound, as they are at present in a very bad condition. I am not personally acquainted with Mr. Carter, but will make every possible enquiry after the portrait you mention, though till the town fills I can have but little hope of success. Poor Baretti![1] He was an honest, a good, and ingenious man, and as a long intimacy had subsisted between him and me, I cannot but be sincerely concerned for his death. I had known him well in Italy, but we did not come to England together, neither can I ascertain the year of his arrival. I saw him when I was last in London, and he was in perfect health and spirits. He then promised to send me the magazines you mention, but has, I suppose, been fatally prevented; I beg you would send them to me. I am acquainted with Mr. Archdall,[2] and, what is still worse, I am acquainted with his book, of which I will only say that our peerage is almost as bad as our peers. He is, indeed, unpardonable in having suffered the only good thing in his publication to be injured from want of correctness; but I will take care to correct it in my copy, which, since I find there is something in it 'de votre façon,' is become valuable to me.

---

[1], [2] In county of Armagh.

"And now, having finished our important business, I should be induced to trifle a little in politics, but that really I have nothing to tell you with which you are not already acquainted. If England be in a strange condition, this country is not much less so. Indeed, one would be almost inclined to think, astrologically, that the approaching comet is influencing not only our physical but our moral occurrences. Not only the climate, but the political state of almost every nation in Europe—everything seems turned topsy-turvy. Russia is polite; Austria, tolerant; France, steady and free; Britain—alas! Indeed, in this last-mentioned island the 'topsy-turvical' influence appears to have been singularly exerted, since slavery and taxes seem to be popular, and even the mob have forgotten their ardour for liberty. Here, also, our situation is to the last degree whimsical—all our men of real influence displaced; and for what? For adhering to the house of Brunswick, for preferring a prince of Wales to an ambitious subject! You ask whether all this will pass quietly. That will, I hope, be shewn in the next session of parliament. I have lately been active in forwarding the institution of a Whig club upon the most constitutional principles, which will, I doubt not, produce an excellent effect. Beef, claret, and communication are, you know, in this country at least, no bad incentives to patriotism."

---

[1] *See* vol. i., p. 430.

[2] Rev. Mervyn Archdall, editor of "Monasticon Hibernicum" 1786, and "Peerage of Ireland," 1789.

116.—FITZGIBBON[1] to CHARLEMONT.

1789, July 16, Ely Place, [Dublin.]—"I have received a letter from the chief magistrate of Newry, stating that the county of Armagh, in that neighbourhood, is in so disturbed a state as to require an additional military force at Newry, in order to enable him to preserve the public peace; and he mentions one meeting of five hundred Catholicks in arms to have taken place, but a few days since, which he was unable to disperse. In this situation of the county of Armagh, I request your lordship's opinion and advice what is best to be done, perfectly well assured that your feelings agree with mine, that, of all expedients, that of a military force is the last which ought to be resorted to for the preservation of the public peace. If, however, the magistrates of the county cannot do their duty without such assistance, I do not see that we can be justified in withholding it from them."

117.—G. I. THORKELIN to CHARLEMONT.

1789, August 3, Dublin.—"I have doubted very much whether I should or not send to you my publication of the Icelandic fragments relating to the history of Great Britain and Ireland, for indeed they contain but very little worthy of your attention. However, the sacred name from which these fragments borrow all their value, and under whose auspices they have appeared in public, makes me confident that they will meet with your wonted indulgence towards the Muses. Let the patronage of a Rawdon,[2] whom I know you love and admire, prevail on you to honour my fragments with a place in the invaluable repository of solid learning at Charlemont house, and let this feeble attempt of mine bear testimony to my anxiety of concurring in that general applause, which the greatness of Rawdon's mind, guided with prudence and the nicest purity of conscience, deserves and receives from every one who has been so fortunate as to see and hear him."

118.—EDMUND BURKE to CHARLEMONT.

1789, August 9, Beconsfield.—"I think your lordship has acted with your usual zeal and judgment in establishing a Whig club in Dublin. These meetings prevent the evaporation of principle in individuals and give them joint force, and enliven their exertions by emulation. You see the matter in its true light, and with your usual discernment. Party is absolutely necessary at this time. I thought it always so in this country ever since I have had anything to do in public business; and I rather fear that there is not virtue enough in this period to support party, than that party should become necessary on account of the want of virtue to support itself by individual exertions. As to us here, our thoughts of everything at home are suspended by our astonishment at the wonderful spectacle which is exhibited in a neighbouring and rival country. What spectators, and what actors! England gazing with astonishment at a French struggle for liberty, and not knowing whether to blame or to applaud! The thing indeed, though I thought I saw something like it in progress for several years, has still something in it paradoxical and mysterious. The spirit it is impossible not to admire, but the old Parisian ferocity has broken out in a startling manner. It is true that this may be no more than a sudden explosion. If so, no indication can be taken from it. But if it should be character rather than accident, then that people are not fit for liberty, and must have a strong hand like that of their former masters to coerce them. Men must have a certain fund of natural moderation to qualify them for freedom, else it becomes noxious to themselves and a perfect nuisance to everybody else. What will be the event, it is hard, I think, still to say. To form a solid constitution requires wisdom as well as spirit, and whether the French have wise heads among them, or, if they possess such, whether they have authority equal to their wisdom, is to be seen. In the meantime, the progress of this whole affair is one of the most curious matters of speculation that ever was exhibited.

---

[1] John Fitzgibbon, appointed chancellor of Ireland, 20th June 1789; created earl of Clare, 1795.

[2] The work of Thorkelin, mentioned at p. 100, was dedicated to Francis Hastings, lord Rawdon.

"My friend, Mr. George Shee, will pay his respects to your lordship with this letter. He has made an excellent character and a reasonable fortune in India. You know how nice I ought to be about an Indian character; and I am so. I certainly should not, as I most warmly do, recommend Mr. Shee to your lordship's attentions and protection, if I were not convinced that he is a man of the greatest uprightness and integrity, and that you will find him with great modesty, very knowing and intelligent, and of principles exactly conformable to our own. He is of our country, which having left very young, he is to be introduced into it like a stranger, and he cannot be more advantageously introduced than through your lordship's countenance and protection. Mrs. Shee goes with him, a young lady of the most amiable and accomplished manners. She is the relation of a very good friend of mine, Mr. Marsh, a person who has filled many situations abroad and at home with great honour, and is now with equal reputation filling that very difficult office of commissioner for American claims. Mrs. Burke has the highest opinion of and best wishes for her, and would take lady Charlemont's attentions to her as a very great favour, which she is sure Mrs. Shee will abundantly repay to lady Charlemont in the pleasure of her society.

"Our neighbour, the duke of Portland, is still somewhat stiff in his limb, though he can walk. He is the same virtuous, calm, steady character in all sorts of weather, natural or political. He always thinks and speaks of your lordship as such men as you and he ought to think and speak of each other. I have been so unlucky as not to see Mr. Austin. I was obliged to leave town just as he got to it, and his engagements did not permit him (as I earnestly wished he could) to pass a day or two here, He interests himself about one Borland, sentenced to transportation at Warwick assizes, and has put the affair (much against my judgment) into my hands. I have written to Mr. Grenville and had the answer I expected, that he would refer it to the judge who tried the cause. Surely some of those who have interest with the ministers were more properly to be applied to."

119. i.—ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF MOIRA AND HASTINGS,[1] to CHARLEMONT.

1789, November 1, Moira House, [Dublin.]—"I take the liberty, my lord, of requesting from your lordship the loan of Dugdale's 'Baronage' for a few hours. Incorrect as that author is in many instances, and erroneous in respect to my family (having compiled his account of it during my grandfather's minority, who was an accurate genealogist and an able antiquarion), yet I wish to see what he states in regard to the various branches of the family existing when he wrote; for, my grandfather being an only son and a posthumous child, the then presumptive heir, I should conclude, was marked by him, being so near to the title of the earldom. The earldom is not extinct, and therefore, perhaps, Mr. Pitt will not assume it, or bestow it upon lord Montjoy. Though Robert Cecil, the grandson of the man who kept a carriers' inn, took that of Salisbury, the attainders which stopt the course of that antient title (an earldom descendible by female heirs) had been reversed by the 1st of Philip and Mary, and thus it rested in abeyance between the descendants of the two daughters of lord Montague, grand-daughters to the countess of Salisbury, the elder of which daughters was married to my ancestor. The earldom of Warwick, likewise, which equally went by female descent, and of which the attainders were equally reversed (and if not could not at that period affect the collateral line), was first bestowed by Elizabeth upon the descendant of the carpenter, Dudley, and, secondly, upon the grandson of Rich, a silk mercer, by James I. Clarence at least had a nobler lot of injustice.

"As I should much wish that my conduct might ever meet your lordship's approbation, your lordship must permit me to state my reasons to you for assuming the title of Hastings, especially as I learn that Percy,[2] bishop of Dromore, with petty malice and great officiousness, is assiduous in preaching that I have no right to it, and, with much ignorance on the point, says that title belongs solely to the earls of Kent and their descendants. Hastings was a barony by tenure, held by grand serjeantcy from the grant of the manor of Ashby in Norfolk, to find table-linen at the king's coronation. By the earliest summons recorded, the Hastings became and stand as barons also by writ. John, lord Hastings and Abergaveney, a claimant for the crown of Scotland, in right of his grandmother (who was also co-heiress to the palatinate of Chester), was twice married. First, to the lady Isabella de Valence, daughter (and at length she conveyed to her family, the Hastings) to William de Valence, earl of Pembroke (or Penbroke, as then written), who was half-brother to Henry the third. His mother, queen Isabella, having re-married, after the death of king John, with Hugh Le Bruce, earl of March, the earldom of Pembroke had devolved to him by a female descendent of the Marshals, earls of Pembroke, and the Marshals possessed it from a marriage with Isabella, heiress of Richard de Clare, surnamed 'Strongbow,' earl of Pembroke, and Eva, daughter of Diarmuid Mac Morogh, king of Leinster. By this wife lord Hastings had one son, and his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, was married to the lord Grey of Ruthyn. His second wife was the lady Isabella Despencer, daughter of Hugh, earl of Winchester, the elder favorite, by whom he had two sons, sir Thomas and sir Hugh Hastings. The male line of the

---

[1] Daughter of Theophilus, earl of Huntingdon. *See* Third Report of Royal Commission on Historical MSS., p. 431, and "History of the City of Dublin," 1854, vol. i., p. 393.

[2] Thomas Percy, editor of "Reliques of Ancient English Poetry."

Hastings, earls of Pembroke, failing in 1389, king Richard the second seized the earldom into his possession and bestowed it upon his queen, and sir Edward Hastings, claiming the title of lord Hastings, as being great-grandson to sir Thomas, eldest son of John, lord Hastings by his second wife, Sir Edward being under the king's displeasure and then imprisoned by him, the king decided that the title of Hastings belonged to Reginald, lord Grey of Ruthyn, great-grandson of Elizabeth Hastings, daughter of Isabella de Valence, as being of the whole blood, and sir Edward but of the half-blood, to the last possessor. The son of Reginald being married to the king's niece, daughter of John Holland, duke of Exeter, his half-brother, partiality as well as resentment operated in that decision. The famous and tedious contest for bearing the full arms of Hastings then took place, which lasted for sixteen years, and being given against Hastings, and he ordered to bear them with a mark of inferiority, he disdained to comply, and emblazoned his arms, which have ever since been so borne by our family, retaining, however, the liveries as being the antient colours of the family. Sir Edward Hastings (writing himself lord Hastings and Stutevile) died without issue, leaving his curse upon that individual of his heirs who should ever relinquish his rights; to sir Ralph Hastings, great-uncle to William lord Hastings, fell his claim, this personage, bearing the soi-disant title at least of lord Hastings, was beheaded at York in 1408. Edmond, lord Grey of Ruthyn (grandson of Reginald), having deserted the Lancastrian party, joined the Yorkists. It was for the interest and satisfaction, therefore, of Edward the fourth to conciliate the favor of two powerful families who supported his cause, and in consequence he settled the dispute in a similar manner to that of the Dacres, where the male heir and the female heiress were both allowed to bear the title. The former transmitted his title by the female to the Howard family, and lord Carlisle is baron Dacre of Gillesland. The other title was lately in the family of Barret, who was lord Dacre in right of his mother, and upon his death it went to Mr. Roper (through the same female descent), who is now lord Dacre, and the letters patent, the 1st of Edward the Fourth, were not a creation to William, lord Hastings, but an acknowledgement of a share of that right, which in justice he ought solely to have possessed, and, like the decision in the Dacres' case which was determined eight years later, . . . certainly was extended to the heirs general. As to the right of any share remaining in the Grey, (earls of Kent's family,) it is a false assertion. Edmond Grey (grandson of Reginald), first earl of Kent, had an only son, George, second earl of Kent, and two daughters. The elder, Elizabeth, was the wife of the son and heir of Ralph, lord Greystock, and Anne was the wife of lord Grey of Wilton. George, second earl of Kent, married twice. His first wife was lady Anne Woodvile, the widow of lord Bourchier. She was sister of Edward the Fourth's queen. His second was lady Catherine Herbert, daughter of the first earl of Pembroke of that name. By his first wife he had Richard, third earl of Kent, surnamed 'the Unthrifty.' By his second he had sir Henry Grey of Wrest, Antony Grey of Branspeth, and several other children. Richard, only son by the first wife, dying without issue, these titles his ancestor was supposed to inherit, as being of the whole blood, could not devolve to his half-brothers, but his aunts, his father's sisters, or their heirs, must have been his heirs to them, and the earls of Kent, who descended from sir Henry Grey of Wrest, did not assume them, nor, when that line ended in a female, lady Susan Grey, the wife of sir Michael Longueville, did she claim the Hastings title. Upon the failure of sir Henry Grey of Wrest's male line, the reverend Antony Grey, grandson of Antony Grey of Branspeth, succeeded to the title of earl of Kent, and his descendants chose to appropriate to themselves the titles of Hastings and Wishford, which came from the Hastings, and also Grey of Ruthyn and Valence. The pretensions to the two first titles certainly went, as it has been marked, to the family of Greystock, and to that of Grey of Wilton. The last lord Grey of that title died in the Tower, attainted of high treason for joining in the supposed conspiracy to place lady Arabella Stuart on the throne. The barony of Greystock was carried by a female into the Howard family, and is now possessed by the duke of Norfolk. One share of the right or claim, therefore, rests with his grace, and, not chusing to incur the curse of my expiring and enraged ancestor, I shall tenaciously retain the other (an honor of upwards of seven hundred years' date), and consequently state my case to your lordship."

119. ii.—CHARLEMONT to COUNTESS OF MOIRA.

1789, November 2, [Dublin.]—"In condescending to state your case for my approbation, your ladyship confers on me not only the highest honour but the most sensible satisfaction. The former by the value and stress your goodness is pleased to lay upon my opinion. The latter by the perfect clearness and invincible force of that statement, which so firmly establishes the rights of a family in the prosperity of which I am so highly interested, not only on your ladyship's, but on that also of your most amiable, truly respectable, and most worthy successor. The books should have been sent immediately but that I received your ladyship's letter in the country."

120.—ELAND MOSSOM to CHARLEMONT.

1789, November 30.—"As I am encouraged by many respectable friends to publish a work, which I am now preparing for the press, I take the liberty, my lord, of sending you the enclosed, presuming to hope it may likewise be agreeable to your lordship to favour my undertaking by becoming a subscriber."

[Enclosure.] — "Proposals for publishing by subscription, 'The Christiad,' a poem, in six books, translated into verse from the Latin work of M. H. Vida, bishop of Alba, by Eland Mossom, esq. Conditions:—First: The names of the subscribers shall be published as encouragers of the work. Secondly: The work shall be printed in two quarto volumes, with the original Latin under the translation. Thirdly: It shall be embellished with twelve copper plates, namely, a head and tail-piece to each book, expressive of the most important or interesting passages contained in each respective book, executed by the best artists. Fourthly: Price in boards, to subscribers, two guineas; to be paid at the time of subscribing. The work, which is nearly completed, shall be put to press as soon as a sufficient number of subscriptions shall be received.

"Received from the right honorable James, earl of Charlemont, knight of St. Patrick, two guineas, being his subscription for the translation of the 'Christiad' of Vida.—Eland Mossom."

121.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1789, December 4, Dublin.—"The intelligence contained in your last letter is of so melancholy a cast that I wish I could persuade myself to believe that your zeal for the cause had made you view the political prospect in an unfavourable light. But, alas, I know of no man from temper and constitution so little likely to despond. If these circumstances really are as alarming as you represent them, so much the rather ought every effort to be exerted to counteract their possible consequences. Neither do I know of any exertion of which the success would be more probable than the immediate establishment of Whig clubs throughout the country, and more especially at Belfast, which must ever be esteemed our political metropolis. The difficulty of drawing up a creed will not, I should suppose, be great, and, if it were, it could not be but surmountable by those who will undertake it. Our resolutions are those of representatives; yours will naturally be, for the greater part, those of constituents. You will approve of our sentiments and form yourselves under a promise to support us in carrying them into effect. Such may, perhaps, be the preamble, and, respecting the subsequent resolutions, you are yourselves the best judges how they may be framed, and how far they may be carried; and I really think that an institution of this kind would, by holding out a congregation to the true believers, be a means of fixing, and even of recalling many who might otherwise wander from the faith. But let this be done as soon as possible, in order to give time for other parts to follow an example to which they must look up, and which they have been long accustomed to venerate and to imitate."

122.—W. BURROUGHS to CHARLEMONT.

1789, December 8, Calcutta.—"After having been honored by so many and such valuable proofs of your lordship's good opinion and of the interest you condescended to take in my destiny, I should feel myself deficient in respect and gratitude to so kind and good a protector were I to neglect giving him some account of my situation and of the hopes which through his favour I am at liberty to entertain.

"After having been delayed some weeks by contrary winds, and buffeted by very tempestuous gales, which I thought would have driven me on the coast of Ireland, whose shores had already been so hostile to me, and after having suffered the miseries of a three months' imprisonment in a French ship, to which, with the vain expectation of expediting our arrival here, I and some other passengers had imprudently removed off the cape of Good Hope, I landed at this settlement on the 10th November, extremely well prepared by the regimen of abstinence, which French economy had reduced us to, for the rigours of the torrid zone. The later ships from England to this part of India were so crowded that no accomodation could be had in them, and rather than wait untill another season I was induced to embark for Bombay, hoping to arrive there before the monsoon should change, and to procure a passage thence for this place. But, having been weather-bound at Portsmouth, having lost a bowsprit and two fore-topmasts before we approached the cape, we had every reason to apprehend that our purpose must have been attended with considerable hazard and much delay, had we proceeded to Bombay, and in an evil hour embarked on board the Frenchman bound to Pondicherry, paid a good many pounds for doing so, endured all the sufferings that bad and scanty provisions, dirt and bad manners could expose us to, and, when we came to an anchor at our destined port, had the mortification to find a vessel come round from Bombay with the intelligence of the 'Ponsborne,' our original vessel, having been moored in safety there before the vessel we found at Pondicherry had sailed. Bad as these omens at the outset of my adventure to the east appeared, I had not lost my spirits even before I saw Calcutta, and, since, I have I think good reason to look forward with some confidence to the completion of my views if I live for a few years more.

"Lord Cornwallis, to whom I delivered letters from the duke of Dorset and lord Rawdon, in addition to that his royal highness the prince of Wales condescended to write in my favour, has received me with very great appearance of good intentions towards me, and should he have an opportunity, as I think it probable he will during his stay here, I believe he will do something handsome for me. The object particularly looked to for me by my friends here and in England is the office of advocate-general to the company, now held by a Mr. Davies, who is very rich and very unhealthy, and whose return cannot with safety to his life be long delayed. Negotiation may, it is thought, induce him to vacate it during the present administration, but should he not do so it is impossible he can continue in it for any length of time; and if I can obtain a renewal of my recommendations to the succeeding governor-general, I have little doubt of getting into Davies's shoes, the court of directors, or at least a number of the most leading men among them, being desirous I should do so. Lord Cornwallis has written home to have everything prepared for his reception, and has told the directors and the minister that next year he is determined shall be his last here, and I understand from colonel Ross, his secretary (who professes the best wishes towards me in consequence of a letter given me by colonel Gardiner, who has been long on the most intimate terms with him and has urged him most zealously and forcibly to serve me), that no solicitation from home will prevail on lord Cornwallis to change his resolution, and of course by this time twelvemonth at the latest his successor will embark from England. Should my schemes and those of my friends here succeed, and Davies's situation become mine, my fortune will be certain and considerable, should I be able to endure the climate half a dozen years afterwards.

"The profession of a barrister out of office (and there are very few in) is by no means so profitable here as before my departure from Europe I conceived it to be. It is very much overstocked, and the spirit of litigation is almost wholly evaporated. The natives, who were the wealthiest and most persevering clients at the first establishment of the supreme court, have been so plundered by late governments, so unmercifully bled by the first law leeches who fastened on them, and so disgusted by determinations that every man concurs in arraigning and in attributing without hesitation to corrupt motives, that almost all their differences are now settled by arbitration. The most expert operators in either branch of our corps now squeeze but little from them, and many are so reduced as to be obliged for mere subsistence to conduct newspapers and embark in other pursuits not quite so honorable as one would always wish the occupations of barristers to be. Sad news, my dear lord, but too true, and not likely to give place to better until after some years of economy and good policy have recruited the country, and untill it shall please Providence or the British ministry to appoint at least two honest men to seats upon the Indian bench. Sir William Jones,[1] of whose heart and head your lordship will readily believe I do not entertain the less favourable opinion for his having taken occasion to boast of his having the honor of being known to your lordship, is the only judge here whose integrity is not unreservedly questioned. His brethern are as publicly acused as are some of the immaculate dispensers of the law in Ireland, and are, I believe, from the little I have seen, but very puny lawyers indeed. They have now been fifteen years in India, and, though advanced in life, have still good health. Their return, however, is speedily expected as well as wished, but will, I fear, not take place except during the administration of some great man other than the duke of Portland. So unlucky a fellow have I ever been.

---

[1] Judge of supreme court of Bengal, author of works on oriental history, laws, and literature.

"The book which I take the liberty of forwarding to your lordship contains the first labours of the only literary society here, and as such I thought your lordship's curiosity might be gratified by looking into it. The society has been instituted by sir William Jones for the purpose of enquiring into the antiquities, laws, history, religion, manners, arts, languages, and literature of Asia. It is under the patronage of the government, and has many men among its members of considerable talents, though very few of any literary knowledge. Persons of the latter description are but rare here, though here as well as elsewhere there are abundance of scribblers and many pretenders to erudition and to classical taste. Whether the volume of 'Transactions' I send your lordship contains anything really worthy of your perusal I am incompetent to say, not having been yet able to dip farther than the preliminary discourse and the first tract by the president, sir William Jones, neither of which I will acknowledge were seducing enough to draw me from the business I have hitherto been engaged in. The title of the society naturally attracts attention, and the circumstance of this being their first offering to the literary world tempted me to transmit it to your lordship, though from the little I have read of it I am pretty well satisfied it is very far inferior to the least considerable performance of the academy[1] which has the advantage of your lordship's auspices and protection. Were the book less worthy even of its professed object, I still should have been probably induced to take advantage of Mr. Fraser's kind offer to convey it, as in doing so I take the only opportunity which has occurred to me of shewing how much gratification I should derive from any occasion of contributing even to your lordship's entertainment. To enjoy the happiness of ever rendering your lordship anything like service I cannot indulge myself with a hope, and despairing as I ever must that fortune will enable me to do so, I yield the more readily to my ambition of contributing if I can to the amusement of your leisure hours. Sir William Jones is now engaged in a work of great labour, and I hope it will turn out to be one of real advantage. He is translating from the ancient Hindoo language the most sacred and venerable books of eastern laws and religion,—books which are written in the finest, most simple, and durable characters I ever beheld, and which the abominable tyranny of Europeans in this part of the globe has, until within these very few years, rendered inaccessible to all foreigners. He, however, has succeeded in his efforts to procure them, and he is assisted by the most learned bramins and pundits of Indostan in making his version. What lights his labours may throw on historical and religious systems hitherto received in Europe I will not venture to guess, though, if his assurances to me and others on the subject are sincere, he has not hitherto met with anything hostile to Christianity. We expect his translation to be printed here, and, if so, as I cannot doubt their being worthy of your lordship's attention, I shall take the liberty of transmitting you a copy as soon after the publication as I shall be able to get a conveyance for it. Our book-binders are so bad that, like the volume Mr. Fraser carries, it will be forwarded in sheets.

"I feel myself so much ashamed of intruding upon your lordship by so very long a letter, that I shall not venture to say a word on the subject of eastern politics, climate, or manners. They are all so much better known to others than to me that your lordship, were you desirous of any information in addition to that you possess on them already, must easily obtain it from better authority. The beauty of this settlement in particular,—where every house of any consequence (and many hundreds of that description there are) is built detached from those nearest it, is surrounded either by spacious courts or lawns as verdant now as your own Marino, is approached through magnificent gateways adorned by regular porticoes and colonnades, composed of a kind of lime and water called 'chunam,' which stands the weather and bears a polish little less beautiful than statuary marble, in perfect conformity to Grecian rules and orders of architecture,—might be descanted on for hours, and pages might be also written in the just praises of the fertility, industry, and population of the country, and in just praises of the climate, which now is the mildest and most delightful I have ever seen, and answers to the most favourable accounts of that I have heard your lordship describe in speaking of your tour through the Grecian islands. Suffice it to say that at present (and I am told such will continue to be the state of the atmosphere for four months) our countrymen who have never been in the southern parts of Europe or nearer than them to the sun, have no idea of the heavenly air we breathe. The hot months will, however, come and be followed by the rains, and then I must pray for a safe deliverance.

---

[1] Royal Irish Academy, of which lord Charlemont was president.

"I write a long letter to my dear baron [Metge], and send my love to Brayfield and to many whose society once made a principal part of my happiness, and whom I wish to hope I have not lost for ever. They will ever live in my heart until it forgets to beat, and will add by my remembrance of them to the wretchedness of exile as often (and too often is it the case) as I look back to scenes and times which I have passed."

123.—Sir Edward Newenham, M.P., to Charlemont.

1789, December 31.—"Knowing your esteem for real patriots, I would not omit this opportunity of acquainting your lordship that I had a letter this day, dated the fifth of November, from the venerable Franklin,[1] at Philadelphia,—perhaps the last he will write to Europe. He says his malady, the stone and gravel, is heavy on him; that dissolution would be ease to him. He very patheticaly inquires how 'Charlemont, the general of the Irish Volunteers, does,' and desires me 'to tell Mr. Deane[2] (the Six Clerk) that he has broken his repeated promise to him, of sending him the model of a common country fish-case.' He says all is going on with proper caution for fixing an union between eleven of the States, that Carolina and Rhode Island must accede to the general union; that Washington appears greater in the cabinet than (if possible) he did in the field. He says, 'Your friend, Washington, sigheth for a retreat to his farm, and more particularly so, as the main points of a general union are fixed; that Irish traders are preferred to any nation.' And now, my dear lord, observe his, perhaps, last words: 'Let your nation sign a speedy commercial treaty with the States, and you may in future monopolize some branches of trade, but nothing can be done without a treaty and appointing a consul.' Often have I hinted the latter appointment to the Irish parliament, particularly in 1784; however, I may now mention it again.

"I am just returned from a Munster tour, and beg your information, when the Whig Club meets; and, as I wish my son to walk in my path,

---

[1] Benjamin Franklin.

[2] William Deane, one of the "six clerks" of the court of chancery, Dublin.

I hope he will not have a negative. The basis of every free club is to increase its friends. When do you next meet? My law business has so taken up my time for these four months, that I have not had spirits or time to pay my respects to my brethren. I shall send you two magazines I received from venerable Franklin."

124.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1790, February 18, Belfast.—"People here are at length roused, and, after teasing others, I am now teased, in turn, about the speedy establishment of a Whig club. Five of us, good men and true, are to meet on Sunday for that purpose, and I have been urged to prepare something as a groundwork. The preamble, as well as I can recollect, is the substance of a sketch I communicated to our friend Hardy when he was here, requesting his bitter strictures, but he returned it with a lazy imprimatur. I lost that paper, and this is not a fac-simile, and it is so bad, I flatter myself the other was better. I take the liberty of troubling you with it, and the subjoined declaration, hastily penned this day, as I much wish to have your observations and emendations, before the matter be finally settled; though, as the chairman said to Pope, it would be easier to make a new one. We shall have an adjournment to some later day in the week, but, as your lordship will perceive by the inclosed note, which I have just received from the most sensible, spirited, and best-informed young man in this town, and one of our most considerable and opulent traders, it is thought as little time as possible should be lost. I had much more to say to your lordship, but this packet is too much of all conscience. Your knowledge of our local circumstances, and of some recent transactions here, will explain many things in these papers which to another might seem to require explanation; so I shall spare you, and release you.

[Enclosure.] "The inhabitants of Belfast have ever been distinguished for their Whig, or in more words, for their loyal and constitutional principles, and for asserting and maintaining these at all, even the worst of times. To go no further back, their zeal and steadiness at the crisis of the glorious Revolution, and of the happy settlement of the house of Brunswick (in defence of which they armed), are almost within memory; and their more recent exertions during the rebellion[1] of forty-five are perfectly so; while their spirited support of the friends and the interests of Ireland, on the memorable occasion[2] of the 17th of December, 'fifty-three,' when the crown made an attack, so honourably repelled by the commons, on their right to hold and dispose of the purse of the nation,—their strenuous and successful struggle, in conjunction with the other free and independent electors of the county of Antrim, to break those disgraceful chains, in which it had been long most unrighteously and unconstitutionally held by a combination of its aristocracy,—their active co-operation with their fellow-subjects in restoring the constitution of this oppressed realm, and unshackling its commerce,—cannot soon nor ever should be forgot. That they may approve themselves worthy of their ancestors, consistent with themselves, and set an animating example to the rising generation, the undersigned residents in the town and neighbourhood have determined to form themselves into a society, to be called the 'Belfast Whig Club'; and they feel it particularly incumbent on them to enter into such an association at this time, when Tory and slavish principles, inimical to the constitution, the dignity and the prosperity of Ireland, have been publicly and pertinaciously avowed by the servants of the crown; when the force and the arts of corruption have been employed in a manner shameless beyond example, and with scandalous efficacy; and when the growing power of the crown and of the aristocracy, and their unconstitutional interference with the independency of the third estate, and with the freedom of election, which is the basis of all our franchises, must excite painful apprehensions in every breast warmed with the love of its country, rouse it to vigilance, and stimulate it to energy.

---

[1] In Scotland, 1745.

[2] *See* account of the affair by Lord Charlemont, in first volume of this report, p. 5.

"Resolved, therefore, that we will give every constitutional support in our power to those worthy patriots who do or shall exert themselves for the security of the constitution, and its more perfect restoration, it being still, in our opinion, most degradingly behind that of Great Britain, in consequence of the want of responsibility in our governors, of the rejection of certain not only salutary but most necessary bills, in the course of last session, and the want of others, perhaps equally essential to the freedom of parliament and the purity of election; which last, as being more directly within the sphere of our activity, we shall endeavour, as far as in us lies, to restore and preserve.

"Resolved, that as we have subscribed the following declaration (the greatest part of which is almost in the words of a late truly worthy and reverend prelate), no person shall in future become a member of this club till he likewise hath signed it.

"We declare that government is an original compact between the governors and the governed, instituted for the good of the whole community; that in a limited monarchy, or, more properly speaking (respect being had to the constitution of these realms), a regal commonwealth, the majesty is in the people; and though the person on the throne is superior to any individual, he is but the servant of the nation; that as our constitution is formed of three legislative branches, the balance between each must be preserved to prevent the destruction of the whole; that electors ought to be free, the elected independent; that a parliamentary influence by places and pensions is inconsistent with the virtue and the safety of the public, and that a minister who endeavours to govern by corruption is guilty of the vilest attempt to subvert the constitution; that our prosperity depends on trade, which it is our interest to encourage and protect; that the freedom of the press is the bulwark of religious and civil liberty; that, as religion is of the utmost importance to every individual, no person ought to suffer civil hardships for his religious persuasion, unless the tenets of his religion lead him to endeavour to subvert the state.

"Holding these as the constitutional principles of this empire, and declarative of the general rights of man, we, as Irishmen, do farther declare, that the subjects of this realm are of right free from and independent on the authority of any parliament or legislature whatsoever, save only the parliament of Ireland, that is to say, the king of Ireland, and the lords and commons of this realm; that we will maintain as sacred and inviolable our connection with Great Britain, in its present form, as indispensably necessary for the freedom of this kingdom in particular and for the freedom, strength, and prosperity of the empire in general; that with grief of heart we consider the constitution of Ireland as labouring under manifold imperfections and pressures, from which that of Britain is free, such as the unlimited power of the crown with respect to granting pensions, pensioners sitting in the house, and certain placemen, who are wisely excluded from the like trust in the sister kingdom, revenue officers voting at elections, and the want of responsibility in the ministers of Ireland; that therefore we shall exert every legal effort to have these disgraces to this country removed and the dangers which they threaten to the constitution averted; and as one most necessary step to these salutary ends, that we all shall exert ourselves to the uttermost in support of the freedom of election, considering the right of voting as a sacred deposit in the conscience of every elector, not to be profaned by the tampering of landlords, and particularly of peers, which is a direct insult on the principles of the constitution, and a daring violation of it."

125.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1790, February 20, Dublin.—"Though I have but a moment to write, I cannot omit assuring you of the heartfelt joy which your letter has afforded me. My love for my country, my ardour in the good cause which now occupies me, and, though last not least, my affection for Belfast, which I now once more see rising into glory, are all gratified by the account you send me. Your sketch, as you choose to call it, like a sketch of Raphael, is from its outline, spirit and animation, more valuable, perhaps, than a more finished picture would be, even by the same hand. To attempt correction would be to spoil it. Heaven bless you, my dear friend; go on and prosper, continue your patriotic efforts, and Belfast will again be what she was, what she ought to be."

126.—Dundas to Charlemont.

1790, February 21, London.—"I was two days in possession of your lordship's letter before I had an opportunity of taking the Prince of Wales's pleasure upon the subject of his royal highness's portrait. Yesterday I luckily found his royal highness alone, and took the advantage of that moment to communicate the contents of your lordship's letter. The prince of Wales seemed much pleased with your anxiety to have his portrait executed by the first of painters. I was well aware that your lordship's principal wish is to have a perfect likeness; therefore, my first object was to prevail with his royal highness to sit, as I cannot bear the thoughts of lord Charlemont having a copy. His royal highness, with his usual goodness, commanded me to inform sir Joshua Reynolds that he would go to his house whenever he was prepared to receive him. Having fixed this grand preliminary, I went directly to sir Joshua, and had a long consultation with him upon the subject, when we fixed upon a full length in the garter robes, something simular to, but differing in several particulars from, that which he painted for the duke of Orleans. In short, sir Joshua is determined that your lordship's picture shall be an original. I shall be happy to know that you approve of what I have done, and of the choice which sir Joshua and I have made. Now, my dear lord, I have one favor to beg, which is, that you will in future save me the distress of reading anything like an apology for making me do what of all things gives me the highest satisfaction, to obey your commands whenever I can be of the smallest service."

127.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1790, February 27, Dublin.—"Every Belfast paper that arrives raises and disappoints my hopes. Why do I not see your incomparable resolutions and declarations? Where is the expected summons for the meeting of your Whig club? I have made all my friends happy by an account of your proceedings, and have assured them of your establishment. Heaven forbid that anything should now prevent it. Even though your numbers may be inconsiderable, do not let that alarm you. If the foundation, though ever so small, be respectable, you need not fear a speedy decrease. I was never more anxious than for the success of your undertaking, which every motive, private and public, induces me most ardently to wish. Write to me, then, I beseech you, and inform me of every transaction."

128.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

i.—1790, March 1, Belfast.—"A new idea arose at our meeting, which was, that it would be most eligible to establish two Whig clubs, instead of one. We therefore began with the Northern Whig club, in which we hope to be joined by many gentlemen from the neighbouring counties. Unfortunately, I was absent last night, when the printed declaration was produced, and, most unaccountably, a grievous omission, in reprinting one of your declarations, passed unnoticed, and has rendered it, as reprinted, whole nonsense and half treason. I have written sharply to Joy about it, but I do not see how it can be altered without reprinting the whole. Very many good Whigs in this town would have declined becoming members of the club, on the score of the many county gentlemen of superior rank and fortune who are expected to join. So my fine historical preamble was cut off, though perhaps it may appear at the head of the resolutions of the Belfast Whig club. Many of us will be members of both. I have marked that confounded resolution; yours that followed it, and which did so in the draft I had the honour to send you, was rejected by the committee on the ground that we were receiving, and likely to receive, such infamous, and to this country ruinous, treatment from Britain, that the assertion of our connection with Great Britain being sacred and inviolable, and indispensably necessary, etc., had better not be made. I have but just got home, and found our worthy pastor and principal of our academy in articulo mortis. He will be a grievous loss to our community, and I shall lament it deeply. Since I got home, I hear a meeting of the town is immediately to be called for the purpose of thanking Mr. Grattan and the minority for their strenuous exertions in the cause of liberty and their country. You will perceive I write in the utmost hurry. I hope to send you a letter soon that you will be able to read."

128, ii.—1790, March 8, Saintfield.—"On Saturday I put my name (with other more respectable ones) to a handbill, calling a meeting of our fellow-citizens for this day, in order to address the minority of the house of commons. It was a great mortification to me that the situation of two infants here under inoculation would not permit me to attend it. I left on paper, however, some hints, which I suppose will be attended to in forming the address, recommending a specification of the particular measures which the minority had exerted themselves in supporting or opposing, in which list the magistracy bill was not forgot. Our Whig club goes on prosperously, and I expect our meeting on Saturday will be, if not numerous, respectable. I have warm acceptances of our invitation from Lord Moira, the two Fordes, Arthur Johnston, captain Hoey, John Kennedy, G. Hamilton, John Crawford, M. Dalwey, T. Morris Jones, major McManus, etc., and I shall find more when I return to town. Our town members will be a dozen at least, I mean of this club. The Belfast Whig club will be numerous. Mr. Brownlow declined, in a letter like himself, sensible and manly, doing great honour to our institution. I have been longing for your lordship's permission to affix your much loved and most respected name. I have not yet heard from Mr. O'Neill. May I beg of you to urge him not to delay writing any longer? Our W[hig] C[lub] droops its head on these doings, like that other W. C., which may stand for 'worthless Clonmel.'"

129.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1790, March 9, Dublin.—"Such has been the hurry of my situation that till now I have not had it in my power to peruse with any degree of attention the resolutions of the Northern Whig club, in which, upon examination, I find with much concern that your effectual and moderate draught has been in some instances departed from. In all associations of this kind, whose efficacy in a great measure depends upon their numbers, care should be taken that, while the principles which form their foundation are solid and vigorous, the expression should be modified in such a manner as to render the subscribers as numerous as possible, by affording no handle for misinterpretation, and by sedulously avoiding every phrase which, by its sound rather than its sense, may alarm the more timid. The phrase of 'regal commonwealth' is, I fear, liable to both these objections; and though in the sense intended to be given to it I most heartily concur in its meaning, it may and will be misinterpreted, and will probably diminish the number of subscribers. Why not then content yourselves with 'limited monarchy,' which cannot be misrepresented and means the same thing? Respecting parliamentary reform, my sentiments have been again and again declared; they are still the same, and I care not how often I repeat them. But why was religion made a part of the system? On this head you know my sentiments. They also have been fully declared, and remain unvaried. Toleration is still my darling principle, but to participate legislation I never can consent to. In this instance, the resolutions are liable to an ambiguous interpretation, and, though I would most readily and most cordially sign them according to the meaning I should myself assign, yet I certainly would not according to the latitude which might by many be given to the expression, which a body of my countrymen, numerous indeed, would undoubtedly interpret to their own advantage, and think me bound by my subscription to the meaning they might give the phrase, while any future conduct of mine consonant to my own principles and understanding, would naturally be blamed and decried by them as a positive breach of faith. Under this delicacy of circumstances, I apply to you, my best and most confidential friend, for advice. Nothing could give me more concern than not to be of a society the institution of which was one of the warmest wishes of my heart. In your general sentiments and principles I most heartily coincide; they are indeed my own. Neither would the strength of expression at all alarm me, but the clause which alludes to the Catholics is a bar in my way, which I know not how to remove or get over. If it means toleration as far as is consistent with public liberty and security, I most heartily subscribe to it; but, if it should be intended to have any latent meaning contrary to my decided and declared opinion, you know me too well to suppose that I am capable of pledging myself against my conviction. That the resolutions, though not, I believe, as yet published, should be altered, can scarcely be expected; it would indeed be something bordering upon presumption even to imagine it. And yet I am by no means single in my difficulties, and many better men than myself will be lost to the club by this unlucky circumstance. Write to me then immediately, and give me your advice upon this, to me, most trying occasion. There is nothing I desire so ardently as by every means in my power to further your institution, and not to be a member must wound me to the heart."

130.—Haliday to Charlemont.

1790, March 11, Belfast.—"I have the honour of your letter of the 9th. It is the first I ever received from your lordship that I have perused with more surprise than satisfaction. As early as it was possible, I transmitted to your lordship a manuscript sketch of our intended paper, praying for your corrections and amendments. Unfortunately, I was not favoured with either, but honoured with a much higher commendation of it than it deserved. It was printed on Monday se'nnight, and by that post I sent your lordship a copy, incorrect as it was, and by the next a correct one. No alteration that had been made in the original draft touched either of the passages that you mention (now) as objectionable; and in yours of the third, the only observation you make respects the omission of that grievance, the magistracy bill. Under these circumstances, I thought myself justified in assuring inquirers that the paper had your entire approbation, and that we should undoubtedly have the high honour of your becoming a member of our institution. The expressions you allude to have never been objected to by anyone that I have either corresponded or conversed with on the subject, though many of both are as averse as any man breathing from republican ideas and from popery. That first one of 'a regal commonwealth' appeared to us to convey an exact idea of the British constitution, distinguishing it from every other now subsisting upon earth; for I cannot allow the Polish anarchy to be a government. The cold and vague phrase of 'a limited monarchy' conveys no precise or distinctive idea at all. I am unacquainted with any monarchy that is not in some measure, or from some internal circumstances, limited. Farther, wishing to establish the majesty in the people, it surely comes with a much better and more natural grace after 'commonwealth' than it would wear after 'monarchy'; these concluding words of the introduction to this particular declaration leaving very different impressions on the mind, the one preparing it for what follows, the other sending it back to that hackneyed, unmeaning phrase, 'the king's most excellent majesty,' which in my conscience I believe has been productive of much slavish principle, and is directly in the teeth of that better majesty of the people. The whole, however, as it stands (except the parenthesis) is in the words of earl Talbot [1] (no bad authority), once solicitor-general of England, and the worthy son of the great and good lord chancellor. You will find them, with much more of our general declaration, in the appendix to bishop Rundle's [2] letters, lately published. Misinterpretation it is impossible to guard against; and, as to members, we never wished for a selection of such as would not be afraid to speak out, or to act were there occasion, therefore a long bead-roll of inefficient names. . . . You ask, my dear lord, why religion was made a part of the system? How was it possible to omit it? Is there any right more important to man, or more sacred than that of conscience; or any that lies so, or should lie so perfectly out of the way of the civil magistrate as a man's religious persuasion? If 'the divinity that speaks within us' be listened to, or the words of the Author of our religion have any weight, or even the voice of reason be attended to, this must be conceded. And how should this open the door of legislation to Catholics? Have they no tenets in their religion which lead to the subversion of the state? They have. If they had not, the doors of parliament should be as open to them as the gates of heaven, and the magistrate would have no more right to keep the key of the first than the pope has to keep that of the latter. To have passed over this most important and evident of the rights of man would have been censured as an unpardonable omission, at a crisis, too, when a cause was depending in Britain between Christianity and a sound enlightened policy, and a minister who vies in iniquity with an Irish chief justice. And, even as it is, where would be the mischief, if we should barter one hundred and nineteen placemen and pensioners for as many Munster peasants? The construction your lordship hath put, or supposed might be put, on this article of our declaration, never suggested itself to any of the framers, nor to any one of my numerous correspondents on this occasion, nor to any of the many country gentlemen I have conversed with on this occasion. Among others I had an admirable letter from Brownlow, with an unqualified and strong approbation of our paper, and expressive of his regret that he could not become a member of our club, because he had declined the honour of being one of yours, for reasons which he gives in his own manly manner. Had I time, I would transcribe it, in confidence, to your lordship."

---

[1] Charles Talbot, solicitor-general, 1726; appointed lord chancellor, and created lord Talbot of Hensoll, in 1733.

[2] Letters of Thomas Rundle, bishop of Derry. Edited by James Dallaway, Gloucester: 1789.

131.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

i.—1790, March 15, Dublin.—"No wonder that you should be both surprised and dissatisfied at the perusal of my letter, when I myself am astonished and vexed to the heart at having found, upon re-inspecting the written draught of resolutions you so kindly sent me, that the clause on which my objection was founded is there inserted. How it escaped me I cannot conceive, and can only attribute my having overlooked it to the intolerable hurry of business in which I was then involved, to a weakness of sight which prevented an accurate investigation in a matter that so fully met my general approbation, to a predilection for everything written by you which induced me to read your composition under a strong impression that there could be nothing objectionable in it, and, perhaps, though that be but a foolish cause, to the improbability of my being called upon to sign a paper which was then intended merely for an association of Belfast gentlemen. But, be this as it may, I am heartily vexed at my shameful inadvertency, and can only hope from your experienced goodness the pardon of a shocking inattention, which to myself I can never excuse or even palliate. And now, having pleaded guilty, and thrown myself upon the mercy of my judge, give me leave to advert to a more pleasing subject. Your explanation of the clause in question has in a great measure done away my scruples, and my last letter standing as a sort of protest against any latitude of interpretation which may hereafter be given to it, of which I still think it capable, I find myself, with the utmost satisfaction, enabled to request that my name may be added to your truly respectable list of subscribers, only wishing that the meaning under which I sign the above mentioned clause should be understood by the club; and believe me, that nothing can equal the satisfaction I feel in being thus enabled to offer my name to your disposal excepting only the concern and anxiety I have felt at the doubt of having it in my power consistently with my declared sentiments, intimately and by name to associate myself with those patriotic gentlemen for whose persons and general principles I have every degree of love and esteem. The Belfast resolutions and thanks to the minority are admirable, and will serve as an universal pattern. I could only have wished that the magistracy act had been particularly mentioned, which desire was the purport of my short note to you, though, in your hurry, you seem to have mistaken me by supposing that I had wished to have made this grievance a part of the club declaration. It may, however, and indeed, considering the renewal of this accursed law, ought to be taken notice of in some future publication, or perhaps in some future resolution, of the club. Write to me immediately, and assure me of a full pardon, for I am still sore under the idea of having given you just cause of offence. You will not, you cannot be displeased at my delicacy, though certainly my inattention scarcely deserves your pardon."

131, ii.—1790, March 16, Dublin.—"How happy do I feel myself in having met you half-way, as you will find by my letter of yesterday. I am now, however, perfectly content, and have only to beg that you would return my hearty thanks to my friends and associates for their kind goodness in condescending to remove my scruples respecting 'regal commonwealth.' The objection was made, not from any feeling of my own, but solely from an apprehension of misrepresentation from without; not because I disliked the phrase, but that I feared it might give our enemies room for cavil. You know, however, that in my letter I waived all objection on that score. And now I am one of you, and have only to desire that you would inform me how my name is to be enrolled; if by proxy, I hereby authorise you to sign for me.'

132.—Haliday to Charlemont.

i.—1790, March 19, Saintfield House.—"We had our first meeting of the Northern Whig club yesterday; only twenty-seven members attended, nineteen very respectable ones from this county; twenty-five were kept away by various causes. We went through the paper before dinner, paragraph by paragraph, and debating some points, which took us up two hours. The obnoxious article respecting religion was after much arguing given up. In truth, the best arguments for this were that it had proved a stumbling-block to your lordship, John Forbes and James Stewart, Killymoon, and that such good judges apprehended it might be mistaken, misapprehended, and do harm. The 'regal commonwealth' we could not give up, it being the real notion of our government and distinguishingly descriptive of it, the expression resting not only on the respectable authority I quoted to you, but on that of many older writers, and, as our venerable octogenarian president assured us, on that of some of the oldest and soundest law authorities. The Fordes, Prices (Saintfield), A. Johnston, G. Hamilton, J. Crawford, the two Stewarts, etc., were all there. The meeting went off excellently."

132, ii.—1790, March 20, Belfast.—"I am not apt to despond, and yet your lordship knows that I almost despaired of the republic, from an apprehension that the virtue of the people was not asleep but extinct, and I said within myself, Can these dry bones live? Thank God, they are alive and with a vigorous muscular cloathing. 'Our brother Lazarus is not dead but sleepeth,' said Burke in the house when the minister North was snoring beside him. But the mention of that man calls my mind off from everything else. What can your lordship make of his conduct? Has great wit kicked down the thin partition between it and madness? Or is the tree withering at the top, as Swift truly augured would one day be his own case? Seeking quarrels, unprovoked, with his best friends, opposing every liberal policy in the house, and singing a palinode for the errors of the former part of his political life, such are the zig-zag, angular outlines of his present aspect. I am now scarcely sorry that our correspondence has been long at an end. The cessation of it gave me great pain at first, and would have given me infinitely more, had it not been clearly owing to his own delinquency in point of friendship and confidence. The story is of little consequence, but I shall one day either amuse, or put you to sleep with it. In the meantime, impart somewhat of your sentiments with respect to his late conduct. I loved the man, I was astonished at his abilities, I had and have the most perfect reliance on his integrity, but I look for him in vain, in his present shape. Perhaps he hath generously devoted himself to give his friend Fox an opportunity (which he hath not missed) of displaying the amiability of his temper and character. But these things inflict deep wounds in the cause they were bound to support. Arthur Johnston laboured hard at the meeting against the damnatory clause respecting boroughs, not, he declared, from any objection of his own mind, but as what might keep desirable associates aloof. In a whisper he told me, sir John Blaquiere was the man he had principally in view."

133.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1790, March 24, Dublin.—"The county of Down, not Downshire, now indeed affords a glorious prospect, and I will not allow myself to harbour a doubt that its perfect emancipation is at hand. The best and surest foundation for liberty has ever been the flinty fragments of the broken arch of despotism. But I can write no more."

134.—CHARLEMONT to —. STEWART.

1790, April 8, Dublin.—"When you speak of a double return, you are not aware that a vote would be thereby lost in the choice of a speaker, a matter which is, on every account, of the highest importance. Sheridan,[1] the lawyer, has long been the object of my wish, though I have hitherto concealed my predilection in his favour, in order to have more leisure and opportunity of enquiring into his principles and character, both of which upon the strictest investigation turn out exactly to my wish. He is a man beloved by all who know him, honourable and upright, of firm Whig principle, and, to my own knowledge, of considerable ability and natural eloquence. His being on circuit had hitherto prevented my speaking with him, but he will be in town in the course of this week, and as soon as I have settled matters with him, you shall hear farther from me. The deputation will probably be to-morrow, and the general opinion is that writs will issue on Saturday, though as the order for calling a parliament under the great seal is not yet arrived, it is possible that they may not issue quite so soon; at all events, you will have time sufficient."

135.—CHARLEMONT to RICHARD SHERIDAN.

1790, April 10, Dublin.—"Some characters, as well as some countenances, possess the peculiar privilege of making an immediate and favourable impression. My acquaintance with you has been of short duration, and yet that short acquaintance has been effectual to point you out as the fittest person to execute a trust, which is, in my opinion, the most important that one man can receive from another.

---

[1] Richard Sheridan, king's counsel, called to the bar in 1774.

Whenever it may be possible that the representation of this kingdom shall be purified, and advantageously altered from its present absurd and unconstitutional course, I will with exultation and delight resign that which some men esteem their property, but will, in the meanwhile, endeavour to manage that trust, and I cannot better perform this, according to my idea, indispensable duty than by offering you a seat for the borough of Charlemont, your acceptance of which will be an obligation to me. Should I be so happy as to form with you this close and important connexion, it may be expedient that you should know my general political sentiments, which, as they are clear and simple, I shall be able in a very few words to explain. As love to my country is the ruling passion of my heart, and as our actions are most commonly directed by the ruling passion, I can claim little merit in wishing to act, at all times and upon every occasion, in the manner which I may deem most essentially advantageous to her. I am, in the genuine and most enlarged sense of the word, a Whig almost by nature, and consequently am warmly addicted to the party with whose general principles I most heartily concur, an addiction which is still farther fortified by friendship, esteem, and confidence on the one hand, and by a distrust on the other founded upon experience. But I was an Irishman before I was a party man, and however it might hurt the feelings of my heart, should most undoubtedly think it my duty to oppose my best friends, and those whom most I love and honour, if at any time their interests should clash with those of my country; an event which, however, I hope and believe to be impossible, as it cannot be without their relinquishing their principles. This is my creed, and this I firmly believe to be yours, in which confidence I once more intreat your kind acceptance of my offer, by complying with which request you will most essentially gratify and oblige."

136.—MALONE to CHARLEMONT.

1790, April 15, London.—"You have had the goodness, I am sure, to excuse my long silence, as you know so well how busily I have been employed, and, indeed, as I approach to the conclusion of my work, I am still more engaged than ever. My preface hangs heavy upon me. I mean to sit down to it to-morrow morning, and when that is done I shall sing 'Io triumphe.' A very particular circumstance induces me to take up the pen at present, and to trouble you with a few lines on a subject on which I should have great difficulty in writing to almost any other person in the world; but I have such a perfect reliance on your friendship and good nature that I am sure you will take in good part what I am going to take the liberty of mentioning, let your situation or future decision be what it may.

"I have this moment heard that sir Annesley Stewart's son is not to be brought in again for Charlemont, and it has been suggested to me as barely within the verge of possibility that, in filling up that seat, your thoughts might perhaps lean to Richard Jephson, the second son of our old friend, who is to be called to the bar next November. A knowledge of the principles and character and abilities of the person in whom such a trust is to be reposed must always in a great measure govern the choice, and therefore it is that I venture to give you my opinion about this very excellent young man. His talents are of the first rate, and I am confident he will make a very considerable figure in his profession. He is brave, gentle, honourable, acute, has a strong passion for investigating political affairs, and is a thorough Whig. I have thought myself very fortunate in having been able, since he first came to the Temple, to introduce him to a much better set of company than Templars usually keep, Mr. Burke, Mr. Windham, Sir Joshua Reynolds, etc., and they are all extremely partial to him. At the time of the regency business, Mr. William Gerard Hamilton, who you know is now with us, interested himself much about him, and has so good an opinion of him that I have good reason to think by his interference Jephson would have been appointed private secretary to lord Spencer. He went last summer to France with Mr. Windham to take a look at the National Assembly, and they were both perfectly contented with each other. In a word, he has lived these three years past entirely with our friends, and is as hearty in the cause as the staunchest veteran. After all, you may perhaps have already made up your mind on this subject, and what has been suggested to me (not by any relation of his) may not have the smallest foundation. If that should be the case, I beg you to consider this letter as never written, for nothing can be farther from my thoughts than to suggest any person to your lordship, or to presume to interfere in a matter of such importance and delicacy, while at the same time I am confident your liberality will forgive this warm and very sincere testimony in favour of this amiable young man, supposing he ever should have been in your thoughts.

"I have at length got a large paper Hickes's 'Thesaurus' for you, and it only waits for a few other things. I have I believe as many plays as will make a volume, but have not had time to get them done up. The reason of the volume of Greene's works being titled Vol. I. was that there are near forty of his tracts, and I bind them up as I get them. I have in my own collection three volumes, and I am not complete. People here are growing mad about books. The dukes of Roxburgh and Grafton have come into the field, and have raised the market shamefully. The former gave thirty-five guineas the other day for an indifferent copy of the first folio of Shakspeare, for which I think I paid for you but six guineas, and I was obliged to give seven guineas this winter for a 'Romeo and Juliet,' 1599. Have you seen the Crevenna[1] catalogue? It is supposed the finest collection of classical books (of the earliest editions) that has ever come to sale. They are to be sold in Holland, I think, the end of this month.

"Mr. Pitt, it is thought, will push as strongly as he can for a dissolution here in August. The king is averse to it, and is very firm on the subject. Notwithstanding his going through the ordinary business of government, he is certainly not the man he was, and everything in fact is done by Pitt and the queen. The chancellor[2] growls and resists sometimes, but never comes to an open rupture. Nothing can prove more decisively the king's alteration and entire disinclination to business than a circumstance which I know to be true. When his son, prince Edward, about two months ago came here without leave, notice was sent down to the king at Windsor of his arrival, but not immediately. He wondered there had been any delay, but the person who communicated the intelligence justified himself by saying that he took it for granted his majesty had been already apprized of it, as it had been notified in the Hanover dispatches, which had been in his majesty's possession eight days. He had never opened them. Formerly he was very eager about them, and seized on them the moment they arrived. I hope to see you in Ireland after Shakspeare is published."

---

[1] Pietro Antonio Crevenna, bibliophile, died at Rome, 1792. A catalogue of his collection of books was printed in 1776.

[2] Edward, lord Thurlow, chancellor, 1783-1792.

137.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1790, April 17, Belfast.—"We had our second general meeting of the Northern Whig club yesterday. Only twenty-eight members attended, but they were truly respectable ones, nine who had not been with us before. Had it not been for the impending elections we should have mustered at least forty. Lisburn comes on as soon as Monday, and Down on Tuesday. Our whole number is sixty, as your lordship will see by the list which is ordered to be printed in Joy's paper and the 'Dublin Evening Post' three times, together with our toasts, which I hope will not displease your lordship, and an address to the electors of Ireland from the public, with two or three new resolutions. Our debates took us up three or four hours, so that we did not part till midnight. At length everything was agreed to, 'nem. con.'

"The club ordered certain parts of a 'Review of the last Session,' etc., to be reprinted and circulated at their expense. From page third (I think, for I have it not before me) to page 22 are omitted; the rest may do good. . . . I have a favour to petition for. I hear a miniature print of your lordship, lately come out, is strikingly like. Would you have the goodness to send me one of the best impressions you can procure of it? I shall inclose you our list, though I know you take Joy's paper in (that I may mark those who have already attended), as soon as I can get it, and a paper of queries (which came from Dublin and is reprinting here with additions) I hope in this. Our united candidates are likely enough to break the neck of an inveterate domination, and perhaps the heart of the tyrant himself. The club adopted a uniform yesterday, dark blue with a blue velvet cape, a narrow gold binding on it, buttons gilt, Irish crown and harp, the exergue 'Northern Whig Club,' waistcoats buff with a blue edging. Isaac and I are allowed to keep to our old liveries."

138.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1790, April 29, Dublin.—"You wish to know whether Armagh will be for ever scandalized by the rejection of a Brownlow. I hope and trust not. Religious zeal is certainly a principle whose operations are hard to be withstood, and Popery, not content with injuring mankind by its slavish doctrine and tenets, has done almost equal mischief by the zealous detestation it has raised in the breasts of its opponents. Upon this mad principle many freeholders are disposed to vote against a representative whom they ought to petition again to serve them. 'Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.' Some gentlemen also out of pique have joined the cry, yet still we shall prevail, though, shamefully, not without contest. The contagion has spread itself even among some of my tenantry. Is it arrogance, my dear friend, when I am bold to think that the recommendation of a man who has lived but to serve them, and who has never had an interest separate from theirs, ought to have some weight? But so I believe they think, and this disagreeable difference of opinion has, I trust, been got the better of without the shadow of undue influence, of which you know me to be incapable. I hinted in my last that something from the club might be useful, and so I still think it would. Thank you for the pamphlet, which I have just now received. By last night's mail coach I am gone down to you in effigy. . . . Do you not think that I have served the Protestant cause more essentially than the most bigoted zealot of my deluded country could ever hope to do?"

139.—Edmund Burke to Charlemont.

1790, May 25, Beconsfield.—"A man makes but a bad figure in apology, even when he has an indulgent friend to whom he may offer it. I think I may as well cast myself at once on your goodness, for if you are not of yourself disposed to make excuses for my silence, or to pardon it without an excuse, I really do not know how I can offer anything which may induce you to forgive me. I am unfortunately very irregular and unmethodical. To tell you I have been at once much occupied and much agitated with my employment might make it appear as if I thought myself and my occupations of more consequence than I hope I do. So I leave it with you, entirely persuaded that you do not think that either neglect of you or indifference to the matter of your commission are among the things for which I ought to give an account. I did not receive either the drawing or the inscription you were so good to procure for me quite so early as might be expected, though I have nothing to blame the gentleman who did me the favour of bringing the tin case. As soon as I could see lady Rockingham I gave her the drawing and the inscription. She felt much affected with the tender and melancholy consolation she received from your lordship's genius and friendship. The memorial of lord Rockingham ought to be in the house of the man whom he resembled the most and loved the best. This was a place fit for a temple to his memory, and an happy concurrence in Ireland with what his admirable successor was doing in England. The inscription was such as we both approved most entirely. I will endeavour to procure for your lordship a drawing of the monument at Wentworth. It is really a fine thing, and the situation wonderfully well chosen.

"On the situation of politics here I have little to say. Nobody can guess whether we are to have a war with Spain or not. I do by no means believe that Spain had serious intentions of making war upon us, because I do not see what serious object she could have in risking it upon offensive principles. I do indeed apprehend that, if she thought we had formed a systematic scheme of a connected chain of establishments, beginning at Staten Island and ending at Nootka Sound, and by a port in the Sandwich Islands commencing a regular establishment in the South Sea, that court would rather put everything to hazard than suffer such a line of circumvallation to be drawn about their colonies, which must put them to an expense above their powers to prevent smuggling in time of peace, and to provide for their security in time of war. On the South Sea side they are beyond imagination weak, and our vast strength in the East Indies adds to their comparative debility. I think a few days will clear up matters. The general situation of things on the continent, I am afraid, will lead us further than this Spanish war. I suspect our engagements with the king of Prussia have led us further than it was quite prudent to go.

"You know what my opinion is about the importance of Ireland to the safety of the succession and the tranquillity of this kingdom. With that opinion, as well as from my cordial good wishes to your lordship and your friends, I rejoice to find that on the whole the elections have been favourable. This is more than I dare to promise myself for this side of the water.

"You will permit me to convey through your lordship my most thankful acknowledgments to the Royal Academy of Ireland for the great honour they have done me."

140.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

i.—1790, July 13, Dublin.—"The papers will have informed you of the decision[1] respecting the lord mayor, and I can only say in addition that of all the wicked transactions I have known this appears to me by far the worst. What indeed can be worse than to dispense with a clear and positive law? The country at large must take it up and join in vindication of the rights of its metropolis. Many counties at the approaching assizes mean to enter into strong resolutions, and I should be sorry indeed that the north were behind-hand, and especially those respectable counties which have ever stood foremost in defence of the constitution. For heaven's sake exert yourself and let something be done, moderate, but strong and firm. The club also should take up this enormity, of whose intentions and firmness I can entertain no doubt, and am therefore certain that they will be ready to assist. This is indeed no partial city business, but a matter of universal and general concern. You may perceive in what a hurry I write."

140, ii.—1790, July 30, Fort Stewart.—"I brought with me to Derry a feverish complaint, which increased so as to be very troublesome, and in some degree alarming. The duties, however, of my present vocation obliged me to labour to keep up my spirits, and my efforts were not ineffectual. I got thro' my business as well as could be wished, but the necessary fatigue, the badness of the weather, and above all the continual exertion of spirits to which I was compelled, have by no means contributed to lessen my disorder, and if the Derry review had concluded like that of Belfast, I know not what would have become of me. But the spirited address sent up to me by a very numerous meeting of officers was a cordial which could not fail of producing the most salutary effects, and, though my satisfaction was a good deal allayed by the reflection that something of a similar nature had not been done at Belfast, still I should have been unreasonable if I had not endeavoured to be contented, especially when I reflected that even at the former meeting we might certainly have carried our point had we not been restrained by prudential, and, I hope, by wise reasons. I am scarcely able to write, as you will easily discover by your being scarcely able to read this letter, and must therefore conclude by returning you the sincere acknowledgments of a grateful heart for all the favours you have bestowed upon me, and by beseeching you to lay your shoulders to the necessary work of instructions from your two counties, an expedient of which the flimsiness of the address increases the necessity. If proper instructions can be obtained all will be well again, as they will proceed from the same people who in their military capacity thought proper to be silent. Armagh, Tyrone, and, I hope, Donegal, will certainly instruct. Do not, if possible, let your great counties be outdone; you are yet in time to wipe away their disgrace. . . .

"The Derry army was at least three thousand four hundred strong. I say at least, because the returns were made so strictly as to be under the reality. They went through their business incomparably, notwithstanding the most disadvantageous weather."

141.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1790, July 31.—"I hope that the complete dressing (complete indeed, for the trimming was not wanting) you and your brother in folly and iniquity, my good lord of Moira,[1] got the other day from our eximious prætor,[2] will do you both a great deal of good. Surely you will have no occasion for any more full suits at that eating and drinking club in Fownes's street.[3] I was to have advertised a meeting of our northern guzzlers for the 12th of August, but I shall now send them private notice to steal in by the back stairs, as Pitt did in the minority, for truly I should be sorry that our orgies should come under the notice, and the lash, of such an outrageously virtuous, patriotic, severe, and rigid Cato. How a fine coach puffeth up a man, both with knowledge and magnanimity! What a milliner is to a lady, a coachmaker may be to a lord: the first lays claim to much of the grace and the beauty, the last may contribute as much to the dignity and importance. I am glad my lord mayor's is to be but half as fine, for it would be a terrible thing to have an overgrown alderman, near as wise, and near as stout, as the keeper of that sulky and ferocious creature, a king's conscience. I thought, my lord, you had some lawyers at your club. I had heard great brags of a George Ponsonby and a Henry Grattan, but they must be ninny-hammers or sad rogues to suffer you and your compeer to get into so confounded a scrape. How will it be possible for such little fellows as Isaac and Johnston to keep us out of a præmunire? Thank God I am not a lord, or you would have soused me into the same pickle with yourself; for, like an innocent fool, in obedience to your lordship's commands, which are ever sacred to me, I embarked in that mistaken business, and have been speaking and writing 'about it, goddess, and about it!' Our juries I know (and 'tis known in Jewry well) would do nothing. The foreman of that of Down is in 'terra damnata,' and the rest a parcel of rotten oranges. The Antrim great swearers were tried last assizes, and they will be no better now; so I was simple enough to talk about county meetings, but what are they better than clubs, and aggregates and common councils, when the oracle is determined to stick to the privy? I have just seen the act. It was a shame for the chancellor, and the lord lieutenant, and the privy council not to read the eleventh and thirteenth sections. Why is that act of Charles II. suffered to disfigure our statute book? It was merely an original one, and has no more business there now than Poynings'. Pardon this hasty nonsense. It looks as if I had just reached home from a Whig club. Ours meets on the 12th, let me, I beseech you, hear from you before that."

---

[1] By the privy council, Ireland, in relation to the claim of alderman William James to be lord mayor of Dublin.

142.—Charlemont to Haliday.

i.—1790, August 3, Dublin.—"Prettily, indeed, you treat your friends in distress. When they have every reason to expect condolence from you, they find themselves laughed at. But I will be even with you, and whereas I formerly modestly besought you to obtain a county meeting in support of the injured rights of the city, I now boldly insist that such meeting be held, not only for the abovementioned purpose, but in behalf of your brethern of the Whig club. To speak seriously, to-morrow's 'Hibernian'[4] will contain a paper, not only answering the flippant speech,[1] but setting forth more fully than ever our fixed and determined instructions and rule of action; and this we deem it especially necessary that the kingdom at large should sanction and support, making our resolves, which I am sure will please you, their own. The northern club ought also to speak out, and the Belfast Volunteers should not be silent. If all this can be done, as I am confident in your hands it may, instead of being injured, the party will be infinite gainers by the petulancy of their imprudent adversary, who will rue the day of his imprudent and silly attack. In short, victory is now in our hands, and we should be idiots indeed if we suffered it to slip through our fingers. . . . Thanks should be returned to the two Whig clubs for their patriotic interference. O'Neill should be spoken to, whose friendship for me would co-operate with his public principle. Antrim I should suppose would be easy, Down perhaps difficult, but either will be highly useful."

---

[1] In reference to a resolution adopted by the Whig Club, Dublin, on 19 July 1790, under the presidency of the duke of Leinster. The resolution was proposed by the earl of Charlemont, seconded by the earl of Moira, and signed by Henry Grattan, as secretary.

[2] John Fitzgibbon, lord chancellor, Ireland, created baron Fitzgibbon in June 1789.

[3] In Dublin.

[4] "Hibernian Journal, or Chronicle of Liberty," Dublin newspaper. *See* "History of City of Dublin," 1859, vol. ii., p. 155.

142, ii.—1790, August 18, Dublin.—"I have not been able till now to acknowledge the receipt of your most acceptable dispatch. Scarcely any of the Whig club being now in town, it has been impossible to communicate it to them; but I am confident that I may on their behalf declare their grateful acceptance of the spirited and active kindness of their brethren. Hamilton Rowan[2] being gone to England, I sealed, directed, and dispatched your letter to Newenham,[3] who will, I am sure, think himself highly honoured by being made official in such a business. Sorry I am to find the torpor of the north, but it will change, the stamina remain unaltered. Indeed, I believe this accursed weather has an effect on all constitutions, natural and political; the latter with me remains indeed uninfluenced, but the former suffers horridly. . . I have written, though scarcely able, to the secretary of your troop, who sent me some spirited resolutions."

143.—T. L. O'BEIRNE to CHARLEMONT.

1790, September 27, Terlicken.—"I should have had the honor of sending your lordship young Burke's[4] epigram on the bust of lord Rockingham, placed by the duke of Richmond in his cabinet, before I left town, but that I found that I did not recollect it accurately. I have now got it from Mrs. O'Beirne, who has much a better memory than I have, and is as zealous a Whig as the best of us. In return, she has laid the task on me of taking a very great liberty with your lordship, and requesting you to order the inscription placed by your lordship under your bust of that great and good man, to be copied out by some of your people, and directed to me near Ballymahon. Her attachment to the cause, and the idea I have endeavoured to give her of the elegance and justness of the inscription, must plead her excuse, as well as mine, for the freedom of this request.

"Notwithstanding the numbers on Mr. Pitt's majority, he has very little reason to be satisfied with the debate on the convention. He never appeared to greater disadvantage, nor was the superiority of Mr. Fox's talents ever more conspicuous. He is becoming very unpopular; but that will be more likely to serve than injure him in the quarter on which his power depends.

---

[1] Of the lord chancellor of Ireland.

[2] Archibald Hamilton Rowan.

[3] Sir Edward Newenham, M.P. *See* p. 113.

[4] Richard Burke, son of Edmund Burke.

"'On the bust of lord Rockingham, placed by the duke of Richmond in his grace's cabinet:—

"'Hail, marble, happy in a double end,
Rais'd to departed principles and friend!
The friend once gone, no principles would stay;
For very grief they wept themselves away.
Therefore from Death they feel one common sting,
And heav'n receives the one, and one the king.'"

144.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1790, November 8, Belfast.—"You were so kind of old in honouring my frequent drafts, that your long neglect of me, to the great injury of my credit, while it gave me pain, hath puzzled and perplexed me, not a little. But the cause of your abandoning me is now explained. Certain whispers, which I find have been sedulously circulated to the disadvantage of so insignificant an animal as I feel myself (except when eating and drinking, as secretary to the Northern Whig club, or addressing your lordship), have no doubt reached you, viz., that I was a little Guy Faux, without his impartiality. He, honest man, devoted the whole house of lords to destruction: I am only blowing up the spiritual part of them, and, like Julian the Apostate, demolishing the whole Christian church. The first intimation of this I had from Berwick[1] at Montalto[2] some weeks ago. He told me that my lord bishop of Dromore had informed him that he had seen a printed letter, in my name, which was industriously circulated. The number he saw was 162, propounding queries to the clergy, the purport of which went to the very existence of the goodly fabric of the church; and that four different houses of rendezvous were opened in Belfast, for volunteers, not to trim the Spaniards, but to torture the clergy to give evidence against themselves. It was in vain that my friend expressed astonishment at the horrid tale, alleging, that considering our great intimacy and frequent symposia, I must have dropped some hint of the business, or in an unguarded moment have betrayed the plot. The reply was, that I would certainly conceal it even from the understrappers of the establishment; that he was an incredulous man, and while he thought, 'good easy man, full surely his greatness was a ripening,' (Berwick actually aspires, from a vicarage he is starving on, to some snug rectory that will yield him buttermilk and potatoes,) he would not awake from his dreams of security till he found himself blown up, and sprawling on his back in the air. The bishop of Kilmore[3] too, it seems, had been insisting on the same black tale at the archdeacon's table in Hillsborough. Now, by the honour of my house, my lord, this is the most baseless vision, or the most unwarranted abuse of a name, that ever imposed on sapient men. I could not hear the imputation without astonishment, terminating (to my shame be it spoken) in the most immoderate bursts of laughter. I desired Berwick to assure his lordship that it was the most unfounded charge ever brought against a poor mortal, more sinned against than sinning; that the Belfast inquisitions were an absolute (I believe I said a most ridiculous) chimera; that though I had the honour of being secretary to the Northern Whig club, I could not recollect that the church, or its rights or its wrongs, had ever been the subject of discussion, or even once mentioned at our meetings. He promised to write to the bishop, and I expected to have heard from Berwick in consequence. The thing, however, slid out of my mind, till I met my good Sturrock,[1] the worthy chancellor of this diocese, at Mount Stewart,[2] some days ago. On questioning him, I found he had heard the same dreadful tale of treasons, stratagems, and spoils, from my lord of Dromore, and the good man was overjoyed when I gave him the same strong assurances I had before given Berwick; for he knows that I have, though a layman, some truth and some honour. He talked of calling at the see house, as he journeyed to his own, and vindicating me fully from the aspersion. I have the honour of knowing Dr. Percy, and should have wrote to him, but thought, after having the matter so completely done away by my two friends, I was rather entitled to some apology from him, for taking up so lightly an evil report of his neighbour, which my creed says is not right. You, my lord, are the first I have brandished my grey-goose quill against, 'se defendendo'; and I beseech you take me again into favour, and do me justice, if ever you hear this foolish business mentioned. I would give a good deal for one of those circular letters of mine. My very good lord of Down was at Montalto when our conference happened, and not a little surprised when it was imparted to him. After all I begin to feel a certain degree of pride in being a man of such mighty consequence as to be able to endanger the church and shake its frowning battlements, though founded on a rock. It is a mercy that I am not willing!

---

[1] Rev. Edward Berwick, chaplain to marquis of Hastings, and editor of "Rawdon Papers," 1819.

[2] A seat of the earl of Moira, in county of Down.

[3] William Forster, translated from Cork in 1790.

"I had the honour of sitting an hour with my lord Bristol[3] last night, as brisk, young, and blooming as ever, fresh from the continent. He seems to expect a counter-revolution in France, and that the Brabançons will be settled by the mediators. In one thing he proved a true prophet: we should have no Spanish war, he said, and I am just told that the convention is signed. England has sold her honour, that she may sell her cottons."

[Enclosure.]

Resolutions of the Northern Whig Club.

"'Resolved:—1. That it must certainly be the intention of the legislature, that all their acts and statutes, ascertaining the rights and obligations of either corporate bodies or individuals, should be conceived in such plain and intelligible language that even unlettered men may understand them; because all men are supposed to understand them, are compelled to obey them, and are subjected to pains and penalties for not conforming to them. 2. That, on this principle, we presume to consider ourselves and our fellow subjects as fully competent to judge of the meaning and intent of the statute of the thirty-third of George the second,[4] restoring the chartered rights of the common council of the city of Dublin, as to the election of a lord mayor, which had been purloined from them by bye-laws, and that we find the language of that act, and particularly of the eleventh and thirteenth sections thereof, so plain and easy to be understood, that the most ordinary understanding may discern their meaning (even on a superficial reading) as clearly and distinctly as the most profound lawyer, or the most elevated dignitary of the law. 3. That it appears to us, in consequence of our exercising this right of judging for ourselves, in a plain and evident matter, that, on a late memorable occasion of appointing a lord mayor for the city of Dublin, the lord lieutenant and privy council did arrogate to themselves a power of dispensing with the known law of the land. 4. That whenever such a power is claimed or attempted to be exercised by the executive branch, the people are called upon to unite in opposing it, as what tends to render the laws of no avail to their protection, makes a mockery of a free constitution, and renders an absolute government intolerable. 5. (Sent to sir Edward Newenham and James Napper Tandy, esq.) 6. (Sent to the earls of Charlemont and Moira. Note: The single word, 'undignified,' concluded that resolution.) 7. That, as good Whigs, or, in other words, as good subjects, we respect and reverence the laws, wishing from our hearts that such respect and reverence were universal, which, we conceive, would be more promoted by administration setting an example of obedience to them, than by its attempting to trample any of them under foot; and better secured by a moderate and dignified conduct in certain great chiefs of the law than by an intemperate and arbitrary abuse of power, or a froward and petulant abuse of speech."

---

[1] William Sturrock, chancellor, cathedral of Down, appointed archdeacon of Armagh in 1797.

[2] Residence of lord Londonderry, co. Down.

[3] Frederick Hervey. *See* vol. i., p. 432.

[4] Cap. xvi.—"for the better regulating the corporation of the city of Dublin."

145.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

i.—1790, November 11, Dublin.—"That you should be displeased at not having heard from me affords me pleasure, as any degree of apathy on your part would be highly painful to me; but that you should be puzzled or perplexed, with regard to the cause of my silence, I cannot patiently allow, since your friendship ought to make you confident that one cause alone can exist, namely, the inability of writing. The truth is, I have been unfortunately affected by a species of disorder which I trust you will never know but in the course of your reading, and these cursed nervous complaints have more immediately injured my eyes, so that, except in broad daylight, I am utterly unable to set pen to paper, which broad daylight is generally consumed either by necessary business or, as has been already three times the case since I began this letter, by tiresome interlopers. Under these circumstances you see that I may sometimes be compelled to fail in correspondence without being liable to the imputation either of neglect or laziness. Yet, under all these circumstances, to you I will write, and indeed you are in no way obliged to me, for such efforts as are, in effect, self interested. That you are a great man I have long known; but that your greatness was of that size and disposition as to endanger the church I did not know till lord Moira, at our last Whig meeting, assured me that the fact was ascertained by sacred authority, when, wicked as I was, it must be confessed that I could not help doubting this sacred authority. If the church be in danger, it is, I fear, from internal, not external causes, and indeed while such men make part of its hierarchy, they who venerate it may tremble for its security. The matter is, however, too ridiculous to merit a thought from you, and yet if his lordship has any conscience he ought instantly to contradict the vile report."

145, ii.—1791, January 31, Dublin.—"To imagine that you are not already overstocked with my portraits, or to suppose that you would wish to be troubled with more of them, is certainly a mark of intolerable assurance, and the brass medal[1] I herewith send you resembles me still more in material than in form. Yet my vanity will not suffer me to omit transmitting to you a proof of the honour conferred on me by the royal Irish Academy, and my self-love, masked under the semblance of confidence in your goodness, has found it easy to persuade me that the present will not be unacceptable to you. There is no public news stirring. Though the armies are now in the field, our political campaign can scarcely be said to be yet opened. To-morrow, however, operations will commence, and if not strong enough to gain ground, we shall certainly be able to prevent encroachment. The numbers will be nearly as last year, and abilities on our side have not decreased, neither has there been, I believe, any considerable accession on the other. Under these circumstances, you may be assured that we feel bold. Our club increases in numbers and in consequence, and another has been instituted in the city, consisting of wealthy and respectable citizens, who entitle themselves the Whigs of the capital. With these I dined the other day by invitation. How does your club go on? Write me word, for though I cannot write much, I am yet able and certainly most willing to keep up a correspondence which ever has been, and ever will be [my] favourite pleasure."

---

[1] Of the Royal Irish Academy. *See* p. 71.

145, iii.—1791, February 7, Dublin.—"Whenever any event happens in which your friend is concerned, I hold it my duty to inform you of such transaction, certain as I am of the share you take in everything that interests me, and desirous of your opinion and, if possible, of your approbation, in whatever part I may have taken. A few days since, sir Annesley Stewart called upon me with an account that he had just then read in the 'Gazette,' the appointment of lord Gosford,[1] who was joined with me in the lieutenancy of Armagh, an event of which I now heard for the first time, and which had in no way been previously intimated to me. A duplicate of governors, that is to say, of commanders-in-chief of militia, has ever appeared to me a political 'bull'; and though this absurd practice has of late years taken place in Ireland to the most ridiculous degree of excess, I did not think that it ought to affect a family which has, for a long time indeed, been in the exclusive possession of that plume. Clear in my own mind of the propriety of what I was about to do, and conscious that, though the exhibition of family pride in private conversation be of all other things the most ridiculous, yet that there are occasions when it is criminal not to assert our own dignity, I immediately wrote to the secretary, signifying to him that having been informed by the 'Gazette,' etc., I requested of him to give in to the lord lieutenant my resignation. Of my conduct in this business I hope my dear friend will not disapprove, and if it should meet with his approbation, he will, I know, sanction it by his declared opinion; and I trust that my friends in Armagh will think that I have acted right, in which case, instead of a decrease, I shall experience an increase of that partiality which I ever have endeavoured, and ever shall endeavour to deserve, and to turn so far as in me lies to their advantage and to that of my country. Thus far I have written with an aching head and a nervous cold, which almost disables me from writing or even thinking; I have indeed been, and still am, extremely ill."

146.—CHARLEMONT to THOMAS PRENTICE.

i.—1791, February 8, Dublin.—"Though you possibly may have already been informed of the fact, I think it right to tell you that, without any previous intimation to me, lord Gosford has been joined in the lieutenancy of Armagh. My first knowledge of this event was from the 'Gazette,' and though not much addicted to any display of family pride, I could not help deeming this one of those few occasions in which it might be my duty to assert my own dignity. I therefore immediately sent in to the lord lieutenant my resignation. The appointment of more governors than one to a county has always appeared to me a political solecism, and I need not tell you how long my family has been in possession of that office, nor how I have ever conducted myself in it. Under these circumstances, I trust that my conduct will not be disapproved by my friends. Neither have I any reason to doubt the continuance of that partiality toward me which was ever more the effect of their goodness than of my rank in the county, and which I ever have and ever shall use in their service and that of my country."

---

[1] Sir Archibald Acheson, of Market Hill, co. Armagh, created viscount Gosford in 1785.

146, ii.—1791, February 14, Dublin.—"Not having any answer to my last letter, I begin to fear that it has miscarried. For stopped it could not be, as it contained nothing but a bare and very cool recital, together with some reasons for my conduct as an apology to my friends. By this post, however, I am informed that my ever kind countrymen at Armagh are much more offended than I could have expected, and perhaps more indeed than the subject deserves. I cannot, however, but most sensibly feel their warm goodness towards me, but only entreat, for heaven's sake, that the Volunteers may be kept wholly out of the scrape. I have for some time past been sadly indisposed, and write not only under the influence of this indisposition, but in a room full of company."

147.—THOMAS PRENTICE to CHARLEMONT.

1791, February 14, Armagh.—"Being abroad for some days past, I had not the honour of receiving your lordship's letter till last night. The appointment of a new governor for the county, together with the manner of doing it, has excited more general indignation than any circumstance I ever remember. Nor is that indignation more general than the approbation of your lordship's asserting your own dignity by an immediate resignation. I have not heard one person speak of the transaction that does not seem to consider it in the same point of view, viz., a settled design of government to prevent, as much as possible, all those who possess the affections and confidence of the people from having in any degree the power of serving them in a public capacity. Before my return to Armagh, the news was so generally known, and so much disliked, that a requisition to the sherriff had been drawn up and signed by a number of most respectable freeholders to convene a meeting of the county 'to take into consideration the late extraordinary appointment of a new governor of the county.' Mr. Cope's being in Dublin has hitherto prevented it from going forward. I am not altogether sure that the measure is in every respect a proper one, and would wish much to be honoured with your lordship's sentiments about it. It might be said that the meeting would be a formal attempt in the people to restrain a legal and acknowledged prerogative of the crown, and that they therefore should not be convened. But it cannot be said that the people have no right to condemn in the most pointed manner an improper use of that prerogative, or to express their indignation that a nobleman, whose family and whose conduct make him so particular a favourite with the people, should be the object of it. For these reasons, I suggested to some friends whether all objections might not be done away, and our purpose fully effected, by an affectionate address to your lordship, in which notice should certainly be taken of the principles on which we conceive the appointment, and the deep respect to your lordship, was founded, and express our hearty detestation of them. The address would, I am confident, be subscribed by every freeholder in the county who could have an opportunity of doing it, and would supersede the necessity of a county meeting, which it is generally difficult to get so respectable as to enable it to speak for the county at large without being followed by a signature of the freeholders who do not attend it. Though I have taken the liberty of mentioning to your lordship what occurs to me on the business at the present moment, I am not at all clear whether the meeting might not be best, and the gentlemen I have just been speaking to are equally undecided. When we have your lordship's opinion, it will enable us to judge of the most proper mode of proceeding."

148.—Horace Walpole to Charlemont.[1]

1791, February 17, [London,] Berkeley Square.—"It is difficult, with common language that has been so much prostituted in compliments, to express the real sense of gratitude which I do feel at my heart for the obligation I have to your lordship for an act of friendship as unexpected as it was unsolicited; which last circumstance doubles the favour, as it evinces your lordship's generosity and nobleness of temper, without surprising me. How can I thank your lordship as I ought for interesting yourself, and of yourself, to save me a little mortification, which I deserve, and should deserve more had I had the vanity to imagine that my printing a few copies of my disgusting tragedy would occasion different and surreptitious editions of it?

"Mr. Walker[2] has acquainted me that your lordship has most kindly interposed to prevent a bookseller of Dublin from printing an edition of the 'Mysterious Mother' without my consent, and, with the conscious dignity of a great mind, your lordship has not even hinted to me the graciousness of that favour. How have I merited such condescending goodness? Had I a prospect of longer life, I never could pay the debt of gratitude, the weightier as your lordship did not intend I should know that I owe it. My gratitude can never be effaced, and I am charmed that it is due, and due with so much honour to me, that nothing could bribe me to have less obligation to your lordship, of which I am so proud. But as to the play itself, I doubt it must take its fate. Mr. Walker tells me the booksellers have desired him to remonstrate to me, urging that they have already expended fifty pounds; and Mr. Walker adds, as no doubt would be the case, that should this edition be stifled, when now expected, some other printer would publish one. I certainly might indemnify the present operator, but I know too much of the craft not to be sure that I should be persecuted by similar exertions, and, alas, I have exposed myself but too much to the tyranny of the press not to know that it taxes delinquents, as well as multiplies their faults. In truth, my lord, it is too late now to hinder copies of my play from being spread; it has appeared here both whole and in fragments, and to prevent a spurious one, I was forced to have some printed myself. Therefore, if I consent to an Irish edition, it is from no vain desire of diffusing the performance. Indeed, my good lord, I have lived too long not to have divested myself both of vanity and affected modesty. I have not existed to past seventy-three without having discovered the futility and triflingness of my own talents, and at the same time it would be impertinent to pretend to think that there is no merit in the execution of a tragedy, on which I have been so much flattered; though I am sincere in condemning the egregious absurdity of selecting a subject so improper for the stage, and even offensive to private readers. But I have said too much on a personal theme, and therefore, after repeating a million of thanks to your lordship for the honour of your personal interposition, I will beg your lordship, if you please, to signify to the bookseller that you withdraw your prohibition. But I shall not answer Mr. Walker's letter till I have your lordship's approbation, for you are both my lord chamberlain and licenser; and though I have a tolerably independent spirit, I may safely trust myself under the absolute power of one who has voluntarily protected me against the licenciousness of those who have invaded my property, and who distinguishes so accurately and justly between licence and liberty."

---

[1] *See* "Letters of Horace Walpole," vol. ix., p. 287. London: 1857.

[2] *See* p. 64.

149.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

i.—1791, February 18, Dublin.—"You may easily judge how very ill I am, when even the lively force of my gratitude is so encumbered by my disorder that I am utterly unable in any way to express my feelings or to thank you, and, through you, my brethren of the Northern Whig club for your kind, honorable, and seasonable resolution; but you know my heart, and can explain its sentiments far better than I could at any time, but more especially now in my present depressed situation. The disorder which has for this fortnight past oppressed me, originated in a violent cold, which has fallen upon my breast, my head, my eyes, my nerves, and indeed, I believe, upon every part about me. In short, I have often felt pain, but never till now experienced the real oppression of malady; neither have two physicians as yet been able essentially to relieve me. Yet still I am stout and heart-whole, nor do I entertain any doubt but that a little time and good weather will set all to rights. I am happy that the medal pleases you; the workmanship is, I think, good, and the artificer is an Irishman resident in Dublin, a Mr. Mossop. . . . My friends in Armagh are so kindly angry that, unequal as I am to writing, I have been compelled to interpose in behalf of moderation. Was there ever so stupid an administration? They have essentially served and exalted the man they wished to degrade."

149, ii.—1791, March 3, Dublin.—"I long for your next, in which the nature of your two clubs will be more fully explained. Among the grievances to be redressed, would it not have been right, and peculiarly adapted to a country club, to have mentioned the infernal magistracy law, that sword which government suspends by a hair, to the terror of every county in Ireland? This, if not to be wholly repealed, which, all circumstances considered, would I fear be impossible, [ought] at the least to be limited to those counties where it is now in force. If this cannot now be inserted in your original declaration, I would wish that it were among your first subsequent resolutions. I have not time to explain myself farther, but you will sufficiently understand me."

150.—RICHARD SHERIDAN to CHARLEMONT.

1791, April 11, Downpatrick.—"Determined in my public conduct to seek and follow your lordship's advice, give me leave to solicit that advice on a circumstance which has made me very uneasy. I find from the newspapers that the Whigs of the capital (a society of which I am a member, and into which I entered with the best intentions) have, in my absence, and without my knowledge, named and published me one of a committee for disseminating Mr. Paine's pamphlet in reply to Mr. Burke's 'Reflections on the French Revolution.' I have read that pamphlet; it appears to me designed to level all distinction, and to have this object in view,—a total overthrow of the constitution. With this opinion I must naturally feel it indecent, in my public situation as a member of parliament, a citizen, a barrister and (what I value least) one of his majesty's counsel, to disseminate that work, but I am at a loss how to act. My first intention was to contradict it publicly. I fear a misinterpretation of my motives, and I dislike public differences with men in whose cause I am an humble assistant. Will you, my dear lord, advise me in this, and make me happy by removing my doubt. Possessing your opinion, I shall be totally indifferent to every other."

151.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1791, April 13, Dublin.—"Till this day I have not been able to obtain any intelligence on the subject of your last letter. The truth is, that an old and intimate connexion with lord H. exceedingly biases lord H. F. in his favour, and lays him under such difficulties as I greatly fear he will not be able to conquer. I have, however, said all I could say, and am at least able to tell you that the matter is not yet finally decided, though I fear the decision will be contrary to my wishes and arguments. We were all scandalized at the conduct of the county of Antrim. While the western and southern counties are all alive to their grievances, the northerns, with shame and grief I speak it, are supine. For heaven's sake, at the close of your election, when the freeholders will be of course assembled, let resolutions be entered into. This I speak for Down and Antrim. You are not aware how important it is that, at the present crisis, the people should everywhere declare their sentiments. Armagh is precluded by the unhappiness of its situation, but your counties have no such apology. After the election, however, even in this latter I hope something will be done. Have you got O'Neill to sign our resolutions?"

152.—CHARLEMONT to the FREEHOLDERS OF THE COUNTY OF ARMAGH.

1791, April 19, Dublin.—"My dear friends and countrymen,—Depressed by the effects of a tedious indisposition, I am scarcely able to write, yet an address like that with which you have honored me must not remain unanswered, and, spite of bodily weakness, the feelings of my heart breaking through every impediment must and will have utterance. Your approbation of my conduct upon a late occasion affords me the highest satisfaction, inasmuch as my having acted so as to please you is to me a full security that I have acted right; while the warmth and kindness of your expressions convert into advantage that which was apparently meant for injury, by evincing that the late measure of which you complain, instead of injuring, has served me with my countrymen, and increased that kind partiality from which alone I ever could expect, or indeed wish for, influence among them. If, in compelling me to deprive myself of the government of your county, that administration in whose enmity you have taught me to rejoice and to pride myself, could have robbed me of any portion of your affection, my loss would have been grievous indeed, but you have proved the direct contrary to be true, and have shewn that you sensibly feel and resent all attempts against those whom you have been pleased to favour, especially when they have been made liable to such attempts by their perseverance in that line of conduct which had first procured them your esteem and consequent affection.

"I have hitherto enjoyed your favour, not as your governor, but as your friend, a connexion which no power on earth can dissolve. Under this precious and I trust unalterable appellation I have now the pleasure and pride to sign myself, my dearest countrymen, your most obliged, most faithful, and truly affectionate friend,—CHARLEMONT."

153.—CHARLEMONT to THOMAS PRENTICE.

1791, April 23, Dublin.—"Even though I had not been informed of your activity in promoting an address which does so much honor not only to me but to my country, my knowledge of your public spirit and my long experience of your goodness towards me would have prompted me to be certain that in a business of that sort you would not have been idle. Accept then my sincere thanks, not only on my own behalf, but on that of the public. . . . My daughter has been ordered to Bath, whither, on her account and on that of lady Charlemont, I must accompany her, and the physicians assure me that the waters will be serviceable to me also. The voyage, however, is extremely disagreeable to me, as it is wholly out of my way, but more especially as it renders utterly impossible the execution of my purpose of attending the Armagh review, of which I have had notice from Patton, with a kind desire that, if I could not attend in person, I would appoint a deputy. On this I wish to consult you, and to desire your opinion whether my best method will not be to direct that the oldest officer in the field should supply my place."

154.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1791, April 27, Dublin.—"It is not pleasant to me to give up Marino. It is still less pleasant to me to give up my library. But it is least of all pleasant to absent myself from that sphere of public life where my endeavours may possibly be of some small utility to my country. My absence, however, will be, I trust, but short, and, if wanted, I shall be ready and at hand. Bath waters, they tell me, may be of service to me also. . . . Let me ask you how you like the address of 1,378 freeholders. Its kindness to me will, I am sure, please you, and I do not think you will be displeased with its spirit. Government, fearing to give me the trouble of another answer in my present convalescent situation, have kindly taken the pains to send down their household troops to Armagh, in order to prevent the grand jury from addressing me. In this they have succeeded, with the real interest of the country all against them; eleven were for it, and as many against it, but in the scale of property, etc., our eleven far preponderated. Without twelve, however, no jury act can be done; yet I doubt not that there will be great exultation at the castle [of Dublin]. . . . Pitt has, I believe, been beaten out of his Russian war. Had he persisted he would have been undone. The Indian war is likely to prove a disagreeable business. Perhaps Pitt's devil is deserting him."

155.—THOMAS PRENTICE to CHARLEMONT.

1791, April 28, Armagh.—"I had the honour of receiving your lordship's letter of the 23rd, which I would have answered sooner, but postponed it till I should be enabled to give your lordship some account of the business at our assizes. I still differ in opinion with those who wish for general Volunteer reviews; chiefly from a conviction that our present state of discipline is unequal to it, and that weak efforts must give strength and pleasure to our enemies, without being of use to our friends. A few companies meeting for exercise and improvement, once or rather two or three times in the summer, would be highly desirable; but most of us are rather fond of the showy than substantial part of the business. As far as I can judge, respecting what your lordship is pleased to ask my opinion of, the mode your lordship mentions, of appointing the eldest officer on the field to pass the lines in your lordship's place, is certainly right, and such as there can be no objection to.

"With great surprize and indignation we have heard that an address to your lordship, on your retiring from the lieutenancy of the county, which was proposed in the grand jury, was supported by only eleven members. Government, or the friends of government, had certainly expected such a measure, and had issued their mandates for four or five hacks to attend the assizes, though they have not been seen here for ten years past. As only two of them came, we still expected a majority, but the unaccountable behaviour of some members prevented it. The address is signed by eleven, and will I believe be presented to your lordship, but of this I am not certain."

156.—GRAND JURY OF COUNTY OF ARMAGH.

"To the Earl of Charlemont, etc.

"We, the grand jury of the county Armagh, take this first opportunity to address your lordship on your resignation of the government of this county, and though we lament our loss in that resignation, we cannot but honor and approve the feelings which induced it. We are convinced that the man who confers dignity on station suffers no diminution when he leaves it; but we consider the public affected when great characters are forced to retire from elevated situations. We conceive the appointment of a colleague, however respectable, in the government of this county was unnecessary and improper. Reigning in the hearts and governing the affections of the people, your lordship required no assistant; and, satisfied as we are that, had your lordship been less worthy of the station, you might have continued in it alone, we must condemn the offensive measure, and pity the impotent attempt to lessen your consequence. We congratulate the kingdom on your recovery from your late indisposition, and we join in the general prayer that you may long live, the honour and the ornament of your country."

157.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1791, May 9, Dublin.—"I did, indeed, suppose that Paine's pamphlet, which is, by the way, a work of great genius, would be well received in your district; yet, in my opinion, it ought to be read with some degree of caution. He does, indeed, tear away the bandage from the public eye, but, in tearing it off, there may be some danger of injuring the organ. Though I have always thought that political controversy is highly useful by conveying instruction throughout the land, and though I have been greatly entertained both by his work and by that of his antagonist, perhaps I might be induced to wish that neither of them had been published. I confess myself to the last degree partial to the English constitution as it ought to be, and I cannot help thinking that a line might be drawn between the projects of the two projectors, which would be practicable, rational, and safe. . . There is no science in which theory and practice differ more than in the science of politics. Were all men virtuous, a perfect democracy would be the best of governments. But, alas, is that possible? Was there ever a government more tyrannical than the democracy of Athens? There is undoubtedly much good sense, much sound argument, in Paine's production. Nay, even where he may by many be thought eccentric, his arguments are not easy to be answered, except by experience. But this ratiocination, though much too scanty and short for the subject, is much too long for my head and eyes. I feel also awkward in the hazard of differing from you in any respect, yet comfort myself by being confident that in the present instance we do not differ much, as I am well assured that your veneration for the English constitution in its true spirit is to the full as great as mine. The conduct of administration at Armagh was truly pitiful, and, like all pitiful shifts, must bring with it discredit. Our defeat, with character and property on our side, and with eleven to nine in numbers, is in effect a victory which the means used against us renders glorious. The eleven have presented me with their address, which one more would have carried."

158.—Haliday to Charlemont.

1791, June 16, Belfast.—"The meeting of the Northern Whig club, which celebrated Magna Charta and the barons bold, [was held] yesterday. We mustered twenty-eight good men and true, in excellent spirit and perfect unanimity, which exemplified itself in this: it being the day of our regeneration, there was not a single white bean for continuing the honourable Robert Ward a member, nor a single black one for thrusting out anyone else. We also, una voce, agreed to rejoice together on the 14th of July, the anniversary of the French Revolution, and had similar resolutions sent into us from the different Volunteer corps of this place, who are greatly augumented.

"I suppose your lordship knows that it is in contemplation to erect a column or obelisk on the hill of Dungannon, sacred to your lordship and the Volunteers. Mr. J. Verner was the person who wrote to me about it, enclosing a list of the subscribers. In a second letter he condemns the people of Armagh for objecting to the site, from their distaste to a certain family.

"Parliament is then up. The extreme hurry which preceded its close, a member writes, was more like the breaking up of a camp than of a senate, and that one would have thought there had been a run upon the house from the country for bills. His majesty, good easy man, cannot tell whether there will be peace or war! When Walpole was asked that question, he replied 'he really could not tell, having not read the papers that morning.' I suppose that was the case with our gracious sovereign. I forgot to tell you that, in imitation of the Whigs of the capital, the Whigs of Belfast are forming themselves into a society. Mr. Burke, in his last burst of virulence, preaches up a crusade against poor miserable France. He will raise, however, more clubs of citizens which he hates, than companies of adventurous knights whom he doats on."

159.—Charlemont to Haliday.

i.—1791, June 22, Bath.—"Before I left Ireland I heard indirectly of the intention you alluded to, but, as was most fitting, said nothing for or against it. The first design was that the monument should be erected merely in honour of me. To this I saw some objections, but they might have been perhaps over-ruled by the peculiarity of the season, when administration had rendered every effort of my fellow citizens to do me honour peculiarly proper and pleasing to me. That the Volunteers should be joined with me in the memorial is certainly more acceptable and less objectionable, yet I must confess that I could wish the plan and solicitation had been in the hands of some more important personage. Mr. Verner is a very good sort of man, and, I doubt not, sincere in his good wishes; yet, to the surprise of all present, the kind intentions of the grand jury were frustrated by his voice—eleven had voted, and twelve would have carried the address. The family to which you allude cannot certainly be suspected of any great zeal either for the cause or towards me; their object I take to be an object from their improvements, and perhaps a memorial to celebrate their town. To perpetuate the memory of the great event, Dungannon is, however, the most proper station. I have thus, to inform your judgment, stated all I know of the facts, but upon a matter of this sort cannot prevail on myself, even to you, to hazard any opinion; indeed, perhaps I should not find it easy to form one, with any degree of precision. Certainly, if from any dislike, either well or ill founded, my Armagh friends should abstain from taking a part, the defalcation would be very disagreeable, and at all events I should think it best to defer any decision till the return of my dear and excellent friend, James Stewart, whose incomparable judgment and ardent affection towards me must render his advice desirable, if not essential. . . . I am happy at the idea of the Belfast Club. Have you read Mackintosh's[1] pamphlet? Bating a very few errors, it is an excellent performance."

159, ii.—1791, June 23, Bath.—"War and peace alternately take possession of men's minds upon the Exchange. This place would be intolerable if it were not for the polite kindness of the duke and duchess of Devonshire, and for the presence of some London acquaintance. Pitt's popularity is said to be declining, and the prince's late illness has evidently shewn his to be increased. The more he is known the more he will be beloved. He is now well, and Warren, it is said, by virtuous plain-dealing, has alarmed him out of his only failing. If so, he will live to be a blessing to these countries, and a cause of perpetual praise to the honest doctor. Such is the opinion not only of my affection, but indeed of my judgment."

160.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1791, July 23, Belfast.—"The troop was to have met you at Dundalk to escort you to Armagh, and our infantry to have met their beloved general there. By the by, my lord, I never saw our municipal guards more numerous or so well appointed as they are at present. This mortifying disappointment was in some sort compensated by an extract from your last letter to sir Annesley [Stewart], which he had the goodness to send me, and by which we learn that both your lordship and lady Charlemont had found considerable benefit from the [Bath] waters. Our procession on the 14th was truly splendid. I should be glad to have your lordship's opinion of the 'Declaration.' It was drawn up in Dublin by a late Belfast Volunteer, has been translated into French, and transmitted to the president of the National Assembly, I believe through Mornbrat, the French consul, a sensible, well-informed man (particularly in botany), who happened to dine with me on Sunday last, as did another gentleman of strong reasoning powers, from Germany, who stayed here a week that he might witness our festivity; both decided revolutionists, and both confident that French freedom is established without a great deal more confusion and disturbance than the drinking its health has excited among the Birmingham brutes. O shame to England! O shame to what is affectedly called Protestantism exclusively! Go on Burke, boast of our civil and ecclesiastical constitution, and persuade us against the evidence of our senses, and the convictions of our minds, that the people of England are free and happy, liberal and enlightened. They are savages! Though Mackintosh has not put Paine's nose out of joint, he divides our suffrages with him; in truth, I think it on the whole a very masterly dissection of Burke's monster, while the one in Horace, with a face of beauty and an appearance of reason, has nothing at bottom but deformity, black, brutal, and offensive, to which all the light and gay feathers, scattered with profusion on the discordant members, cannot reconcile one."

---

[1] "Vindiciæ Gallicæ, defence of the French revolution and its English admirers against the accusations of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke." London: 1791.

161.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1791, July 30, Bath.—You wish to know my opinion of the declaration. Though some parts of it might perhaps be better, it appears to me upon the whole a good composition, which does honour both to the head and the heart of the writer. There is indeed one point which I would wish to be inculcated in every publication on the subject which at present agitates the minds of men, but which, however, might possibly not have been suited to a declaration intended to be laid before the national assembly. Though I admire Mr. Paine, I am by no means a convert to his doctrine concerning our constitution, and cannot help thinking that some approbation of this constitution, as it ought to be, should at all times be joined with the applause which we so justly bestow on the emancipation of a great people from utter slavery. Thinking thus, it is needless to say that I entirely approve the resolutions of the Northern Whig club, wherein you conceive that the civil constitution of these realms, in its pure and uncorrupted state, is the best model for us. Among the toasts given at the general meeting, you will readily point out one which does not meet my full approbation. On the subject you know my sentiments, which must, I fear, remain unaltered till I can discover some analogy between Ireland and any other country of Europe in this point, and till I can persuade myself that what is excellent reasoning in all other parts of the world is equally incontrovertible with us. A time may perhaps arrive, but it is not yet come, and from the bottom of my heart I am sorry for it. The Birmingham brutes,[1] as you justly call them, are a disgrace to England, a disgrace to humanity, and the letter of the gentlemen is, if possible, worse than the outrages of the rabble."

162.—Edmund Burke to Charlemont.

1791, August 8, Margate.—"Though I have not written to you since your arrival at Bath, I have been constant in my inquiries after you whenever I could obtain information, and I am happy that my last information was the best account of your health. I am glad, truly glad, that Bath has had its effect in restoring to us one of the worthiest gentlemen and one of the most public-spirited citizens living. This was always my opinion of your lordship. My sentiments have been correspondent to my opinion, and it is not solely nor indeed principally to your constant partiality for me that I entertain the sincere friendship I have ever had for you, though the grateful sense of that kindness does, as it ought to do, influence me in no small measure. The cause of my silence was that I felt unpleasantly with regard to some late events. The great revolution which has taken place in France threatened to make no small change in the state of the rest of the world, and in our part of it as well as in any other. I did not think that Europe reforming or, more properly, meliorating itself upon its antient principles, which more or less it was throughout all its states almost without exception, ought to be disturbed with violent convulsions which would precipitate a premature birth of reformation, and consequently render it distempered and shortlived. I thought the principles as well as the acts immoral. The part therefore to be taken by all persons in such a crisis of human affairs as this is, must decide upon their character. I have taken mine; others have taken theirs. As I could not estimate the disposition of others upon my own standard, I could not be certain whether those I the most highly valued would agree with me. I could not tell what your notions might be concerning my book on France.[1] For that reason I did not send it to you; and because I did not send it to you, I did not send it to anyone in Ireland. Lately other things have stood in my way. As far as appearances go (though privately I know there are eminent exceptions), I have been disowned by the party to which I have been so much attached, and which I have not been wanting in endeavours to serve. In that situation, my regard both to my own honour and to that of my friends, though without a breach, obliged me to discontinue a connexion, not only with those who had declared against me, but with those who in silence thought with me, until I should make it manifest to the world that those who condemn me condemn their predecessors in principle, whom they so highly and justly honour and esteem. This being now done, and it was all I proposed to do, I cheerfully renew the intercourse which the friends who are privately united with me in personal regard, and not disunited in political principles, are so good to admit, though I have been formally separated from their party. I now do with your lordship as I do with lord Fitzwilliam and the duke of Portland, though with something more of doubt as to political sentiments. However, I take my chance, since I shew myself no worse a Whig than the Somers's, Godolphins, and Jekylls. I do not wish to discuss these points with you, you may be sure."

---

[1] The rioters at Birmingham, who, in July 1791, opposed the commemoration of the French revolution and burned the house and library of Joseph Priestley, D.D.

163.—Charlemont to Edmund Burke.[2]

1791, August 13, Bath.—"Accept my most sincere, my warmest acknowledgments for your more than kind letter, which has in the highest degree flattered both my heart and my pride, as an undoubted evidence of your unaltered friendship, and as, by placing me upon an equal footing of correspondence, it exalts me, in your partial idea, to a level with those incomparable men, the duke of Portland and lord Fitzwilliam. You express some doubt with regard to the perfect coincidence of our political sentiments upon a late important occasion, and your doubts are not entirely void of foundation. Though I admire you as the first of writers, though I love you as the best of men, though there be not a word, even in your first pamphlet, which does not, if possible, increase my admiration for your genius, and my love for your heart, still I must confess that my feelings and prepossessions will not allow me to coincide in all your opinions. But what of that? Is an affection founded upon the firm basis of perfect esteem, and nourished by the unvarying influence of every social quality which can endear man to man, to be lessened by a difference of opinion? Surely not. Besides that, in some of the most essential points we do not greatly differ. With you I despise the French philosophy; with you I disapprove many of the proceedings of the National Assembly; with you I abominate the brutal excesses of a ferocious, though perhaps justly enraged, people; with you I deprecate the contagion of French example, in a country circumstanced like ours; and with you I love and venerate the British constitution, though I think that in some instances it may and ought to be reformed according to its genuine spirit. But, while I lament the miseries too frequently attendant even upon well-conducted revolution, I cannot but rejoice that so large a portion of my fellow-creatures have, at any rate short of destruction, been emancipated from a tyranny grievous indeed, and which, spite of all the boasted, though as I have always thought, superficial and unreal suavity of manners, was the more oppressive, as, by the unchecked despotism of a widespread nobility, it was brought even to the door of every individual. Thus much have I said, because thus much I could not help saying, since in writing to a dear friend the uppermost thoughts of my heart must and will have vent. And now adieu to politics, which I begin to hate from a late fatal effect they have produced, the disuniting two men, who—but no more.

---

[1] "Reflections on the Revolution in France," published in November, 1790.

[2] *See* "Correspondence of Edmund Burke." London : 1844, vol. iii., p. 250.

"I am here tied down to this disagreeable place by a most agreeable cause, the good effect which the waters have now at length begun to produce upon my daughter, whose ill state of health brought us hither. When we shall be released I know not, but be assured I wish for London principally because I wish to see you, and, on that account, with much concern contemplate the shortness of time we probably shall have to spend there. To take advice upon my daughter's case is our only business, but, if a moment can be found for pleasure, it will be best procured at Beaconsfield."

164.—EDWARD VANBRUGH to CHARLEMONT.

1791, August 26, Bath.—"The enclosed fragment[1] was part of a letter written by my father's eldest brother, sir John Vanbrugh, to one of his sisters then residing at Ipswich, in Suffolk, and put into my hands by her (my aunt) many years afterwards. Sir John was Clarencieux king-at-arms, and, as such, carried over the ensigns of the order of the garter to the then elector of Hanover (afterwards king George the First) in the reign of her majesty queen Anne, and was knighted on that occasion. Sir John died 26th March 1726, O.S., aged 63."

165.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1791, August 27, Belfast.—"This town advances rapidly in size, improvement, and prosperity. Religion and luxury with us go on hand in hand, no ordinary partnership. We are building a new meeting-house and a new theatre, bane and antidote together, like Burke and Mackintosh, whom I have compelled to live in close union, under one common roof of good calves-skin. They are not likely, however, to attend levée together, where I perceive the former consistent gentleman is very diligent, conceiving, since his trouble, that he is a fit companion for those who he long since observed were fond of low company. We have had an academician here, Mr. [Kirwan [1]] . . . was a pleasant companion as well as [an able] mineralogist. He is gone to explore the volcanic region of our northern coast, and I hope to see more of him when he returns, for I was much pleased with the single hour we passed together."

---

[1] Not in the collection.

166.—HON. ROBERT STEWART to EARL CAMDEN.—State of France.

1791, September 1, Spa.—"When we separated, I promised to send you any intelligence I could collect on the subject which, at that moment, beyond all others was interesting and must continue to be so, till its issue finally arrives. When that period may happen it is difficult to speculate. The assembly, though absolute in power and supported by the nation at large, have many difficulties to contend against. The noblesse, of course, are at inexpiable war with a constitution, which has stripped them of every mark of distinction. The clergy not less its enemies, though fallen in power, so long as the people continue to approve, their enmity cannot operate. But if a moment of discontent and disgust should arrive, if these men of vast property are suffered to return into the country, residence amongst the people, spending their incomes on the spot, will give them an influence on the public mind which their present conduct precludes them from obtaining.

"That the fervour of popular spirit will subside, and the nation feel themselves disappointed in the blessings they expect from this new constitution, I have no doubt. When men have long felt the miseries of despotism, and when the prejudice which reconciled them to it is no more, the first impulse of the mind is to exult in the idea of liberty. The novelty of possessing freedom, even in the abstract, to them is perfect happiness. But when the delirium a little abates, which former oppression and theories concerning the rights of man have produced, they will insensibly forget the tenets of this metaphysical code, and judge the merits of their constitution by its practical effects. The old system, of which not a trace remains, will at least furnish a standard to measure its comparative excellence. The degree of happiness and prosperity a government communicates to the country it embraces, would not be considered by the most enlightened mind as an imperfect test of its merit; but when the effervescence of popular enthusiasm subsides, the great mass of the people, in their ignorance, can have no other grounds on which to form their opinion. In France, as in every other country, where two parties are struggling for power, the nation at large, however unenlightened, must ultimately decide between them. Incapable of extending their ideas beyond the contracted sphere of their own neighbourhood, without considering how far it is conformable to the rights of man, they will judge the constitution by what passes in the district immediately under their observation, and feelings of distrust will ebb and flow with the demands of the taxgatherer.

"At this moment the French nation are by no means in possession of cool judgment. Their minds are heated by ideas, which from their novelty intoxicate. Hitherto slaves, they now feel their own power. Those phlegmatic spirits, whom a love of liberty might not have influenced into action, have been conciliated either by an encrease of pay, the destruction of superior ranks, which wounded their pride, or the abolition of some obnoxious tax. With men not much accustomed, nor sufficiently experienced, to look beyond the present moment, these expedients have fully answered the purpose of those from whom they proceeded; but, once possessed, their charm will gradually fade, and the attention will be called off to the permanent provision which those in power have made for the government of the country. The opinion which is to regulate the feelings and conduct of the nation will insensibly be formed by considering how far those ends, which should be the natural objects of government, are accomplished under the new constitution, and by comparing their present with their former situation under the absolute monarchy.

---

[1] Richard Kirwan, LL.D., librarian of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, and president of that Academy, 1799–1812.

"Without enquiring what form of government is best calculated for national defence, in order to constitute a perfect internal administration of affairs, three points are essential. The personal liberty of the subject should be guarded, that he may enjoy in security the freedom which every individual conducting himself according to the rules of the society in which he lives is entitled to. Property should be protected, so that every man in the uninterrupted possession of what belongs to him may be induced to accumulate, by industry adding to his capital, consequently to his capacity of contributing to the exigencies of the state. But, above all, government should not be so expensive as to make it difficult for the people to support those taxes they are called on to pay. When the burthen becomes severe, discontent imperceptibly insinuates itself; the spirit of industry receives a check; the capacity of contribution diminishes; poverty at once affects the nation and the government; at last prodigality accomplishes its subversion.

"As to personal liberty, the new constitution of France certainly affords in principle a protection which the old did not. Although from the difficulty of the times many arbitrary acts are committed under the head of 'leze nation,' lettres de cachet and the Bastile are no more. However important it may be that an arbitrary power of imprisonment should nowhere exist in a constitution founded for the happiness of those it is to govern, much less a power of removing an obnoxious character by death, yet when you come to consider the influence which the absence of this evil is likely to have in attaching the affections, it will not be found to be great; it is rather a negative than a positive advantage. That part of their despotism galled them at the time; it smarted, and they were uneasy under it; but the wound being healed, it will be forgot. The horror which those engines of despotism must inspire in every mind interested in the general happiness, rather than their personal sufferings, irritated the lower orders of the community (in the first moment of power) to devote them to destruction. Against men in an obscure situation, their baneful influence seldom was directed. Those who trod the paths of ambition felt its persecution, whilst those engaged in the more laborious walks of life were too insignificant to attract its notice. The admirers of the late government, rather than the advocates for the new constitution, smarted under its lash, and have reason to exult in its abolition. However great the triumph to human nature, however important to France the expulsion of such a pestilence from their land, yet it is not a feature in itself so captivating, nor so peculiar to their constitution, that it will permanently attach the nation to the system built upon its ruins, abstracted from other considerations equally important.

"As to the second point, that which regards the protection of property, I am afraid the new constitution, for several reasons, will not be preferable to the old. I even doubt whether it will answer the purpose so well. Many lay great stress on the breach of private right the assembly have committed in seizing the lands of the clergy, and in the resumption of grants which had passed from those to whom they were made; and conceive a violation of that principle of prescription, which has been considered to give an indefeasible title to possessions, weakens that by which property in general is held, and tends to justify confiscation under the plea of state necessity.

"Without entering into the question whether the nation was correct in resuming those lands, which from time immemorial had been considered as the undoubted estate of the church (even supposing them formerly a grant from the people to the clergy in consideration of duties they were to perform, though it is certain a large proportion of the ecclesiastical property never had been appropriated by the nation in its collective capacity, nor by the crown, as an organ through which it might be supposed to act, but had accrued from the bounty of individuals, whose right to dispose of their wealth as they thought fit cannot well be questioned), without entering into a discussion in some measure metaphysical, whether the representatives of the nation transgressed the principles of equity and justice (which are in reality those of property) in resuming what had long been set apart as a recompence to the church, and making a completely new bargain with that sacred body, it is a fact deserving consideration, that the lands when the clergy received them were barren and uncultivated. By pains and assiduity, at a vast expence, they reclaimed and rendered them valuable; with the income arising from those estates, others were purchased, and incorporated with the property of the church. Could the nation have any claim to the fruits of their parsimony or the result of their industry? Could they in justice call on them to surrender much more than they received? The resumption of the grants made by cardinal Mazarin during his administration, which in the course of ——[1] years have by purchase changed proprietors several times, is a species of plunder not defensible on the grounds on which they justify their ecclesiastical confiscations. This property did not move by a professional but hereditary descent. The cruelty did not cease with the occupant; it extended to his posterity. Such a principle as this calls every man's title into question, and sets all prescription at defiance. Stripping the Polignacs of their possessions is another instance of violence which stands on the same footing in every particular, except that the grant was more recent. Leaving these considerations totally apart, still I am inclined to think the property of individuals less secure than formerly.

"In a country where no efficient government exists, and where the agitated passions of the people direct their conduct, so long as that continues, little reasoning is necessary to prove you hold your property at the whim of the multitude, and not under any fixed principle of equity or law. But supposing for a moment the present constitution established, the government superior to the mob, and their system of jurisprudence completed; supposing the mode by which their judicial officers are to be chosen better calculated than it is to secure upright magistrates, and their conduct in their respective courts perfect as human nature admits of, still the difficulty remains.

"From everything I have heard, the parliaments of the different districts, their old tribunals of justice, were far from perfect, and the power of the crown, if exerted, paramount to theirs; yet instances where improper means were used to deprive any subject of that which belonged to him rarely occurred. In every other case justice was administered between man and man according to fixed principles, which length of time had established, and which were notorious to every man who made them his study. That a power should anywhere exist superior to law is an intolerable grievance. But, being seldom exercised, it was rather an imaginary than a real evil, a source from whence mischief might proceed, rather than one from whence it often did. At all events, it called for reformation. Such a power found amongst the prerogatives, when a prince ascended the throne, was sufficient to contaminate his political morality, and lead him without apprehension or remorse to oppress a nation which could patiently endure so monstrous a principle.

---

[1] Blank in MS. Mazarin died in 1661.

"As to the mode in which the present courts of justice are constituted, they seem to me at least as exceptionable as those they replace. The purchaser of a seat in the parliament of Paris, induced to it from a wish to acquire consequence by situation, was in my mind as likely to decide a cause impartially as the judge who by intrigue receives a seven years trust from the people, and whose prospect in continuing in office depends on his conciliating the affection of his electors. Are the people, supposing them actuated by the purest intentions, capable of deciding between contending candidates which, from his legal erudition, his character, his talents, best deserves to be raised to the bench? Is it not probable that they are equally ignorant of the men and their acquirements? Conditional independance so long as they act with propriety, which the English legislature at last discovered to be the most effectual means of supporting the weakness of human nature when discharging that arduous and most important trust, the distribution of public justice, is not the principle from which they hope to derive judicial integrity. In this, as in every branch of this system, they gravely attribute that infallibility, that incapacity of error, to the people, which we for much wiser reasons allow our sovereign to claim. With them they lodge not merely the power of control, but appointment; and lest a judge, perhaps from his virtue obnoxious to the demagogue of the district encircled by a prevailing party, should be able to protect himself by integrity in his station, every seven years leaves him at their mercy.

"What must inevitably flow from this? Will not the judge in every decision consider the temper of his electors? Will he not be inclined, in cases where he is not bound down by a fixed principle of law, to consult the wishes of those from whom his power proceeds, and into whose hands the nomination must shortly return? What a field does the present state of French jurisprudence present for this temporising equity. Their legislators, having demolished a system which, however defective, it had been the work of ages to construct, have drawn out the skeleton of a code of laws according, as they imagine, to the true principles of natural justice. Supposing them perfection itself, still they are merely, as it were, the letters from a combination of which a language is to result, for the regulation of social intercourse. Into whose hands does its formation fall? Into the hands of men who, from the smallness of the salaries attached to the office and the uncertainty of the situation, are neither likely to be possessed of much public character nor professional knowledge—into the hands of men who, from the very nature of their appointment and the means which are to continue them in power, have every temptation to pervert the institution, by making it subservient to self interest and popular prejudice.

"The greatest defect in the constitution of a court of justice, is not having a precise law applicable to every case likely to occur, as well to regulate the conduct of the judge as to exhibit a rule by which those subject to its jurisdiction may know how to act. Where the laws are not sufficiently comprehensive, either by written maxims or analagous decisions, to afford precise rules, much is left at the mercy of the magistrate who presides. What he does not find he must create. Material as it ever must be, that the bench of justice should be filled by persons who, at least, from the nature of their situations have no immediate interest in being corrupt, it is infinitely more essential where, from the novelty of the institution, they are likely to be called on every day to establish precedents, which are to control posterity. Perhaps even a greater evil flows from it (if a greater can be than a pollution of the principles of equity) in the endless litigation it creates. Where it is uncertain what the law is, avarice and confidence will lead many to contest what they wish to possess; and what there is no certainty they may not obtain, a friendly lawyer will not be wanting to give them hopes.

"Can the most enthusiastic revolutionist deny that the situation of France is such as I describe it? Ages must pass before their judicial architects can erect a temple of justice, within whose walls law shall stand on a basis so firm that the magistrate, from its precision, dare not sully its purity, nor the people from ignorance transgress its will.

"Whether property is stript from the possessor by violence or contention the difference is little; force may rouse the passions more, but fraud and litigation will equally impoverish the individual, equally wound industry, by striking at the protection which should nourish it. I do not therefore imagine that the affections of the people are likely to attach to those in power, from any superior advantages they will derive for many years to come from the judicial part of the constitution they have given them.

"Then, as to finance, which must not only determine the popularity, but the very existence of government, I doubt much whether their favour with the nation stands upon surer grounds in this particular. It is a complex point, involving so many considerations, that I despair of being able to arrange my ideas on the subject. In examining the finances of a state, it is natural to enquire what its expenses are, and what are the means of payment. France, immediately before the revolution, was much embarrassed. That embarrassment produced an appeal, which in the end proved fatal to the monarchy. The extravagance of the old government was looked upon as one of its enormities. The expenditure in time of profound peace exceeded the annual income two million and a half sterling. It does not appear that they have yet accomplished any considerable reduction. The pension list has been curtailed, but charges to a much larger amount have risen up. The army and navy, from an encreased pay, add vastly to their expense. Legislators, national guards, the whole army of the church, are now pensioners. The latter class, from inability to enforce the payment of their miserable allowance, are less a burthen, at least for the present.

"The income of the state does not render the prospect more flattering. Amongst the douceurs which the assembly in the warmth of their zeal employed to conciliate the people, was a remission of a third of the revenue levied for the support of government. It was not the natural mode to relieve an embarrassed treasury, although certainly obvious means to establish their own empire. If an excuse was necessary for a step in itself so acceptable, the inequality and oppressive nature of the taxes in question furnished one sufficient in the eyes of those who are disciples of the rule of right, rather than the fitness of things.

"When the old government existed, the expenditure exceeded the revenue considerably. After the gabelles, etc., had been sacrificed, what remained was not more than sufficient to defray the half. In such a predicament, strong measures were necessary; the church lands and assignats were appealed to. They have afforded a temporary prop to a tottering fabric; but it yet may fall in ruins. The real value of the estates of the clergy cannot accurately be ascertained; what they may sell for is still more uncertain. Payment is to be made in twelve years, by annual instalments; therefore the remedy is not immediate. The delay in the sale, and the trifling aid derived from the moiety of the purchase money paid down, soon drove them to their other grand expedient, a paper currency. What may be the event of the experiment it is difficult to pronounce; to what size the bubble may be blown before it bursts is uncertain. The injustice is evident, and the evils arising from it manifold. It is the resource of fraudulent debtors to cheat their creditors. Of all the ways and means financiers have ever had recourse to, it is without comparison the most elastic; proportioning itself to every demand, and, whatever embarrassments it may engender, in its circulation wonderfully convenient for immediate application, it is not likely to fail from being too sparingly administered. With such a resource at hand, they have boldly rushed into every expense the cause required. At first it was applied to liquidate the demands on government. It soon produced the physical effect of removing the specie. This created a new difficulty. The same remedy was applied; and it became necessary to issue assignats not merely to defray the public expense, but to supply the circulation of the country. When the national creditor is compelled to receive this paper currency at its nominal value, injustice is done to him. When it is issued for the purposes of circulation, injustice is done the state. It must be sold at the discount it bears in the market. The faith of government becomes pledged to a debt greater than the value received. It is a palliative like that of drawing and redrawing bills, postponing the evil, whilst it encreases the ultimate mischief.

"Notwithstanding the quantity issued, the circulation at this moment is excessively embarrassed. The difficulty of transacting all the trifling barter of the kingdom with this paper money is inconceivable. Lately they have fabricated assignats of five livres; before these appeared fifty was the lowest denomination. A gentleman told me that at Paris, when he went to a table d'hôte, in paying for his dinner, he found it impossible to obtain change for an assignat of fifty livres, without giving a considerable premium. He was obliged to lodge the note with the man and eat it out. The same happens with every tradesman you employ. If you have a draft on a banker he will pay it in paper; if you wish to have cash you must pay nineteen per cent. in order to obtain it. If any confusion should arise, either from intestine commotion or the appearance of a foreign army, the discount will encrease prodigiously. It will fluctuate with the prospect of the parties, and a sudden panic seizing the people may alone strip them of every degree of currency, which the confidence of the nation has given them. Such an impediment to the sale of commodities would have gone well nigh to ruin totally the manufactures of France, if a partial remedy had not grown out of their distresses. The course of exchange is so wonderfully against them, that foreign merchants sending goods into France find themselves obliged to receive payment in the productions of the country, so great would be the loss were they to bring it back in money. This circumstance, by keeping that vast body of men in employment, renders the national distresses more tolerable. Such is the state of the revenue of France;—the machine of government propelled, and public credit kept alive, by an expedient which may forsake them in the first moment of danger, and can only afford a temporary relief supposing their tranquillity secure. If, contrary to probability, the affairs of France should find their own level, and the errors in their system proceed gradually to correct themselves without recourse to arms, foreign or domestic, great exertions must be made by the nation in furnishing supplies, so as to restore the finances to any degree of credit. If the party in whose hands power at present rests should ever feel themselves sufficiently strong to attempt such a regeneration, it will be requisite for them in the first instance to impose new taxes. When that moment arrives, they will find if the attachment of the people is to be conciliated by a remission of imposts, their feelings are equally alive and repugnant to re-imposition; the necessities of government may justify the appeal, and their power may be adequate to enforce it. But they will learn, as their predecessors have done, it is difficult to coerce the inclinations of mankind. Force may extort money, but it cannot command confidence; and they may live to see the alienated affections of the French, seizing on some of the abuses which their constitution is not, nor cannot be, exempt from, with equal celerity place the reins of government in other hands, from whence they promise themselves greater advantages.

"Human institutions seldom possess that perfection in themselves which gives permanence to their existence. Full of errors, they receive at their birth the seeds of dissolution, which the varying opinion of the world seldom fails to ripen and to mature. When men with all their ignorance, their prejudices, and their passions turn their attention to a science so wonderfully complex as that of government, it would be a prodigy if error did not attend their steps, it would be a miracle if imperfection was not interwoven in the system they produce. That the present constitution of France should have its full share is not to be wondered at, for never was a revolution so comprehensive, where so much was created and so little preserved, where the leaders had more power, or where more was exercised. Never did men venture upon bolder measures, or dare to reject so absolutely the wisdom and experience of former ages. Never did legislators, disdaining every model, fly with such eagerness to first principles, or so soon aware of their impracticability, abandon them.

"Even those branches of their constitution which are virtually good, time alone can give effect to. It is not in a moment the actors in this vast drama can fill their respective parts. At present everything is so inverted, the natural order of things is so completely reversed, that the principal characters must fall into other hands, or the catastrophe will precede the plot and interrupt the performance.

"Tradesmen and fishwomen may for a certain period during the delirium of a state dictate to their employers, and clubs may awe an assembly, trembling lest power should escape from their hands, to be succeeded by obedience. The princes, the nobility, the men of property, may for a length of time be trampled under foot, but that cannot last long. They must either return into the country and have that influence which wealth commands, or else be annihilated by confiscation, and their possessions vested in other hands.

"That a change will happen it is impossible to doubt. Whether this change may be effected by a foreign army or by an alteration in the opinions of the people, and whether it may not be accelerated by a national bankruptcy, is a fair field for speculation.

"The interference of other powers naturally depends on the disposition of those who direct their councils to take a part, and the prospect of success attending an attempt forcibly to change the present government. As to their disposition, I have no doubt. All the monarchs in Europe, particularly those who exercise absolute power, are too tremblingly alive to the moral their own subjects are likely to draw from France not to incline to subdue that spirit which may next overwhelm them. Yet as long as prudence has any influence on their conduct, they will cautiously weigh the practicability of such an attempt. They will consider whether it is possible at present to extinguish the flame, and reflect that in failing they bring back combustibles which may introduce the conflagration at home. As France is now disposed, I doubt whether an army even capable of marching uninterruptedly to Paris could produce any considerable effect. It would give an opportunity to those discontented with the present government of shewing themselves. From everything I can collect, however, the number is so small, that little could be expected from this co-operation.

"Tumults frequently happen, which some consider as indications of dissatisfaction. They appear to me to arise merely from the inability of the civil power to coerce the mob, and not from any disposition even in the rioters to oppose their present rulers in favour of any party which aims at supplanting them. Never was a nation so unanimous in their abhorrence of an old, nor in blind approbation of a new constitution. Particular parts are obnoxious to particular classes of men, but taken in the mass, the people are disposed to support it, with a degree of enthusiasm bordering on fanaticism. If such is the decision of France, not all the standing armies in Europe can obliterate the impression or weaken it in their hearts. To force the mind is to confirm it, and to imprint opinions more deeply in its affections. Supposing a force introduced into the country capable of controlling the temper of the nation; supposing that force sufficient to give to France what form of government it pleased; and suppose the power lodged in those hands from which it has been wrested, it is not in the nature of things that such a body of men should perpetually remain in the kingdom. Having completed the object of their mission and returned home, what would happen? In what situation would these gentlemen stand? Restored through the medium of a foreign, consequently an unnatural influence to rule over their countrymen, unsupported by the affections of the people, or even by a well-appointed standing army, and abandoned by the arm that had raised them to this perilous pre-eminence—would they not, in the first impulse of public rage, be made the sacrifice of popular resentment? Foreign protection, at too great a distance to interpose, would only exasperate an enraged nation, and urge them to revenge this temporary oppression.

"Were the public opinion divided, and the supporters of the opposite parties nearly balanced, the appearance of an army might decide between them, and by vesting the government in one, determine its ascendancy. But that party which receives its power from foreign interference, in a kingdom such as France, too important to be dictated to, will hold it by an uncertain tenure. Such a decision will be regarded with jealousy, even by the friends of those in whose favour it is made. It will create distrust, and the nation will never patiently acquiesce when the determination has not been its own.

"That there is any serious intention, at this moment, of marching an army into France, I do not believe. The English newspapers talk of large bodies of troops assembling in the Low Countries. The numbers, however, are excessively exaggerated, being merely what is necessary to keep down the disposition to revolt, which universally prevails amongst the people. Were they to be withdrawn, and sent into France, on their return they would find sufficient employment at home Although it is the perpetual theme of conversation amongst the aristocrats, and the chief support of their drooping hopes, yet I firmly am of opinion that it is not in the power of a foreign army at this moment to restore them, and that the different courts in Europe see its impracticability too strongly to think of undertaking it.

"I am equally persuaded, whatever changes time may produce, whether gradual or in the shape of a counter-revolution, that neither the king, the nobility, nor the clergy can ever regain that situation from whence they have been driven. The miseries of anarchy may lessen the admiration the people of France feel at present for systems founded on speculative and abstract rights, but the imperfections of the existing government will never lead them again to take shelter under despotism. Principles of liberty have happily taken too deep a root to admit of any institution which has not freedom for its basis. There, as well as in most countries in Europe, the people have acquired ideas of their own importance which they formerly had not. They have discovered that the object of government should be to protect, not oppress them. The best constitution which the world ever produced has taught them that they may retain an influence, the exercise of which communicates health to the whole system. So thoroughly are these principles established, that we may venture to pronounce many governments which are now purely monarchical may become mixed. Perhaps some [may] have the misfortune in their struggles to embrace republicanism; but no government in which the people at present have any sway will again return under the dominion of an individual. In France the will of the sovereign will never again be the law of the land. Neither the late nor any future nobility will ever enjoy exclusive privileges which may exempt them from burthens, to which justice requires they should equally contribute with the nation at large. Nor will that feudal tyranny ever revert to them which laid the people at their feet. The possessions of the clergy will soon become the property of a class of men too powerful to be removed. The ecclesiastical body will continue pensioners on an impoverished treasury, till in a course of years the kingdom of France may perhaps become as destitute of priesthood as it is at present of religion.

"The marquis de B—e was lately here. In a conversation he had with a gentleman of my acquaintance, he lamented the infatuation of his fellow exiles, particularly of the blood royal. It was impossible, he said, to convince them that matters never could be reinstated as they formerly were; that they must be satisfied with a degree of power short of what they formerly possessed; that, to escape disappointment, they must moderate their views. Misfortune had not sufficiently mitigated their pride to make such doctrine acceptable. Notwithstanding his bullying letter to the national assembly, (which certainly was written with a view to protect the king, by holding himself forth as the first object of their resentment,) he spoke of the situation of France with the moderation and discernment of an enlightened mind. He thought an invasion at this moment impolitic and absurd. He considered the nation united even to infatuation in support of the assembly. The state of the army did not render an attempt to subvert the constitution more practicable; all subordination, all discipline at an end; the common soldiers to a man democrats. Out of the forty officers in each regiment, he imagined five-and-thirty were disposed to protect the king in a due proportion of power, but that he did not conceive one would be found desirous of bringing back things to their old level.

"Though the ancient government may never be re-established, yet essential alterations, both in the principles of the constitution and in the men to whom the administration of their affairs is intrusted, must necessarily happen. The reason is obvious. Their system is full of errors, impracticable in many parts, and fundamentally wrong in others. Power has been diverted from its natural channel. Insignificance and intemperance may for a time conduct its stream; but the weight and consequence attendant on property are the only banks permanently capable of giving tranquillity to its course. The events likely to produce this revulsion are taxation and a national bankruptcy; the extent to which these may operate no man can say. Like every other fermentation which kingdoms are fated to experience, accident and the temper of the people must regulate the effect. When it may commence is equally uncertain. Government must precede taxation; and assignats lose all power before their fabricators cease to issue them in support of public credit, and admit the insolvency of the nation. Their currency depends upon the quantity in the market and the confidence of the people. If more than what the circulation of the kingdon can absorb is sent forth, their value will instantly fall; it is a commodity the redundance of which cannot find its way into other countries, consequently the price must be regulated by the demand at home. When the sale of the church lands is completed, and that there remains no longer any obvious means of realizing them into some possession of more permanent value, much of their estimation will be lost, and their resource to government be proportionably diminished. Till government acquires greater vigour than they at present possess, any attempt at restoring the finances by new impositions must be fruitless.

"That the government does not possess sufficient energy at this moment to levy the taxes which are still considered as legal, is sufficiently evident from the report of the finance committee. The members of the assembly sent into the different provinces to enquire into the state of the forces, revenue, etc., inform them that the taxes are very ill paid, that the national guards have in several places refused to enforce them. An order has issued from the Jacobin club to all its ramifications through France, conjuring them to assist the taxgatherers; but those appeals, though wonderfully efficacious in abolishing, are not quite so powerful in enforcing contributions.

"Indeed, their finances are in so desperate a situation, that they avoid all discussion on the subject. The detail of revenue is beneath their notice. They come to establish a constitution; till that is completed every other consideration must sleep. When the work is done, their system accepted by the king, the present assembly dissolved, and the first legislature assembled, to what an inheritance do they succeed! Deputed to legislate for a country plunged in debt beyond all redemption, whose only remaining resource is an almost exhausted fraud, with powers scarcely adequate to rule a community where order prevailed, it is their task to coerce and tranquillize a nation, taught systematically that the will of the people is a tribunal beyond appeal, and to enforce it by their power, in them an inherent right;—the instruments with which they are armed to achieve this end, a mutinous army less manageable than citizens, but more capable of resistance; and an executive magistrate absolutely their slave, but destitute alike of power and patronage to work either upon the apprehensions or affections of his subjects. As the means of conciliating their attachment, the payment of taxes is to be enforced, the exemption from which, in the anarchy of the times, constituted one of the chief beauties of the revolution. Lest this might not render their mission sufficiently grateful, one of their first acts of power must be the imposition of new and unheard of burthens. The code which the present assembly have drawn up is to be the rule of their proceeding, With all its imperfections it is to be bound up in one sacred volume, not to be approached by hands less hallowed than those from whence it sprang. They are prohibited from examining with a view of altering part of it. It is beyond the powers of legislation, and only to be changed by a new delegation from the people with constituting powers. How this body is to emanate, by what process it is to be chosen, of what members it is to consist, by whom it is to be assembled, and who is to judge of the necessity of such an appeal, we are left in ignorance. All that can be collected from the principle is, that every error is to remain unchanged, or be cured at the expense of a revolution. Should succeeding legislatures alter an atom of the constitutional code, it is an usurpation which releases the people from every allegiance, if their majesty can brook such a tie as that which binds them and their governors in reciprocal fidelity to each other. Such is the column which supports their legislative existence. Behold the capital! Five hundred and sixty clubs are established throughout the kingdom, whose opinions are to be attended to, or whose influence is to be feared.

"Such are the auspices under which the representatives of the nation receive their trust. Through this tumultuous sea are they to navigate their miserably equipped vessel. With scarcely sufficient hands to keep the charge committed to them above water, their strength will be exhausted at the pump; endeavouring to resist the danger which rushes in upon them from all sides, their exertions cannot be directed to any permanent repair which might enable them to proceed on their voyage with better prospects of reaching a harbour. In such a situation they cannot venture to risk anything. However unequal the resources of France may be to support the expenses of government, and the interest of a debt daily encreasing, they will not dare to declare the nation insolvent. Such candour would draw down upon them the indignation of the publick creditors. Their power, their lives, their system might be the sacrifice. They will postpone the evil day, by assignats and other frauds, as long as they can. They will attempt to pacify the proprietors of stock by promises of future compensation, and, at the moment they are under the necessity of withholding the interest, pledge themselves more strongly as answerable for the original debt. But those who depend on the funds for immediate subsistence cannot exist on hopes; they must become tumultuous from want.

"In a country possessed of a well-established and firm government, when the debt of the state becomes so great that the resources of the nation are no longer able to support it, the minister stating the situation of the finances boldly points out the impossibility of fulfilling the original contract. It must from the nature of things be wiped off, or the public creditor agree to receive a compensation more within the ability of his debtor to discharge. Should the resentment of the sufferers, superior to their reason, lead them to disturb the tranquillity of the country, there is a capacity in government to enforce what necessity has rendered inevitable. But in the infancy of a constitution, when those placed in the administration of affairs are obliged to court every order in the community to nourish and support their imbecile power, its strength is unequal to such a crisis. With such a calamity impending, its existence must be precarious; nay, there is every reason to apprehend from such an event that chaos into which loose theories, uncemented by any fixed principle of action, easily resolve themselves.

" A cloud, strongly impregnated with mischief, at this moment hangs over France, and ' is held from falling by so weak a wind, that it must quickly drop,' the fury of which their strength is so unequal to resist, or their resources to dissipate,—like to lightning, confusion may dart from it. That unnatural towering pile, void of order or regularity, whose foundation is as unsound as the superstructure is destitute of beauty and grace, will attract its destructive influence. The heterogeneous materials which compose it, slenderly united by a cement to which neither time nor the intrinsic merit of the composition have given stability, will miserably resist its shock. To prognosticate the limits to which ruin may extend itself over the face of that unhappy kingdom, would require an intelligence denied to the finite inhabitants of this earth. To foresee what edifice may hereafter rise up, the mind should be endued with a power of traversing that field of desolation which may ere long be expanded to its view. It should be enabled by anticipation to contemplate the mutilated fragments, the blasted members of this ill-imagined pile as they lie scattered on the plain, before it can decide by what arrangement they may again be made to coalesce, or what combination of these disjointed atoms can be prevailed on to unite together, for the protection and happiness of a society who, with a savage and exterminating fury, tore to pieces a structure that industry and virtuous perseverance might have established, the asylum of every political blessing which the restless soul of man can hope to obtain on this side of the grave.

" Whilst I enumerate the errors of those destroyers, who have not deigned to confine or regulate their ravages within any bounds which the example of mankind seemed to prescribe, but, in their creations as well as demolitions, have consulted no other standard but their own chimerical and distorted ideas of nature, I cannot help observing that the conduct of their opponents, although not so culpable, is neither wise, spirited, nor respectable.

" This fugitive body is composed of all the principal gentry of France, a few of the noblesse excepted, who early united themselves with the popular party. In a moment the most critical that ever happened, abandoning their country, they are scattered over the face of Europe. Two cases alone can reconcile such an abdication to policy or reason: either the impossibility of remaining in the kingdom without manifest danger to their persons, or the probability that, in absenting themselves from it, they might more effectually be enabled to subvert a system which they conceived to be inconsistent with the national interest. As to the danger which threatened them in France, I do not think it was such as justified men of firmness in flying from their country at a moment when all their wisdom, their weight, their exertions were necessary to resist, with any hopes of success, the torrent which had broke loose. Some few characters perhaps were too obnoxious to remain in safety ; their departure was necessary ; but the body at large have voluntarily receded. Many men, highly unpopular both from former conduct and opinions delivered in the assembly, have boldly and in safety faced the storm. Had these pilgrims remained at their post, and, as it was their duty, availed themselves of the means which they possessed to moderate the violence of the nation, much mischief might have been saved ; at least the seeds would not have been so deeply planted. But, smarting under the injuries and indignities heaped upon them, their feelings, not their reason, hurried them from France. As it must ever happen at such a crisis, when the men of consequence abandon or rather declare war against the people, leaders, daring from the philosophic eye with which they can contemplate confusion, step forward into their place; they hold forth a more dazzling picture to the multitude, and lead them on to every sort of extravagance.

"If their absence is not defensible on the grounds of personal safety, I am inclined to think it is not better founded in policy. They could not imagine, by assembling on the frontiers, that their force would be sufficient either to march into France, or to awe the opposite party into a compromise. Supposing those powers who dread the spirit which prevails, disposed to send a body of troops into France; are the roads so intricate, that these gentlemen were necessary as guides to introduce them into the kingdom? Or have they issued from their country in a diplomatic capacity to negotiate with the different courts of Europe? Or do they hope, by exhibiting their fallen greatness in the affecting drapery of indigence, to excite the compassion of the world? An appeal so helpless should have been the last resource of minds really great, only resorted to when every other effort had failed. They did not even wait for that final devastation, which might well strike despair into fortitude itself. No; their flight was early in the day. After the first shock received in the assembly of états generaux, when the weight of their respective orders was lost, being merged in the tiers, their titles and privileges stript from them, they gradually withdrew from France. To judge of the wisdom which marked their abdication, little else is necessary than to contrast their present situation with what it might have been had they suffered the hurricane, which they could not bear up against, to rage over their heads.

"At this moment their power is as trifling in point of numbers as their resources are limited; six or seven thousand officers without men, without money, living either on the little they carried with them into banishment, or on the bounty of those who commiserate their misfortunes. Those who possess large fortunes in France, abandon them to the mercy of their enemies; their tenants refuse to pay their rents, and justify it on the grounds of their absence. The little money their stewards are able to procure, is to be remitted under all the disadvantages of an exchange which reduces it a fourth part. Another fourth is levied by the municipality in the form of an absentee tax. Condemning the new constitution without publishing to the world, or to their deluded fellow citizens, any moderated system which they were ready to adopt, they abandon their country in disgust. The people naturally consider them as bigoted to the despotism which it has been their first object to extirpate. If they heard the general strain of conversation in which they indulge themselves, it would not tend to encrease their confidence. The insignia of absolute power still retain some place in their affections. The unlimited abuse they vent on those who have superseded them may be forgiven. It is a natural, although an impotent revenge. But the hostile declarations that perpetually issue from them in every publication; the denunciations of war which they make, without betraying any horror at the idea of turning their arms against the land which gave them birth, in which many of their tenderest connections still dwell, differing with them in sentiments; the little remorse produced in their minds at the idea of marching a foreign army to lay waste their native country, perhaps massacre thousands struggling in a cause which they conscientiously approve, is neither calculated to inspire a stranger with admiration of their humanity, nor their countrymen with confidence in the benevolence of their intentions. But when we consider the insignificance of their numbers, the improbability of an augmentation from foreign interference, it is impossible to regard with respect (however great and unmerited their calamities) this handful of men with royal uniforms, and royal cockades, vowing a revenge which their strength is unequal to execute. Nor can we admire that impotent rage, which, whilst it degrades their prudence in the estimation of every calm observer, perpetuates their odium in the opinion of France.

"What would have been their situation had they remained in the kingdom, even though unable to resist the tide which overwhelmed them in the assembly? Had they peaceably declared to the nation their ideas of its true interest, published the outlines of a constitution in which birth and fortune might have enjoyed as much power as in wisdom they should, pledged themselves to struggle for such a system at a moment more favourable, but, yielding to the phrenzy of the times, retired from a tumult which opposition aggravated rather than subdued, they might have exhibited to Europe, and to every mind in France alive to reason, an example of wisdom and patriotism which ultimately would have produced its full effect. Till that period arrived, they might have enjoyed their incomes in tranquillity. Their moderation would have given their opinions weight; every misery which anarchy from time to time inflicted would have weaned the affections of the people from the authors of it.

"Not as at present, destitute of any objects of attachment and confidence in whom to trust, should they abandon those who have reduced them to a state of nature, from which the transition to society is precarious and slow. In their lucid intervals they would have reflected that a benevolent monarch and a band of men from property the most respectable in the state yet remained to them, who, although they formerly availed themselves of hereditary prerogatives and privileges inconsistent with a free government, yet, previous to the hour of degradation, called on the nation to meliorate their power, and now only required that portion which was compatible with freedom. To men acting on such principles, in their distress the people would have looked up, with respect, with contrition, with hope; in the moment of calamity they would have flown to them for assistance.

"If, without spurning their deluded brethren from them, their conduct had been firm, indicating an anxious wish to serve their country by giving it that constitution which might prove a blessing, without evincing an eagerness to repossess themselves of power, the admiration, the confidence, the repentance of the nation, stimulated by its misfortunes, would at last have brought them to their feet. Then would they have been in a situation to mortify their humiliated opponents by giving to France that government, which a sad experiment had proved was to be sought for in the experience, in the wisdom of past ages, in the corrections which have been applied to the imperfection of human nature, in the restrictions which have been devised to regulate ambition—at once the enemy and support of every good government—in the philosophy which, deep read in the disposition of man, studies it with a tender care, and not in that presumptuous system which of late has descended like a meteor upon the earth, holding everything which has preceeded it in contempt and derision, awakening mankind to a contemplation of their own dignity, importance, and independence, only to lead them at last to a melancholy conviction of their ignorance, their error, and their weakness.

"If such a course of moderated conduct was attainable by men whom no fixed principle of action held together, still, as long as they continued in France, they were in a situation, though not acting in concert, to effect more than it is possible for them by flight to accomplish. By pointing out to the people the errors of their opponents, too evident in the absence of all order, save what the mob incline to impose on themselves, they might gradually have transferred that disapprobation to the system, which the inconveniences flowing from it in detail could not fail to produce. In proportion as the nation discovered the fallibility of their leaders, and the unprofitable usurpation they had assumed, the opposite picture could not fail to strike their attention. That patient and affectionate attachment to their welfare, which chose rather to wait the moment when the mist which obscured their vision might be dissipated by the general influence of reason, rather than force it by any rude means, would have had its weight. Gradually rising in the affections of their fellow-citizens, their power would have been felt in the elections. Thus the influence which the frenzy of the nation and their own misconduct had extinguished would revive through a channel free from jealousy.

"But, if they were resolved that France should not work out its own salvation; if the situation of the country made an invasion practicable; if a measure of this nature was resolved on by foreign powers, and they could reconcile it to their feelings to co-operate in so calamitous an attempt, they might have joined their standard as soon as they entered the kingdom, surrounded by followers, whom such conduct could not fail to have attached to them.

"The nation, worn out and sick of unsubstantial visions, would have regarded their restoration as the triumph of friends whom they had cruelly treated. They would not have numbered them, as they do now, amongst their enemies. The temporary eclipse which their greatness had suffered would only have produced them to the world with increased splendour, and to their countrymen with increased respect. They sank into darkness and neglect, the haughty oppressors of an injured and enslaved nation. They might have emerged into day the dignified nobility of a free and illustrious people. The disgrace, the odium of scenes which tarnished the French character, would have weighed down their opponents. Theirs would have been the glory of regenerating and restoring their country to its former tranquillity, civilization, and greatness.

"They have pursued a path widely different. Would that they had already run the career of their misfortunes! I fear they are but beginning, and, with them, the miseries of France. It is a painful, and in itself an indelicate task, to seem to insult fallen power by reflections which come too late, and wisdom which is out of season. Mankind, however, must submit to have their mistakes recorded for the advantage of posterity. My comment will move in a sphere too contracted ever to wound their feelings, either from its publicity or importance, even were it to extend beyond those limits for which it is intended; its weakness, thank God, sheathes the point so perfectly that I never shall be made to blush for having inflicted pain where compassion is so much more largely due."

167.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1791, October 13, Bath.—"I have, with the highest approbation and the greatest pleasure, perused the dissenters' address, and, not content with reading it, have talked so much in its praise that I have made everyone else read it with applause. Many, you know, there are who never think of any publication till they hear it praised, and then take upon themselves to judge, when in effect they only echo. I never had the least idea that the potentates of Europe would burn their fingers in the French flame, but now that matter is, I think, entirely out of the question, though not, I should suppose, for the reasons given by your Parisian politicians."

168.—Haliday to Charlemont.

1791, November 5, Belfast.—"Since you left us, your lordship knows the old question has been a good deal agitated, and you have no doubt read with attention Tone's 'Argument on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland.'[1] It is calculated to make, and has actually made here, a general impression in their favour. The gentleman himself passed a good many days among us lately, and proselyted not a few.[2] I thought myself unlucky in seeing so little of him; professional and other engagements deprived me of the pleasure of meeting with him except for one day, when his good sense and modest unassuming carriage were truly engaging. I believe it was under his auspices that the society of 'United Irishmen' at Belfast was formed; who it consists of I do not know. Having not even been favoured directly with a copy of their 'Declaration,' I shall enclose one I picked up. The pamphlet has been reprinted here in a cheap form, by their order, for the purpose of general diffusion. I was fearful that the business would have been brought forward in express terms at the meeting of our club yesterday. The resolutions unanimously agreed to there, after much canvassing, are pretty strong, but I hope you will not think them too much so. It is the rooted opinion of every one Whig in these parts that the force of the people should have a reform of Parliament for its sole aim; that, without it, any inferior correctives, such as have been vainly struggled for in some sessions, would be of small avail and but washing the black dog white. But the alternative held out, of either abandoning this great object or calling in the Catholics to ensure it, is a very serious matter indeed, and should have been thoroughly weighed before the public mind was set afloat. I wish much, my dear lord, to know confidentially whether any change in your opinion on this subject hath been produced either by the late publications, or by the unexampled and pertinacious insolence with which this nation hath been treated by government. I am free to own that I feel my own mind a good deal staggered. As you have more than once observed, Ireland is in this respect most singularly and unfortunately circumstanced. One thing should certainly be done; the gates of education should be thrown open to the Catholics; the statute that bars them is a reproach and a curse to us.

"The 'Argument' will no doubt be combated; if anything of weight in that way comes out, send me, I beseech you, a copy of it immediately. The tide here runs strong in favour of the 'Argument'; too strong at present to be directly resisted, it can only be eluded by an oblique course; not but there are many who retain their old horrors and dread of Popery as much as ever, but they are looked on as 'men of the little mind,' as Ossian says."

[Enclosure.]

"Declaration and Resolutions of the Society of United Irishmen of Belfast.

"In the present great era of reform, when unjust governments are falling in every quarter of Europe; when religious persecution is compelled to abjure her tyranny over conscience; when the rights of men are ascertained in theory substantiated by practice; when antiquity can no longer defend absurd and oppressive forms against the common sense and common interests of mankind; when all government is acknowledged to originate from the people, and to be so far only obligatory as it protects their rights and promotes their welfare; we think it our duty, as Irishmen, to come forward and state what we feel to be our heavy grievance, and what we know to be its effectual remedy.

---

[1] "An argument on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland, in which the present political state of that country and the necessity of a parliamentary reform are considered, addressed to the people and more particularly to the Protestants of Ireland." Dublin: 1791.

[2] *See* "Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone," vol. i., p. 140. Washington: 1826.

"We have no national government, we are ruled by Englishmen, and the servants of Englishmen, whose object is the interest of another country, whose instrument is corruption, and whose strength is the weakness of Ireland; and these men have the whole of the power and patronage of the country as means to seduce and to subdue the honesty and the spirit of her representatives in the legislature. Such an extrinsic power, acting with uniform force in a direction too frequently opposite to the true line of our obvious interests, can be resisted with effect solely by unanimity, decision, and spirit in the people,—qualities which may be exerted most legally, constitutionally, and efficaciously by that great measure essential to the prosperity and freedom of Ireland, an equal representation of all the people in parliament.

"We do not here mention as grievances the rejection of a place-bill, of a pension-bill, of a responsibility-bill, the sale of peerages in one house, the corruption publicly avowed in the other, nor the notorious infamy of borough traffic between both; not that we are insensible of their enormity, but that we consider them as but symptoms of that mortal disease which corrodes the vitals of our constitution, and leaves to the people, in their own government, but the shadow of a name.

"Impressed with these sentiments, we have agreed to form an association, to be called the Society of United Irishmen; and we do pledge ourselves to our country, and mutually to each other, that we will steadily support, and endeavour by all due means to carry into effect the following resolutions:

"First, resolved, that the weight of English influence in the government of this country is so great, as to require a cordial union among all the people of Ireland to maintain that balance which is essential to the preservation of our liberties and the extension of our commerce.

"Second, that the sole constitutional mode by which this influence can be opposed is by a complete and radical reform of the representation of the people in parliament.

"Third, that no reform is practicable, efficacious, or just, which shall not include Irishmen of every religious persuasion.

"Satisfied, as we are, that the intestine divisions among Irishmen have too often given encouragement and impunity to profligate, audacious, and corrupt administrations in measures which, but for these divisions, they durst not have attempted, we submit our resolutions to the nation as the basis of our political faith.

"We have gone to what we conceive to be the root of the evil. We have stated what we conceive to be the remedy. With a parliament, thus reformed, everything is easy; without it, nothing can be done; and we call on and most earnestly exhort our countrymen in general to follow our example, and to form some similar societies in every quarter of the kingdom for the promotion of constitutional knowledge, the abolition of bigotry in religion, and all sects and denominations of Irishmen. The people, when thus collected, will feel their own weight, and secure that power which theory has already admitted as their portion, and to which, if they be not aroused by their present provocations to vindicate it, they deserve to forfeit their pretensions for ever.—Signed, by order of the Society of United Irishmen of Belfast,—Robert Simms, Secretary, October 1791."

169.—HON. ROBERT STEWART to EARL CAMDEN.—State of France.

1791, November 11, St. Germain.—"I should blush that the flattering letter you were so good as to write me some time ago yet remains unanswered, particularly as it contained questions which it was my duty to reply to as far as I was able; though the information I had it in my power to offer was hardly worth your acceptance. The approbation you so unmeritedly bestow on my former letter is more gratifying than the most unwilling panegyric extorted from the severest critic. From those friends we worship, the incense of praise, as a tribute of their regard, has infinitely more charms than the disinterested applause of others in whose commendations we might more fairly trace our own merit. My merit, alas, was very limited; it consisted wholly in my endeavours to prove to one I love that his instructions were not forgotten. If in the attempt the sentiment was evinced, I am sufficiently rewarded.

"Since my arrival in Paris, I have been discouraged from sending you either facts or observations on the progress of the revolution, from the difficulty of compressing anything which might be intelligible in a small compass. Even to those who live in the metropolis, the point to which all information converges, and from which all decisions radiate, occurrences when they first reach us are seldom marked either by accuracy or authenticity. When time has established the degree of credit they deserve, the public papers convey the circumstances with more effect than a letter can possibly do. As to facts, perhaps those who read the several publications that find their way to London have the advantage of the resident at Paris; fewer lies reach them, consequently their attention is less distracted. In that particular the French newspapers differ essentially from ours. The quantity of matter at present for publication is so great that necessity does not lead them to invention. They may select, and even postpone, till its credibility is more decidedly established, a paragraph which our publishers would seize upon as filling a certain portion of their sheet.

"It is the chief advantage of an observer on the spot over those who form their opinion at a distance; that he sees the temper of the people, their satisfaction, their discontent; he can better ascertain whether industry inclines the public mind to subordination and tranquillity, or whether idleness and its attendant poverty make it susceptible at any moment of commotion. He can better judge of the respect government deserves, and that which the nation are disposed to pay it. He can more accurately decide upon its efficacy by observing its capacity to remedy evils and to subdue difficulties, by comparing the necessities of the state as set forth by their representatives with the ease and satisfaction which mark the contributions of the people. He can more decidedly form an opinion whether legislative influence disposes of difficulties faster than national embarrassments engender them, or whether popular impatience is gradually tending to a resumption of that sovereignty which they have been told is inalienable even for a moment, and its exercise only suspended by the general will.

"But I find the subject, in its inexhaustible complexity, presenting itself to me under so many different shapes, which from the interest they inspire seem all to solicit consideration, that I must, both for your sake and mine, confine myself to the points you propose. I should be sorry to impair that indulgence with which I know you receive everything that comes from me. But were I inclined to presume on it, I could not at present without turning my mind aside from the pursuit of the language, which I am every day more anxious to obtain.

"It is particularly impossible to condense any general opinion, either on the present or future state of France, into a small compass. The field in itself is so extensive, the operating causes so various, their comparative powers so very difficult to estimate, the degree to which each may prevail so much beyond the reach of our perception to discover, the order in which they may happen to exert their weight, the effect of their various influences as they may chance to co-operate, balance, or be unequally opposed to each other,—it is so perfectly impracticable to calculate, that the mind, when eager in the pursuit of truth, rather than intent on controversy, shrinks from the general contemplation, and with the humility which suits its powers, takes shelter in the detail, where it may exercise its judgment, with better prospects of success, on objects more within the limits of its investigation and experience.

"It is a field, if I had more time to spare, I should like to traverse. I should enjoy entering into every branch of their creation, to examine the object and the provision, to consider, from the experience of analogous institutions tried elsewhere and the nature of the contrivance itself, the probable success that might be expected from it. The occupation would be interesting, and would conduct the mind to a contemplation of all the various members that compose human governments. Were I at liberty to engage in such an undertaking, it would not be from an expectation that I could produce one new idea, or throw a gleam of light on a subject, few parts of which have not been thoroughly canvassed by men of the first abilities. It would be merely an exercise and amusement, from a wish to learn the habit of thinking for myself, and the advantage of arranging my ideas on the many important considerations it presents. I should have an additional inducement to attempt it, if I could indulge the hope that my observations might afterwards receive your correction. From being perpetually exposed to its conviction, your opinion has established its ascendency over my feelings for that infallibility of which those who have the misfortune to know you less intimately receive the impression in an admiration of your talents, and in a respect for your integrity. To carry such a scheme into execution requires more leisure than I can at this moment command. It must be postponed, and I shall at present endeavour to confine myself to giving you the information you desire.

"The first question you put to me is in respect to the composition of the present assembly. My enquiries may assist you to solve the difficulty, rather than enable me to give it a direct answer. Indeed, I doubt much whether any man in France accurately knows the character of the individuals who constitute it, many of whom might have lived and died at their ploughs if the revolution had not metamorphosed them into senators.

"Their number is seven hundred and forty five, beside 'suppléants,' elected to succeed upon the death or abdication of an original member. The number of these is two hundred and forty-nine. To enable you the better to form an opinion of the present legislature, before I make any further observation, I will first answer your second question by stating that the members of the assemblée constituante are ineligible, and consequently do not enter into the composition of the present representative body. They are excluded by a decree of their own, passed to shew either the purity of their intentions, or from a desire to retreat from a very critical and laborious situation, which they had held for two years. Not so hereafter; members of one legislature may be chosen of the next, one instance only excepted, which is, when three successive legislatures have concurred in referring any part of the constitution to the revision of a fourth, assembled with increased numbers, for the purpose of deciding on it, those who have sat in the last of the three cannot be elected of the assembly of revision, which is to follow. I take it for granted the object was to render their decision more disinterested, by precluding them from sharing in this special power. But surely they require rather too much from the patriotism of their representatives, when they expect them, in order to originate a reform on some point perhaps trifling in the constitutional code, to pronounce sentence of ineligibility on themselves, abdicating thereby the power, the importance, the emolument of a situation which entitles them to eighteen livres a day, no inconsiderable object, I assure you, to some of their present lawgivers. Having stated this fact, I must recall to your recollection that almost all the principal nobility and gentry are now on the other side of the Rhine. Those that remain, a few only excepted, who from the beginning espoused the patriotic party, are not in high estimation with the people. The national choice in their elections naturally did not fall on many of this order. A country, however civilized and polished it may be, seldom contains above a certain number who, from their habits of life and the cultivation of their minds, are fitted to undertake the task of legislation. In France, perhaps from the nature of the government, and the direction the genius of the nation had received for ages to considerations less weighty, the number in proportion to its extent was more circumscribed. When out of that body you set aside the people of rank, who at present are at Coblentz, very much puzzled to know what steps to take, and also subtract the twelve hundred members of which the assemblée constituante consisted, beyond all doubt composed of the first talents of the country, the residue did not leave much of the value for the people to select. The nomination frequently fell on those whose voice had been loudest in their clubs.

"I made it my business, in travelling from Spa to Paris, in every department I passed through to ask for the list of their representatives (it was immediately after the close of their elections), and to make enquiries from those I had an opportunity of conversing with into the professions and qualifications of the men on whom their option had fallen. I did this, as well as I can recollect, in five different departments. The number of representatives from each varied, according to their population and contribution, from twelve to fifteen, with scarcely an exception. I found three-fourths of the number men educated to the law, but, in general, they were of the lowest class, principally attornies, few advocates of any character. The remaining fourth usually consisted of a description of men, laboreurs, which is a sort of better farmer, with a curate or two occasionally mixed. But the church seemed to have been completely driven out of the field by the bar; it evidently appeared that the gentlemen of the robe possessed unlimited sway, and that the influence had decidedly fallen into their hands.

"From this statement you may infer, that there never was collected a more incompetent or a less respectable legislative assembly. They do not possess the confidence of the people, as their predecessors did (I speak more particularly of the people of Paris); they dare not venture on bold measures, lest their reign might be interrupted by the mob. An instance soon after they were assembled proved this. In order to shew their own importance, and their contempt of the preceding assembly, they passed a decree altering the manner in which the king was to be received when he appeared amongst them; diminishing the marks of respect, which it had been determined to pay him. This violation of the ordinances passed exasperated excessively the members of the former legislature. They had meetings, they condemned the proceedings, they influenced the public mind to such a degree that the stocks fell instantly three per cent., and the assembly, the very next day, from an apprehension of an insurrection, were obliged to repeal the decree made the day before. The day following, the king went to the house, attended by the populace, and applauded by those very titles of which they wished to strip him. But although nothing can be worse than the great mass of the assembly, yet there are men of talents amongst them. A few men of letters, for instance Brissot,[1] who has made some violent declamations. The abbé Fauchet is eloquent. I could mention several, but none who have as yet established much character. Indeed, it is very difficult for any man to exercise his talents in an assembly so tumultuous. He cannot hope to advance many sentences without being overwhelmed in noise and confusion.

"You are very naturally astonished at the unexampled perseverance, and assiduity, which has marked their proceedings since the commencement of the revolution, a period of three years. If you were on the spot, and had access to the different papers which give an idea of the result of their labour, your surprize would be still greater; so much done, bad and good, in so short a space of time. If I had not seen it, I should not have given credit to it. It was not merely sitting in this assembly from nine till three, and from six till nine every day for twenty months, which constituted their bussiness. On the contrary, during the hours of adjournment, they were much more busily employed in their various committees, preparing materials for the consideration of the assembly when it met. It seems certainly contradictory, that the same nation should unite qualities in appearance so repugnant as trifling levity and serious drudgery. I can only account for it by referring to what French nature is in other pursuits. In military operations their infantry make perhaps the most animated and irresistable charge of any troops in Europe. If they succeed, they pursue their advantage with very great effect; if they fail, they become dispirited, and are not easily rallied. It is also the nature of a Frenchman to apply with the greatest avidity to whatever occupies his attention at the moment. You see all his faculties called forth by a trifle; his whole soul is wrapped up in it. A constitutional eagerness and an agility of intellect, impatient of repose, appear to me the leading features of their disposition. I am not at all clear that trifles are their natural food, but when nothing else offers, they devour them as luxuries. The nature of their government hitherto, and still more the manners of their country, formed wholly to perform their part with grace before the true rulers of the nation, the women, naturally presented them with few considerations more important than the embarrassments of an intrigue. Those they were expert in combating; but when the revolution presented its vast field, where the mind was in danger of losing itself from the variety of matter, rather than driven to seek occupation in trifles, the same activity appeared to operate. National vivacity and party eagerness inspired a perseverance of which our phlegmatic sense of public duty scarcely ever admits. Their feelings rather than their reason was the measure of their labor. Hitherto they have proceeded without a check. If difficulties crowd upon them, I am by no means sure their legislative spirit will encounter them with as much assiduity and intrepedity as they broke in upon and tore the pieces of a system, from its own embarrassments crumbling to pieces before them. I do not know whether I have observed before, that they appear to me a nation endued with great advantages for public speaking. They are totally free from any degree of mauvaise honte. They rise for the first time to speak in the assembly, with more confidence than our oldest debaters. Added to this, they have an inconceivable fluency of language. They never hesitate; having the idea, it seems to clothe itself in expression. Perhaps the nature of their language may account for this. It is a language of phrases. There are scarcely two ways of expressing the same idea with equal propriety. The man who speaks correctly has little room to choose. Habit makes the phrase present itself with the turn of expression, and, instead of casting about as we do for language, the moment he thinks, it offers itself spontaneously. At present, the tranquillity of France is very much preserved, and the absence of an efficient government supplied by a decided spirit of patriotism, which pervades all classes of the community. That flame scarce ever burns, I am inclined to think, with true abstract purity, in the breasts of the polished orders of a state. It is so blended with various passions, ambition, party resentment, and particular views, that we can only recognize it in the ultimate effects. To find the sentiment in its unadulterated nature, we must seek it at some distance from the vortex of power. There we trace it not as a shadow often concealing the most selfish schemes, but as a substantial principle, regulating the conduct of men with a precision equal either to law or religion. Were it not for this ardour of liberty, which fixes the majority of the nation, and makes them feel their glory and happiness involved in the success of the revolution, were the affections of the people even passive, the confusion would be dreadful, so completely are the sinews of government cut. It is the spirit which collects the little revenue they receive. This prevents France at present from being a scene of plunder and bloodshed. It was this which animated the populace of Paris, when, in the various scenes of violence and destruction that have occurred during the revolution, where houses were torn to pieces and entered by the mob, not the most trifling article was pillaged. Their resentment was marked with a cruelty that makes us unwilling to allow them any virtue; but, unless we deny them justice, we must admit that their object, however unwarrantably pursued, was superior to plunder. It is a precarious guarantee, God knows, for public tranquillity. Notwithstanding that, its influence at present in France is everything and the law nothing. Dreadful will be their fate if the weakness of government outlives this flame, which in general is transient.

---

[1] Executed in 1793.

"In addition to the vast number of difficulties their imperfected constitution daily presents, some of a serious nature at present alarm them. That which some time since seemed so formidable, and produced all their anxiety, at present in point of real danger yields to others. The army of Coblentz, abandoned by all the powers in Europe, disowned by the emperor, in number not above twelve thousand, without arms or necessaries for war, are sinking into contempt. They wound the interests of France by their absence, but are little in a condition to extort terms from those they not long since proposed to subdue. Yet still, such is their influence over the officers of rank who remained during the revolution, that they have prevailed on vast numbers to abandon their regiments and share their fortune. They hold out to them expectation of a change, and threaten them with an exclusion of nobility, and from their society, if they refuse to join them. Two decrees have lately passed the assembly levelled at this body: the first, summoning Monsieur to return, under pain of forfeiting his princely rights; the second, of a more severe nature, the particulars of which the papers of course have stated to you. The former has received the king's sanction, as an article of the constitution; the latter has received his suspensive negative, which in the present case is absolute in its effect, as two years must elapse before it can be again offered to him. Before that time their fate will be decided in some other way. The interposition of the king was not in the least expected. Whether it was his own idea, the advice of the queen, or the suggestion of his minister, is not known. From whatever source it sprung, it does credit to the adviser. It goes farther than any circumstance that has yet happened to place the constitution and the monarch in a respectable light. If anything can ennoble a character, in which weakness and stupidity are inherent, this interposition of his constitutional power in defence of his kindred and his nobility gives him some claim to our admiration. Let his heart receive the homage, if his head disclaims it. The effort was spirited, and of course critical; but the nation do justice to a resistance, where compliance would have been pusillanimity both unnatural and inhuman. The severity of the decree rendered it unpopular even in the eyes of the people. Having vanquished they do not incline to persecute. The emigrants do not inspire them with apprehensions of immediate danger; and they forget the inconvenience of their absence in the pride they feel that the conduct of their king refutes every insinuation that he is not a free agent. The assembly received the refusal without any improper marks of disapprobation. It produced some discontent amongst the Jacobins, but the country at large seems satisfied. This is the moment for them to return. They might yield that submission, in gratitude to his protection, which they refused to those who once confined him and destroyed them.

"In the south of France a melancholy scene presents itself, which, if it does not threaten the existence of the constitution, at least marks the danger of abrupt changes. Avignon and the Complant de Venaissin at this moment exhibit a scene of savage barbarity that would disgrace a tribe of Cherokee Indians. Formerly under the dominion of the pope, the majority of these principalities, soon after the revolution, in admiration of the French constitution, chose to offer themselves to the national assembly, desiring to be incorporated into the empire. The proposal was accepted, not having renounced conquest of territory by reason, though they had by force, and holding it as a principle, that men have a right to choose their own governors. Discontent soon arose between the parties, which since has manifested itself in the most dreadful of all wars, that of indiscriminate assassination: the people are murdered in the streets, prisoners are taken on both sides, confined and destroyed. Women and children share the fate of their party. The detail which the accounts from thence bring us is too shocking to dwell on.

"The north of France offers to our consideration a much more formidable evil, more dangerous, inasmuch as it is more general in its extent, and more difficult to remedy. The attempt may encrease rather than repress the mischief, more fatal to the tranquillity of the country, as it spreads itself in all the zealous fury of fanaticism. I speak of the trouble which exists between the priests who have subscribed the oath prescribed by the constitution, and those who by refusing it have forfeited their benefices. Each class, supported by the eagerness with which the people in every religious contest arrange themselves on one side or other, wage war with the utmost fury. Many departments are in the greatest confusion. They call on the assembly for assistance, which they are at a loss how to apply. The troops are on the frontiers; perhaps even were they on the spot, they might take part in the controversy instead of repressing it. The difficulty is this: the oath was originally ill imagined. It deprived the established church of its most respectable ministers, whilst the more profligate, ready to subscribe anything, profited by their refusal. This vast body of men driven out of their employments, their tempers soured by the confiscation of their property, and abandoned to poverty, depending, as our dissenting clergymen,[1] on the liberality of their followers, very soon found themselves strongly supported by the orthodox believers in the Catholic faith which they professed to preserve, and to defend from modern heresy. Their rivals, on the other hand, were protected by all the zealous supporters of the new constitution. These composed their separate armies, which very soon began to act against each other in perpetual riots, whenever either party assembled for the purpose of public worship. The municipal officers and the national guards, where they could be prevailed on to act, have found themselves unequal to restrain their fury, The subscribing priests have been murdered in some places; in others they have thrown up their appointments from fear of being made the victims of their conformity. The assembly cannot banish the refractory priests, professing as they do to protect and tolerate all religions. They cannot repress them by the civil power, because the civil power is weak and they are strong. They cannot govern them by withholding their revenues, inasmuch as they possess none but what their partizans give them. They cannot repeal the oath, and turn out the clergy elected by the people, in consequence of their conformity to the decree; that would be to plunge the whole nation into confusion and draw contempt on their system. Besides, the evil will increase; for, as fanaticism, when once lit up, is a more permanent spirit than patriotism, the nonconformists most undoubtedly will gather strength every day. Something, of course, the assembly must and will do. Yet I am at a loss, I confess, to guess what it can be; it appears to me one of the capital errors of their predecessors. When government interferes with religion, it should be in its full vigor. The moment of total dissolution certainly was not the period to prescribe oaths which militated against long received prejudice. Philosophers themselves, they imagined the nation equally enlightened, but reflection might have taught them that, in uncultivated minds, bigotry is inseparable from religion, and only extinguished with it.

"If we carry our observation to the other side of the Atlantic, the scenes which their islands exhibit seem to unite all the miseries which exist separately at home. I need not relate facts which you by lord Effingham's [2] dispatches know better than I possibly can. It is much to be feared that by this time, at least before the succours now leaving France can arrive, St. Domingo may be in the hands of the negroes, perhaps the garrison massacred and the island laid waste. The news from thence has thrown a damp on the spirits of the people of Paris. They distrust us, remembering their own treachery, notwithstanding the noble conduct of the governor [3] of Jamaica. They say the proprietors are disposed to revolt, and offer themselves to Great Britain. Upon their own principles, we should certainly stand justified in accepting the proposal. Avignon [4] is a case in point. That the people of Domingo should prefer the protection of a nation possessing a free, efficient, and experienced government, rather than the fluctuating supremacy of a new institution in the hands of professed experimental philosophers, is not unnatural. I am afraid the decree passed by the last assembly, immediately before they separated, may arrive at an unfortunate moment, and increase the mischief. It went to deprive the gens de couleur of the rights which by a former decree they had extended to them. Everyone agrees that the negroes are kept in subjection totally thro' the means of this intermediate class. To recall a privilege already granted, and debase them once more, will certainly not encrease their exertions, nor render their co-operation with the whites more effectual.

---

[1] In margin: "A small pension is allowed them by the state, which the decree lately presented to the king for his sanction proposes to deprive them of, unless they subscribe the civic oath, which they make a matter of conscience to refuse."

[2], [3] Thomas Howard, governor of Jamaica.

[4] Annexed to France in 1791.

"These are some of the evils arising immediately out of the revolution, but they are not all. Their army and navy, particularly the latter, are totally without discipline. To send a fleet to sea at present might be highly dangerous; insubordination would expose it to perish.

"The Dey of Algiers thinks it a good opportunity to get something. He says they have no king; that he cannot degrade himself to an intercourse with subjects, and therefore declares war. A fleet is ordered at Toulon to oppose him, which may possibly defeat itself. Their commerce is dwindled to nothing. I will give you an instance of the difficulty French merchants have to struggle with. A company wished to fit out two East Indiamen. They found it impossible to freight them without a credit deposited in London. Their correspondents refused to supply them on any other terms. This they were obliged to negociate under all the disadvantages of French security. It required a considerable sum, which they were under the necessity of borrowing for two years certain, at an interest of from eight to ten per cent. This is a singular fact; I had it from good authority, and learned by the same channel that Great Britain is the medium of commerce at present for all the countries of Europe. London is now what Amsterdam has been. This will add prodigiously to our wealth. It will raise our funds and enable us rapidly to pay off our debt. The three per cents. are now near ninety; in proportion as the funds are high money is in abundance, consequently the interest cheap. The three per cents. being at ninety, it is evident that money can then be borrowed at three and a half per cent. In our debt there is at present thirty-two millions of four per cents. borrowed under no stipulation which prevents their instantly being paid off. If money can be had at three and a half per cent., the proprietors of the four per cents. will be obliged to take half a per cent. less or receive their principal, which would merely be a transfer of the debt, borrowing with one hand to pay with the other. The saving on thirty-two millions will thus be 160,000*l.* a year, added to the sinking fund. This perpetually coming into the market to purchase stock, insensibly raises the funds. I have heard that there is a clause in the act of parliament which regulates the five per cents., which binds the nation not to pay them off till the three per cents. are discharged. If so, the same principle cannot be instantly applied to them, not till the three per cents. are above par, which would then enable the minister to discharge them by forming a new loan on more favourable interest, and then leave him at liberty to treat the great mass of five per cents. in the same manner. Whenever he can approach them the gain would be immense, at least two per cent. per annum on a sum greater than the four per cents. This addition to the sinking fund would make it omnipotent. The progress of liquidation would advance with an inconceivable momentum, and exhibit to the world a glorious contrast when opposed to the finances of France. The one, with integrity, from the blessings of a constitution founded on a rational liberty, in tranquillity and prosperity discharging the demands on her treasury; whilst the other, suffering from all the miseries of inexperience, with a system as new as romantic, is driven to seize on the revenues of an order in the community, and issue a paper currency to prevent inevitable ruin. A French patriot will tell you all this was necessary to deliver themselves from the despotism which oppressed them. Without taking the trouble to controvert his assertions (which might be done on very plausible grounds), as Englishmen we may indulge the pleasing reflection, that in Great Britain neither the evil nor the necessity exists; and those amongst us who applaud the remedy as of general salubrity, and highly necessary for the renovation of our system, may well be considered as empirics who never find any constitution too good for medicine, and very soon, if suffered to tamper, would leave it in a state to require a great deal.

"There is no part of the present situation of France more difficult to pronounce upon than that which I have just mentioned, their paper currency. The success of it depends much on the manner in which it is managed. The church lands are considered by the nation as the basis and security. So in reality they are, for if you do not choose to retain the assignats issued, there is an essential solidity in the property; but if the quantity in circulation is left without that channel (in which they can be employed at the option of the persons possessing them), they have then nothing to rely on but the credit of government, that is, their resources in new impositions on the kingdom, to answer these promissory notes. Supposing all the lands sold, all the assignats should be returned into the treasury and burnt, except such a quantity as would equal the payments afterward to be made by those who had purchased lands from the state. Such a quantity might safely remain after the final adjudication of the property, as the purchase is paid by instalments, not upon receiving possession. It is evident, that if a greater quantity remained, the value must merely depend on the credit of government, not on any extraordinary fund of liquidation. Their estimation would fall, and their circulation be impeded. They would remain as an unfunded debt, dangerous to the last degree, inasmuch as the loss upon them being as general as their circulation, it would proportionably extend the discontent, and arm an additional force against government. Sixty millions sterling at present are in circulation. I do not know the value of the lands unsold, but it is the general opinion that the paper in the market is not more than sufficient to buy them, and pay for those already disposed of. They are issued to pay all demands on government, and sometimes, when they wish to issue more than the common expenditure enables them, they do it by 'remboursements,' that is, paying off the capital of their debt. In this the public creditor is cheated, for every article in life is gradually rising in price, and money is still in reality the measure of value. If I have succeeded in explaining myself on this perplexing subject, which is a species of metaphysics difficult, if not impossible of demonstration, you will clearly see that great care is requisite in the management of this paper currency; that their circulation, and consequently the public tranquility (for a nation cannot go on without the means of exchanging their labor and property), depends on the readiness with which one man receives them from another, and the whole depends on the confidence which generally prevails, that a fundamental value corresponding to them somewhere exists, for which they may ultimately be exchanged. Notwithstanding, it seems pretty evident that system should regulate, and the whole be overlooked by those who could have the whole exposed to their consideration. Yet the assembly have suffered private banks to issue promissory notes to a prodigious extent. In every street in Paris, in every village in France, paper money is fabricated and exchanged against the assignats, even of so low a denomination as five sols, that is 2½*d.* of our money. As soon as these bankers get hold of the assignats, they buy land and take chance afterwards for answering the notes. The bankruptcies hereafter will be inconceivable. They have nothing to do but to buy property in another part of France; by escaping to their 'terres' they may avoid the popular fury, and the land being sold to another in trust for them, will leave the note-holders no remedy except against their persons. It will not happen to any to possess of these small notes to a great amount; this will make the pursuit languid, and these rascals will escape. The scene of fraud that is thus preparing is astonishing. Besides, government not having either any knowledge of the quantity issued, nor power to regulate it, will find it impossible by diminishing the use of paper to invite the specie back, which must disappear as long as the smaller traffic is transacted by notes. If they order these bankers to call in their notes and pay them off, they apply the match which will spring the mine. Very great internal disturbance may be the consequence. They were induced at first to suffer it from the degree to which the circulation in the provinces was embarrassed, and the danger of tumult in consequence. They thought also that by throwing the assignats into the hands of capitalists the lands would sell better. They found it also impossible to fabricate a sufficiency of assignats if they made them of a smaller denomination than five livres. But in yielding to these motives, and temporising with that which principle alone should regulate, they have let loose plunder, and furnished every man who has a shred of credit with not only the means but the temptation to rob his neighbours. It has made the better sort of people gamesters, and the poorer dupes.

"Scarcely any direct taxes are at present paid. Whether they may ever be able to recover the arrears it is impossible to say. The indirect taxes on consumeable commodities are received. They are generally advanced without much difficulty by a set of men who distribute them very soon after amongst their customers. Their two principal direct taxes, the Foncière and Mobiliaire, which should produce twelve millions sterling, are not yet distributed in the proportion they are to be levied. The assembly divided them amongst the departments; the eighty-three departments, six excepted, have determined the proportions of the several districts, but it has as yet proceeded no further. The districts distribute it amongst the cantons, the cantons amongst the municipalities, the municipalities amongst the individuals. The last stage is the most difficult. An estimate must be made of every man's property in land and moveables. It is a work of labour, and one in which great abuses will happen for a length of time till they fix some modus; for a tax varying with the annual fluctuation of personal wealth is too arbitrary to be a good impost. It was stated in the assembly the other day that difficulties would arise as it appeared that many of the municipal mayors could neither read nor write, consequently were not peculiarly fitted for these calculations. It was determined that in such cases they should receive assistance from the district. That literature should not be so general in France as to extend to the chief magistrate of every municipality (a division generally embracing a parish), may not appear unaccountable, when I state that their number is not less than forty-four thousand, and the mayors are not re-eligible, yet in each of these small divisions there is a board of public officers with considerable powers. Certainly the new division of France, when habit has given a facility of management, will enable them to levy their taxes with much greater ease. The expense of collecting will be less, and every individual has an appeal against the sum demanded of him if he thinks it unreasonable. To prove that the expense will be less I need only mention one circumstance. The kingdom formerly was composed of separate provinces annexed to the crown at different periods by treaties which secured to them particular privileges; a tax, for instance the gabelles, fell much heavier on one than on the other. Merchandise even passing from one province to the next paid a duty. The collection of this revenue required each province to be encircled by a cordon of public officers, whose salaries eat up the produce, and their efforts, even when honestly exerted, could not prevent smuggling. This is now all done away. The internal commerce of the country is relieved from such impolitic interruptions, and France is obliged to guard only the coast and frontier which nature has given her. I am afraid, however, that the power consigned and entrusted to the administrations of the departments, districts, and municipalities will fall into the hands of persons unequal to the duty. There are but two motives which generally induce men to devote their time and talents to the service of their country rather than their own emolument in other professions, either the power and consequence arising from the situation, or the pecuniary reward that it produces. Neither of these motives can in France lead men of respectability to serve in such employments. The distinction is not flattering where you have so many equals, and the salary is still more insignificant. Their judges have not above 100*l.* sterling per annum, the officers of the departments, etc, from 80*l.* to 30*l.* Yet, upon the whole, I think the present division of France one of their best works, and one that may hereafter be made essentially useful.

"From what I have said you will not rank me amongst the enthusiastic admirers of the French revolution as the noblest work of human integrity and human wisdom. I really am not. I discover in what they have done much to approve and much to condemn. I feel as strongly as any man that an essential change was necessary for the happiness and for the dignity of a great people long in a state of degradation. I lament that those into whose hands the fate of their country devolved aimed at accomplishing so much more than could be effected at once without introducing confusion, from a suspension of all government, and more, I am inclined to think, than ever can be realised in such a kingdom as France without perpetually risking her tranquillity. If I could do it without seeming to approve the principles professed by their leaders, principles which I shall ever condemn as tumultuous pedantry, tending directly to unsettle government, and ineffectual in its creation, I should on all occasions worship and applaud the feeling which led the way to this unparalleled change. In the places of public amusement, when I see the people, the moment any of those tunes are played to which they marched at the federation, take fire, and with an enthusiasm which makes them forget all their distresses, exult in that independence which they hope yet to reconcile with order and law, the tears come in my eyes. It is impossible not to partake their feelings, or be indifferent to their ultimate redemption. Philanthrophy will not admit insensibility on such a subject; were it callous, national interest would lead me to wish a government on principles not less free than our own, firmly established in France. Such a government would contribute to the peace of Europe, and to the destruction of those impediments which every nation in hopes of serving its own individual interest has from time to time imposed on general commerce. A policy, miserably short-sighted, in the end wounding themselves by provoking reprizals. By endeavouring to give the manufacturers of their country the monopoly of the market at home they deprive them of supplying foreign consumption, which a universal system of reciprocal commerce would open to their enterprize and to their industry—a system as advantageous to the nation, whose productions are limited, as to that which fabricates for all the world, introducing amongst them models for their imitation, and supplying them on the cheapest terms with all the luxuries of life. I am aware of the difficulty every government will find in eradicating the regulations which such mistaken principles have produced. They have to contend with all their own manufacturers, whose views are contracted, and whose minds are always jealous of any change. The impediment is not merely domestic—other nations must also be convinced. It must be the effect of treaty. Treaties are often attempted, and relinquished from finding it impossible to cheat each other. They do not imagine that either can gain what the other does not lose. Frequently one of the parties refuses advantages because the other might possibly receive a little more. It is not in the power of a single nation or two at once to crush and extirpate this monstrous absurdity which so long has prevented the different countries from contributing to each others happiness. But two nations so powerful as Great Britain and France, if wisely governed, might by their example and their influence go a great way to destroy it. The commercial treaty is a dawn of reason that does the author of it credit. More I dare say was not practicable at the time. If we depended on our neighbours for many of the luxuries of life, and if each country employed itself in fabricating those commodities which nature intended she should, without thinking it necessary to comprize everything within her own limits, or endeavouring to plant exotics where they never flourish, then the nations of Europe would have a motive for tranquillity which at present they have not. A bond of friendship would prevail instead of a principle of enmity. Their rivalship would be a rivalship of peace, and a struggle to enrich themselves by contributing to the wants and comforts of each other. They could not interrupt the general tranquillity without wounding their own happiness, and their interest would irresistibly preach to them repose.

"These are the feelings which interest me in the establishment of their constitution. I do not, I assure you, wish their principles to gain ground anywhere. I am convinced they are unsafe, and I trust that no country in which I have either stake or affection will follow their example. Your island, thank God, is tranquil, happy and contented. The situation of ours is more precarious. I am inclined to think it will not remain long as it is. The government of it I do not like; but I prefer it to a revolution. There is great room and necessity for amendment, and our connection would not be weakened by it. The people begin to grow very impatient, the abuses are considerable, and their weight nothing. The Catholics are calling for emancipation. I dread a coalition between them and the dissatisfied Protestants. If tumult then should arise, it will be difficult to establish the government afterwards to their exclusion. I am afraid reform will be postponed till it is too late; and what I particularly lament is that in Ireland those moderate characters who wish to oppose popular violence, and to employ their weight in repressing tumultuous innovation, have not good grounds to stand on. If they dissuade the people from endangering the public repose, they answer them with a list of grievances, and ask them if there is any reasonable expectation of a peaceable redress. It is impossible not to admit the imperfections of the constitution, and it is a bad reason to give for preserving them, that the people of Ireland are not fit to be entrusted with the freedom Great Britain enjoys, lest they might misuse it, that the connection between the countries must be preserved by abuse, and that they must be contented to live in subordination and corruption. It requires a great deal more political penetration than a discontented Irishman is generally blessed with to comprehend such refinements. I am afraid they would rather irritate than appease.

I could not give him any other reasons than these, such as they are, foi resignation. I confess they are not satisfactory to me, and I am afraid they would appear still less so to him. When I set my face against the opinion of my country, I should wish to have some respectable reasons to offer which might enable me to act from conviction, and to endeavour to convince others. For, when the minds of a nation are bent on carrying a point, the simple volition of an individual opposed to theirs, cannot have much weight. On the contrary, if he has no argument to offer but that which they cannot feel, he becomes suspected, and has no longer any influence to moderate their violence. The people then fall into the hands of other leaders more ready to flatter their passions; and he, perhaps in a moment of tumult, becomes the sacrifice of that spirit which he awkwardly attempted to subdue. If a day of renovation should come, I trust that the conduct of France, so far from being made the model of ours, will deter us from extravagant enterprizes. Before that period arrives, the present experiment will have so far developed itself, that much wisdom may be drawn from it by those who attentively study its various success. If a country is doomed to encounter the dangers which attend every political crisis, it is no small advantage to have been preceded in them by others. It gives their principal men experience instead of theory. They can check the romantic projects of the people by pointing out to them their failure in a recent instance. Having reason with you, opposition may be attempted with success; at all events, without incapacitating yourself, by totally losing the confidence of your countrymen from afterwards moderating their zeal. It appears to me that revolutions and all their evils have generally arisen from the obstinacy with which government in all ages and in all countries has opposed itself to every alteration in the constitution. The ideas of men change with the time they live in. The institutions which are to direct them should change also. Alterations which are gradually made from being well considered, at a moment when the powers of government are in force to struggle against the ardour of the people, seldom have vitiated the system into which they have been incorporated, but, on the contrary, have improved it, communicating stability by removing its imperfections. But if those in power take their stand, and, incapable of justifying the principles of the establishment, pertinaciously refuse to change them, upon the commonplace ground that altering a part exposes the whole, they gradually place the nation in that attitude before them, which at last makes the sceptre drop from their palsied hands. It is then too late to talk of compromise; it is in vain they exhort them to moderation. Remonstrances come with a bad grace from those who never would deign to listen to grievances. It is to little purpose they exclaim against popular extravagance, and lament that the public mind, which their obstinacy helped to disorder, is gone; if, when summoned to capitulate, not only by the voice of reason, but approaching mischief, they refuse till it is too late to listen to terms which they might accept with honour to themselves and advantage to their fellow citizens, and reject the proposal with scorn, or crush it by corruption. Let them not wonder when the citadel is carried by storm, that it falls a pray to plunder and confusion. It is not then the convention of wisdom and cool judgment, it is the victory of force. Power then has changed hands, and it is natural for the possessors to prevent as far as in them lies any considerable portion from returning to those from whom they snatched it. Their services are thus lost to the country, because their principles are suspected, and the administration of government is entrusted to men much less capable of filling the various and important duties which it comprises.

"The government of man, so as to confer on him the greatest possible degree of social happiness, is a speculation about which we may so honestly differ, and in which we may so easily be mistaken, that our opinions should be formed with great caution, and with still greater distrust of their infallibility. In pronouncing on the merit of the constitution we possess, its theoretical principles should not be overlooked; but its practical effects infinitely more deserve our consideration. The latter are the blessings we possess, the former the security we have for their permanent enjoyment. If we find the country flourishing, the people happy and contented, we have reason to cherish and admire the constitution which sheds on us these advantages. If imperfections exist in the system, this is the moment to remove them, when it can be done without convulsion. Those who either from selfish motives, an unwillingness to lose any portion of power, a bigoted attachment indiscriminately to the mass, or a dread of altering an atom of what is productive of general happiness, hug the whole in their arms and refuse to part with an error, lest they might be exposed to lose with it a merit; such men foster a discontent in the country which may one time or another destroy both them and the object of their adoration. The man who is born to regulate the happiness of his countrymen by officiating in the constitution receives a most important and critical trust. His first object should ever be to guard the public tranquillity from interruption. When once broken in upon, its restoration is difficult. Besides, peace is the truest state of enjoyment. He should ever ward off intestine commotions, which is most effectually done by rendering the government as free from faults as possible. He should watch the temper of the great mass of the people, which it is more within his sphere to regulate than to controul. He should studiously observe the progress of opinion, consider its wisdom, and yield to it whenever reason marked its decision. The feelings of the nation are seldom roused into action except where some solid ground of complaint exists. They are naturally a torpid body; time alone can overcome the 'vis inertiæ'; but, when agitated, nothing so wild, so extravagant, so inconsistent, so capable of doing mischief, and so incapable of doing good. Before that moment arrives the preventative should be applied. When that fatal period does happen the danger is inevitable, and the mitigation of the evil precarious. To be of any use in such a crisis you must yield to the phrenzy of the times. You must suffer yourself to be carried by the stream, if you mean to moderate its violence; direct opposition is fruitless. But these are general observations, which it is very unnecessary to trouble you with at present; perhaps idle when not applied to a particular instance.

"If Ireland should be convulsed, I trust with the assistance of Great Britain she may escape many of the distresses France is doomed to suffer, and that an affectionate attachment to each other is so decidedly the predominant feeling of both, that it will ever by an instinctive impulse perpetuate their connection.

"When I observe the size to which this letter is arrived, I am afraid you will soon dread my correspondence as much as the 'Logographe.'[1] In my excuse, I do assure you, I sat down determined to confine myself to two sheets, and I find myself travelling over the seventh. I shall only mention one other circumstance in extenuation. I am now at St. Germain's, four posts from Paris. I left it the day before yesterday, upon hearing that the duchess of Devonshire and her party were to arrive early in the day, and to proceed to the south of France, avoiding Paris. The solitude of a French ale-house, which offers no other society than the landlord, who commands a company of the national guards, entails upon you the present persecution. It is written in hurry, and I venture to send it with all its inaccuracies, because it is so long and so worthless that I cannot prevail on myself to remove them by copying it over. You will find some difficulty in deciphering the blots and interlineations, but I confide it to your indulgence; it has amused me and prevented ennui, therefore you must tolerate it. If the duchess does not arrive to-night, I shall return to Paris to-morrow.

---

[1] A journal of large size, published in 1791–2, containing details of the "séances législatives."

"I shall endeavour to send it by Lord Gower's[1] messenger; it would be too severe to add postage to the fatigue of reading it. We have had accounts at Paris of our operations in India; I trust they are unfounded. I hope soon to see you, and to answer in person with more accuracy any questions you may wish to receive information on, which it may be in my power to give. You know the joy with which I always return to your protection, and the grateful affection which your goodness inspires when I am absent. I need not assure you the sentiment never was more perfect. Adieu."

170.—W. BURROUGHS to CHARLEMONT.

1791, Nov. 22, Calcutta.—"Within the last three months I have had the happiness of receiving two letters from your lordship, one forwarded to me by Mr. Archball from Madras, and dated in December, 1790, and the other written so long since as the May preceding. To tell your lordship all I felt when, at such a distance from you, your well known characters first met my eye is utterly impossible. Delighted by a proof so certain that you were still alive and still remembered and regarded me, I ran the letter over scarcely knowing what I read, I kissed the honored signature it bore a thousand times, and bedewed it with tears of the most sincere and lively gratitude for all its writer's goodness to me. The most flattering distinctions of my life all crowded on my mind, and for a time I forgot I had been ruined and was a persecuted exile. I had no right to expect that your lordship would do me the honor of writing to me, occupied and precious as your hours are, and though I knew you loved to pour the healing balm of your attentions over a wounded mind, I yet had repressed my hopes of hearing immediately from yourself and confined them to the expectation of receiving sometimes a message from your lordship through my inestimable friend and benefactor, the baron.[2] But the same delicacy of sentiment which ever governed your lordship's manners, and gave to your benevolence such irresistable power over the heart, induced you to bestow on me a letter under your own hand before you knew the happy turn of my fortune. I am infinitely grateful to your lordship for it, and did I not fear to intrude on you, would solicit the indulgence of hearing from you at least once a year while I stay in India. But I will own to you, my dear lord, that my hopes of your gratifying the request lessen as my rupees increase, and I fear that your lordship, unlike the rest of the world, in that, as in an hundred other instances, will neglect me a little as I grow rich, and that in order to secure a repetition of the same condescending kindness your lordship bestowed on me in my days of trial and distress, my misfortunes must return. The baron,[3] whose heart is as generous as any that ever inhabited a human breast, begins already to treat me thus. I have not heard from him, but in one short letter (which his desire of serving a young man in want of protection induced him to write to me) for the last year. And if I did not know that the reports of others would contradict me, I should be almost tempted to tell him my bright prospects were vanishing in order to make him write to me.

---

[1] Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Paris, 1790–2.

[2], [3] *See* p. 85.

"Your lordship desires me to let you know how my situation stands, and I have the pleasure to assure you that I already almost feel myself and my family above want, and that I have every reason to believe I shall in a few years be master of what to me and them will be an easy and competent fortune. Mr. Davies, the present advocate-general, has declared publicly his intention of continuing for one year longer only in India, and as lord Cornwallis's stay will be extended certainly beyond that period, I may promise myself with some confidence an immediate succession to Mr. Davies. I shall obtain by it 2,000*l.* per annum additional income, and I am in hopes that no succeeding governor-general will think of removing me. The bar here has had several gentlemen lately added to its numbers, but I still hold my place at it, and do not yet lose ground in the public opinion. My office is something analogous to that of solicitor-general at present, and worth about 1,500*l.* or 1,600*l.* per annum. From it and my practice I derive the means of furnishing myself here with all things necessary to health and ease, and of supplying not only a handsome income to Mrs. Burroughs for her own support and the education of my children, but also an annual saving of some amount. If my hopes of succeeding Mr. Davies, with whom I live on the very best and most liberal terms, shall not be disappointed, my fortune and return will be as certain as my life and health. Hitherto I have suffered very little from the climate. A slight attack during the last rains is all I have to complain of, and by a trip up the river during the long vacation I got rid of it and now am perfectly well.

"Your lordship's first letter was so just to sir William Jones, and so partial to me, that I could not resist the temptation to show it to him. He is really a most excellent man, and deserves the distinction he has obtained. His capacity, great as it is, does not surpass his industry. I have not, I think, ever met in any other man so much application and so much ability. He is truly indefatigable, and has, I believe, opened many mines of learning in Europe never before known, and in the East for many ages neglected and forgotten. Whether he will extract from them any materials for enlarging human happiness, I cannot pretend to judge. He is himself an enthusiast, but of the purest and most incorruptible honor, and he says that all his labours are decidedly favourable to Moses and the prophets. I enclose to your lordship the letter[1] he wrote me on returning your lordship's, and I do assure you I believe every word you will find in it (except, perhaps, what his politeness has induced him to say to me of myself) to be sincere. The flame of liberty burns very ardently in his mind, and has, I fear, consumed everything monarchical and aristocratical it found there. I do not, I own, like to part either with king or nobles, and of course differ a little with sir William as to present European politics, but I love and respect him for his benevolence, his genius, his learning and his integrity. A spirit of innovation rather than of reform seems to have gone abroad in Europe, but will not, I trust, visit the British Isles, where liberty and happiness will continue to reside if coarse and unskilful hands are not permitted to approach the constitution with professions of amending it. If I am not mistaken in your lordship's sentiments, I may venture to say, though I have never heard what you think on the present state of France, that you would be the determined foe of any presumptuous man who should dare to think of pulling down the noble edifice our ancestors have raised in England and consecrated to liberty, in order to rebuild it on what might be thought a better plan.

---

[1] Sir WILIAM JONES to W. BURROUGHS:—1791, September 3.—"On the river.—"I now return lord Charlemont's excellent letter, every sentence of which flowed warm from the best of hearts, and I thank you again and again for the pleasure which it has given me even in those parts of it where he mentions me with partial indulgence, since to receive praise, though unmerited, from a man who deserves the highest praise, was always held a source of just pleasure even by the rough moralists of antiquity. Lest I should deviate into a style that might have the appearance of compliment, I will not enlarge on the justice of his friendship for you, but I can only account for his partiality to me by supposing that he knows my firm attachment to the good old cause of civil freedom, the principles of which, while I live, I will live proclaiming, and when I die I will die professing. A similarity of political principles has ever been considered as the strongest cement of friendship, and I feel its attractive power so strongly that were I to hear of a man at the extremity of the globe, who maintained those principles and carried them into action, I should instantly find my heart struggling to unite itself with his; while opposite principles have a power so repulsive that I never by my own choice associate with such as

"In Ireland, as far as my information from the London prints reaches, the great work of national improvement in commerce and manufactures makes some progress, and from your lordship's letter of May 1790, as well as from others I have had (of far less authority, I own), I have the happiness to learn that however the [Dublin] Castle squadrons would impede you, still the national character in and out of parliament is getting forward, that the base upstart, Scott, should have at last met with the disgrace his accumulating infamy has so long been attracting raises the public mind in every man's opinion, and I do most sincerely rejoice that my old schoolfellow, and I think I may call him my friend, George Ponsonby, has been the instrument of his country in punishing one of her foulest foes. Ponsonby is, I know, a man of talent, and from his temper as well as understanding, must be a most dangerous enemy to such a man as Scott. May I take the liberty of requesting your lordship to make my best compliments to Ponsonby, and tell him I most sincerely rejoice at and congratulate him on the distinction he has attained and the lasting service he has done to the whole kingdom. Mean, vulgar and ignorant as that abominable man [Scott] ever was, he yet stalked like a giant over the whole land, and grasped so much power in his venal hands, that I own I despaired of living either to hear of or to see his overthrow. Fitzgibbon, I am persuaded, in his heart detested him, and if at this distance I were to guess at causes contributing in a secondary way to the exposure of the enlightened and honest Scott, Fitzgibbon's hatred and his intimacy with your present wise and able secretary[2] was one. Fitzgibbon, though a most dangerous man to entrust with power, is not base and corrupt like Scott; but I will own to you, my dear lord, I rejoiced most heartily at his defeat in the contest with the city, not only on account of the cause, but on account also of the humiliation it brought upon him. He will not, perhaps, decide from dishonest motives as a judge, but he will arrogate all power, trample on all liberty and annihilate all opposition and

---

profess them. Assure your noble friend that I am too sensible of his kindness to me not to strive, as far as I am able, in some little degree to deserve it; and that I will not cease to work in the mine of Indian literature whenever I can attend to such a pursuit without neglecting my public duties, which ought to supersede every other consideration. At the same time, assure yourself that how readily soever I should yield to you both in most other respects, yet I cannot yield to you in veneration for the character of lord Charlemont."

[2] Robert Hobart, subsequently earl of Buckinghamshire.

Whiggism if he can. He is, however, in his nature dastardly, and may be curbed and humbled by a steady able hand under the direction of an honorable mind."

171.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1791, November 31, Dublin.—" Let me in sober sadness assure you that I cannot help being somewhat out of humour at having been so long without receiving an answer to my last letter, which I wrote with so much pain and difficulty, and that, too, at a period of so much importance, when intelligence is more than ever necessary to my feelings from my favourite city, where an epidemic disorder seems to prevail to the hazard of my beloved friends. Write to me, then, I beseech you, and tell me the present state of men's minds. Does the 'mal Catholique' still continue to rage among you, or is it on the decline? Does the new and worshipful society, of which you told me that you did not know any individual, still exist, and have you as yet discovered of whom it consists? It is here said they are for the most part strangers, and that there are among them few or no citizens of Belfast. In your last, you desired me to send you whatever answer might be written to the Catholic pamphlets, but none such have appeared, of which silence you may easily see the reason. It is not most certainly for want of argument, but the difficulty of answering without giving offence must necessarily restrain every lover of tranquillity."

172.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

i.—1791, December 4, Belfast.—" I know nothing new of this town, which you are pleased to exalt into a city; but I believe it still thinks in its heart that, without a complete reform of Parliament, those excellent regulations, which have been so perversely and pertinaciously resisted by our no government, would be of little avail, and that till the Catholics of Ireland can be embodied with the Protestants, such reform may be despaired of. This, you know, is the main drift of the Northern Whig's 'Argument,' which well merits a reply, could a satisfactory one be made to it. Till then it will be considered as unanswerable; and as it has already produced great effect, this will grow and spread, and that in an accelerated ratio should the projected 'national journal' go on, which I have good reason to believe will be ably conducted. If the doctrine leads to mischief (and many of us have our fears), no dread of giving offence should restrain the finger which can point out its fallacy or sophistry. When the gauntlet thrown down is not taken up, what do men conclude? In support of what he thought truth, Cloyne[1] boldly hazarded a deal of offence, and a deal of mischief. Why will not some such doughty champion now hazard a little of the one to prevent much of the other? But, 'Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis,'—I mean such as Cloyne, and I will throw Burke into the bargain. I remember a very sensible and worthy member of the Dublin convention told me, on his return, that he was from the very opening of it convinced, that without taking in the Catholics all attempts at reform must be vain and fruitless, and this he repeated to me in a late conversation, adding that he saw at the same time such coalition was at that time impracticable. But, pray, my lord, are not things much altered since that day? Has not the French Revolution made a wide difference in this respect? Still, I think, with your lordship, that the movers in this mighty question are too precipitate; the season of ripeness should be waited for before the tree is shaken; and if the door of education could be fairly opened to all Irishmen in their native land, as your lordship wishes, and as all good men must wish, and then that other lay profession, that season of maturity would soon arrive, and the communication of the franchise of election might then be safely, if gradually, made; and, in the fulness of time, that of sitting also. 'Veniet dies,' and, I hope, 'non sæculis seris.' I know not who the Belfast society consist of, but I know there are some of our most respectable townsmen amongst the members, and I am told there are many of that description in the like society in Dublin, but of this your lordship is probably better informed."

---

[1] Richard Woodward, bishop of Cloyne, 1781–1794.

172, ii.—1791, December 10, Belfast.—"Soon after I had the honour of writing to your lordship, I received a letter from my good and highly respectable friend, the bishop of Dromore,[1] dated on the evening before he was to ship himself off, and mentioning that Hobart[2] was to go in the same packet, and that it was conjectured his errand was to get instructions with respect to the Catholics, whom nothing short of admission to the franchise of election would satisfy. I consider that numerous body of Irish subjects as now up at auction, where the bidders are to be the government and the good Protestant people of Ireland,—a critical situation of things, which seems to require not only circumspection, but decision. I understand that the Catholic members of the Belfast United society (which consists in the whole of upwards of one hundred) have, in consequence of offers from administration, insisted on their Protestant associates pledging themselves to go all lengths with them in that business of franchise; complaining that they had been led to deceive themselves at the time of the convention, and had not their eyes opened till the publication of your lordship's letter[3] (I wish I had a copy of it). I cannot learn who these Catholic gentry are, and know but of a very few of that description in this town and vicinage of any degree of respectability. I believe one of our priests figures as the head of those in the 'union,' a very able and important man in his own estimation, it would appear by his enclosed handbill.[4] I hear he is to be a master in a new academy attempted in this town, in opposition, it is thought, to the old one so ably conducted by Dr. Bruce. But I must return to what has prompted me to trouble you so soon again; I mean the necessity of taking this momentous business into immediate consideration. I should be sorry that the Whigs were to be looked on as in direct hostility to the claims, which have been so well coloured, of a body who are likely to rise into importance; and am humbly of opinion that it might be proper, at your next meeting, to express your wishes for the farther mitigation of the penal laws, for opening the means of a home education to all natives, and even the profession of the law. I cannot help fearing that your preserving an utter silence on these points may alienate a great mass of the people from you and throw them into the arms of government. I think, at the same time, it would be better that our schools and colleges should be laid open to them, than that they should have a particular established seminary of their own, the collision of minds in society going farther in rubbing off asperities than any display of argument in print, or any discourses ex cathedra. The liberality of America and France hath had a wonderful effect on the public mind,—the more, for the contracted illiberal system of Burke, and the discussions which his rash and unwarrantable publications have occasioned.

---

[1] *See* p. 107.   [2] *See* p. 178.   [3] *See* p. 184.   [4] Not in the collection.

"I read myself asleep the other night with our East India gasconades. God forgive me, but I am afraid I sent up in my slumbers an aspiration for the gallant Tippoo,—at least, that he and his poor faithful people, who are beginning to be brave, should not be utterly Rohilla'd, even though it might be necessary to the firm establishment of Pitt in the throne of these realms.

173.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1791, December 15, Dublin.—"Thank you for your letter, thank you for the explicit, manly and friendly manner in which you avow and explain your sentiments, a manner worthy of my friend, and for which I must thank you, notwithstanding the painful situation into which your letter, kind as it is, has cast me. Not to be able perfectly to agree with you must at all times give me pain, but the sensation is aggravated tenfold by my finding myself utterly incapable of explaining as I would wish the reason of my disagreement. I cannot entirely adopt your opinions, nor coincide with your reasoning, and yet the wretched state of my nerves absolutely precludes my entering into the argument, or endeavouring to justify myself where I differ. If it were possible for me to write, I could write without reserve, and wholly unconstrained by that fear of giving offence and further irritating the already too much inflamed passions of men, which, spite of the right reverend example you set before me, still, I confess, appears to me as a strong argument against any public answer to your favourite pamphlet, and an almost insuperable disadvantage to any well-minded man who should attempt to write one.

"The Belfast sentiment is, as you inform me, that a complete reform is necessary, that without it the excellent regulations proposed by the Whig club would be of little avail, and that without Catholic assistance, such reform may be despaired of. To the first of these propositions I heartily assent. With regard to the second, I confess my doubts, though I shall but ill-explain them. It has long been my idea that, as well from the difficulty of carrying the question as from that which must attend the forming a proper plan, that great point may be best attained by degrees. The passions of the interested would thus be less alarmed, and the nice point of arrangement would gradually find its own level. Every regulation which tends to strengthen the people in Parliament is manifestly a step towards reform. To this important end, and to that of purifying the house of commons, those regulations proposed by the club which principally attached me to it, most powerfully operate, regulations, which, though for the preset counteracted by what you with much propriety style 'the no government,' must finally and of necessity take place under the future administration of honourable men who have pledged their honours to carry them through, and whom, for that reason, it cannot be gracious and may not be prudent to obstruct in an opposition, undertaken with such positive proof of good intention, and on the success of which the success of these measures depends not problematically but to a certainty. Such regulations once established, as they undoubtedly will be with the power of our friends, parliament will already be partially reformed; and a complete reform will of consequence be far more within our grasp than it now is. With the third Belfast proposition sorry I am that I cannot, though ever open to conviction, as yet persuade myself to agree, but must think that, instead of assisting us in our wished-for measure, a Catholic tack would be an invincible impediment, and a subterfuge under which many who dare not be open foes to reform, would conceal the real and guilty motives of their opposition. But, as it is impossible for me, in my present situation of body and of mind, to expatiate as I would wish, upon this most important of all questions, I must content myself with some slight and detached hints of the motives of my persuasion. Indeed, this has been throughout a letter of hints; but 'verbum sapienti,'—you will understand and make them out better perhaps than I could do in my fullest health. I have already mentioned to you, though I fear without much avail, the dangers which must always attend the calling-in to our assistance auxiliaries more numerous than ourselves. But how are these dangers increased where an inveterate feud, excited and embittered by reciprocal injuries, has long had possession of the newly confederated parties, whose reconcilement is now, after ages of animosity, suddenly and unaccountably produced by a recent and unnatural alliance. Complete your plan, and Ireland must become a Catholic country; but whether our masters will be as tolerant as we are may be matter of doubt, especially as toleration is certainly not the ruling principle of their religion, and as interest possibly connects itself with principle to produce the contrary effect. There is no arguing from analogy between Ireland and any other country upon the globe, not only on account of the disparity of numbers, but on account of those never-to-be-forgotten claims, which the slightest insight into human nature is sufficient to convince us will one day or other be made by those who have power to support them, but, supposing an unnatural forbearance in the good Catholics of Ireland, who, from obvious reasons, differ essentially and disadvantageously from all other Catholics, the bare idea that such claims may be made, will at once put a stop to all money intercourse with England, and indeed with every other country, a circumstance which must, I should think, be fatal to commerce. Who would accept of a mortgage on an estate held under a title disputed by those who are possessed of all power? And here I cannot avoid declaring an opinion, on which my fears are in a great measure grounded, that, should the new plan now in agitation take place, it would necessarily lead to one of two, by me detested, consequences, either to separation or to union. For heaven's sake, let us not amuse ourselves with dangerous experiment. . . You say, and you say truly, that the door of education should previously be opened, and an indulgence granted to legal profession, and here, agreeing with you, I am happy in the opportunity to declare that in anything I have said I never meant to insinuate that a day of assimilation, and consequent communication of every franchise, might not arrive, though I cannot be as sanguine as you are respecting the nearness of that period. It would, in my opinion, require a century at the least, of the best education, before our semi-barbarians could be brought to assimilate with their fellow subjects, or to a capacity of duly performing the functions of a citizen, before they could possibly provide themselves with bare freeholds of civilization. You ask me whether things are not much altered since the time of the convention, and whether the French Revolution has not made a wide difference. Some difference, I confess, it has made, but, even though matters in France should remain as they are, by no means in my opinion an essential one. At all events, time should be given for the perfect establishment of that wonderful and glorious change. Exactly as it is it cannot remain, many alterations must and will be made, and, with grief of heart I speak it, there are some circumstances which might induce a thinking man to fear to tremble for a reverse. No constitution, indeed, is firmly established but the British, which, spite of the ill-effects that time, wealth, luxury, and consequent corruption, have wrought, spite of Paine's ingenious but not solid animadversions, I must still regard as the best that ever was devised, principally for this reason, among many others, that it exclusively possesses the almost divine power of renovation and the innate faculty of repairing its defects without departing from its genuine spirit, but merely by a legal recurrence to its first principles. The French constitution was born with maladies which may, however, and probably will be remedied, but then it depends for its existence on the firmness of a people in all ages frivolous and inconstant, and now corrupted with every species of vice, and consequently, prepared for political corruption. The American, which is much to be preferred, can only last till that immense region, increasing in wealth and population, shall be divided into various states, republics, and kingdoms, while the British oak, blasted as it may be, will, by its native vigour, shake off its maladies, and remain for ages a lasting monument of its superior strength. But I must conclude with a thousand things yet to say; six days, at a quarter of an hour per day, the utmost my eyes will permit, have I spent in scrawling this wretched and tedious farrago. My sight fails me, and my head is addled. Happy, however, I am in being able to end my letter with a perfect concurrence in your opinion respecting the precipitation of the movers and the prematurity of the measure; and this surely is an irrefragable argument against encouraging hopes which cannot be immediately complied with. Disappointment is a never-failing source of anger, and possibly of tumult, and nothing is more wanting to us, both as a nation and as individuals, than peace and tranquillity; I speak from my own feelings, for in truth I am weary of political bustle, and now utterly unable to go through it. . Upon reading over, not without pain and difficulty, what I have written, I find it in every respect defective. What I have said is not put half as strongly as I feel it, and many of the more forcible points are wholly omitted. I am indeed so ashamed of my tedious epistle that I have doubts about sending it, but it is written, and my eyes must have their price. Remember, however, that it is written for you, and for you only, who will kindly pardon the weaknesses, incoherences, and inaccuracies.

"The Indian tornado is such as will probably overthrow the English colossus, already shaken by storms from the north.

"I have received a second letter from you, which you will easily conceive I am little able to answer. The secretary[1] usually visits England some short time previous to the meeting of parliament to get directions from his superiors, and it is probable that the Catholic business may be one motive of Hobart's[2] voyage. But I have some reason to believe that English administration will not bid high at the auction you suppose. Indeed, it is hardly possible that they should comply with demands so very extraordinary, and in which the interest of both countries is so deeply involved, unless it should be with the sinister view of finally compelling the Protestants of Ireland to call for an Union—an object they have undoubtedly much at heart, and which they may reasonably think in a short course of time attainable by these means, though certainly by none other. At all events, by the agitated question the Catholic Protestants will probably assist government in carrying one of their most favourite points, namely, that of lessening in some degree the popularity of opposition. Respecting your advice to the Whig club, it is certainly worthy of consideration, and I will mention it as such to some of my leading brethren, though I believe they will see in a much stronger light reasons which appear to me strong against it. I thank you for the advertisement, which will, I think, tend to open men's eyes to the encroachments of their new and favoured connexions. Certainly the laying open our schoools and colleges will be infinitely preferable to established Catholic seminaries, and such was my meaning when I spoke of education. The liberality of America and of France has, I doubt not, had much effect upon the minds of those who do not reflect on the total difference between those countries and Ireland. What is liberality in them would probably in us be hereafter styled extravagant folly. By what accounts you have been able to gather of the Belfast society I cannot think it in any degree formidable; ours here is I believe still less so. I never published any letter, but suppose my answer to the Belfast address must be meant. . . Upon the topic of education I have yet one word more to say. Nothing can be more wise than your sentiment on this head. Seminaries common to all persuasions would, both in appearance and in reality, create and strengthen that cordial union among Irishmen, which it must be the wish of every honest man to cultivate by every method consistent with safety. Yet the Catholics I fear both think and wish otherwise, else why should the Sunday schools, that humane and truly tolerant institution, be of late, in numberless instances, deserted by those for whose education they were principally intended, a desertion, to my certain knowledge, instigated and even ordered by the parish priests, and by the titular bishops of the several dioceses, who openly avowed and justified their conduct.

---

[1] To the lord lieutenant of Ireland.

[2] *See* p. 178.

"And now, both for your sake and my own, I must positively conclude, repeating, however, that in all I have said I would by no means be understood to speak dogmatically. I have had the misfortune to differ from my friend, though I am sure not widely, and friendship required an endeavour to support my opinion. Though yet unconvinced I am still, I repeat it, open to conviction, and if ever it shall come I will cordially embrace it. Nay, I will say more, as my affection towards all my countrymen is sincere and ardent, I am consequently possessed of one principle which strongly tends towards conviction, namely, a wish, though hitherto a vain one, to be convinced."

174.—EDMUND BURKE to CHARLEMONT.

1791, December 29, Beconsfield.—"I have seldom been more vexed than when I found that a visit of mere formality had deprived me of the substantial satisfaction which Mrs. Burke and my brother had in seeing you as well as they had ever remembered you. Many things at that time had contributed to make that loss very great to me. Your lordship is very good in lamenting the difference which politics had made between Mr. Fox and me. Your condolence was truly kind, for my loss has been truly great in the cessation of the partiality of a man of his wonderful abilities and amiable dispositions. Your lordship is a little angry at politics that can dissolve friendships. If it should please God to lend me a little longer life they will not, I hope, cause me to lose the few friends I have left, for I have left all politics, I think, for ever. Everything that remains of my relation to the public will be only in my wishes, which are warm and sincere, that this constitution should be thoroughly understood, for then I am sure it will be sincerely loved; that its benefits may be widely extended and lastingly continued; and that no man may have an excuse to wish it to have another fortune than I pray it may long flourish in. I am sure that your country, in whose prosperity I include the most valuable interest of this, will have reason to look back on what you have done for it with gratitude, and will have reason to think the continuance of your health for her further service amongst the greatest advantages she is likely to expect. Here is my son, who will deliver this to you. He will be indemnified for what I have lost. I think I may speak for this, my other and better self, that he loves you almost as much as I do."

175.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1791, December 29, Belfast.—" Indeed, my good lord, we do not differ materially in opinion. I should be right sorry we did, though I will not go the length of saying I would rather err with Plato than think right with other men. I have ever regretted that this business was so rashly and prematurely obtruded on the public; but as that was not to be remedied, and consequences were likely to follow, I wished that something kind and conciliatory should appear on the part of the Whigs—I mean so far as expressing their desire for a mitigation of the penal laws and furnishing the Catholics with the power and the means of a home education, with admission to the bar, guarding the bench, and the other promotions in that line, from them; and this I hinted from a fear of throwing them into the arms of administration; and I cannot help looking on the Kerry proceedings as a proof that they were actually under the hammer, which some more recent ones in Dublin seem to confirm. I am perfectly convinced of the hazards attending this business which your lordship with such deep consideration enumerates, not only of the two extremes of separation and union, but of the lesser though great intermediate evils of dividing Protestants and the sincere friends to a reform, and affording insincere pretenders a cloak to cover them from detection; and my anxiety is to have these avoided and as much good educed from the present shock of opinions as possible. To put off the hopes of a participation of franchise for a century will never go down, and I should think if the preparatory steps were taken with success, I mean enlightening their minds and humanizing their tempers, the succeeding generation might be sufficiently prepared for the exercise of it.

" No man can admire the principle and frame of the British constitution more than I do; but I own I cannot discern where the remedy of its abuses exists or the principle of its renovation except in the people; that is here as everywhere the mainspring which must wind it up when the legislative is so completely corrupted. It was saved and restored at the revolution, it is true, without their interference, possibly against the general mind. But was that done in a constitutional way? By no means, the convention parliament was not a constitutional body. The constitution was in fact dissolved and reproduced by a body of wise and good men, who were not authorised by the people to set about such a work, or commissioned by them to alter the line of succession. I cannot see the agency of the constitution in that great business more than in that foolish fiction of a great seal in the affair of the regency. In the former case, indeed, necessity and good intention justified the measure, while both seemed wanting in the latter. But in my opinion they were in strictness of speech equally unconstitutional; and I beg leave again to repeat it, that I am unable to discern any principle of renovation in the British constitution, and that when the legislature has become as corrupt as the executive there is no remedy but in the people; and that when they too are become equally corrupt with either there is no remedy at all, but the euthanasia of this boast and envy of the world is all that remains to be hoped for. Whether this be the actual situation of Britain I shall not pretend to say. Some great and heavy misfortune, as it would be called, may rescue us from so dangerous a situation, and a good man, a good patriot, might be perfectly reconciled to our being driven from our domination in the east to our counting-houses in the west.

"There is one singularity in the situation of Ireland which your lordship has not directly taken notice of, and that is, a minority, in point of numbers contemptible, prescribing a religious system, with all civil as well as ecclesiastical advantages annexed to it, to a majority sixfold more numerous. This is an awful and pregnant consideration, and should be justified, if possible, on sound principles.

"I this morning begged a visit from one of the most worthy and intelligent of our 'United Irishmen,' and indeed of our inhabitants. He assures me (and I can depend on his information as well as on his probity) that the main and only immediate object of these societies is nothing more than to approximate the minds of people who have hitherto been kept at too great a distance by religious prejudices, from which it is presumed no sect or persuasion is altogether exempt; with the reasonable hope and expectation that by their thus mingling in society and conversation each may have some of those asperities worn off which belong not to genuine Christianity, and which disfigure it; and that they may by degrees mutually deposite all zeal but that for the good of their country and of mankind; that any political change to result from this is considered as remote, and that there exists not any rash intention of pressing forward to it immediately, or by any other than the natural road."

176.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

i.—1792, January 21, Dublin.—"Young Burke,[1] with a modesty scarcely to be paralleled, is come over to instruct us in our most important interests, and to negotiate not only with government but with all the leading men of a country which he must despise, since he thinks it capable of receiving his instructions. This Catholic plenipotentiary, this truly consistent French aristocrat and Irish democrat, was invited hither by the party, and comes over charged with letters of credence, not, I believe, from Pitt, but from his worthy coadjutor, the immaculate Dundas, who, jealous of the growing prosperity of Ireland, and fearful lest it should finally interfere with the interests of his native country, has wished to raise disturbances, or at the least to promote such a disunion as may possibly end in an union."

176, ii.—1792, January 30, Dublin.—"O Belfast, Belfast, dear object of my love and of my pride, how art thou changed! Shall the prop of Ireland become its battering-ram? Shall its best friends be compelled to wish for, at least in the present instance, that loss of its weight which you so wisely foretell from its dissentions? But no more, the subject is too painful to be continued.

"You and your friends were certainly right in attending the motley meeting, and will undoubtedly do well to publish the grounds of your dissent, but whether the very gentle mode of protesting you mean to adopt be the wisest and the most salutary, I must confess my doubts. That the delirium attending the present fever is absolutely maniacal I greatly fear, and you, who are the best judge, should seriously consider whether sedatives are equal to encounter its raging symptoms. I am an old protester, and gentleness has never been the principle of my protests, having always wished to declare the difference of my opinion from that of the majority as fully as possible. . Believe me when I assure you that the greatest comfort I feel is from the certainty that you coincide with me in sentiment, since painful indeed it would be in matters so very essential, to differ from one to whom I ever shall be a truly affectionate and faithful friend."

---

[1] Richard Burke, son of Edmund Burke.

177.—MALONE to CHARLEMONT.

1792, February 24, London.—"I intended to have sent you to-day some account of my new Shakspeare, but that would ill suit with the present disposition of my mind. I am just come from the melancholy office of looking over the effects of our dear friend, sir Joshua Reynolds, whom we lost last night at eight o'clock. He died without any kind of pain. For these two months past he was firmly persuaded himself that he could not live. Though his disorder has not been ascertained, having baffled the skill of all his physicians, to-morrow we shall know probably what it was. He has made Miss Palmer[1] his principal legatee, and Mr. Burke, Mr. Metcalfe, and myself his executors. I write at so late an hour that I have only just time to save the post; but you shall hear soon from me again. This most amiable man has made such a gap in society as cannot be filled up. How true are Johnson's beautiful lines—'Condemn'd to Hope's delusive mine.' I last year lost two of the oldest friends I had in the world—dear W. Jephson and Denis Daly,[2] and have now reason to expect that every year will steal something or other from me."

178.—CHARLEMONT to MALONE.

1792, March 1, Dublin.—"How erroneously do we judge of our own happiness! Here have I been for many years past regretting and lamenting the situation into which fate and my duty have plunged me, principally because I have been thereby almost totally deprived of all possible society with the greater part of my early connexions, and yet experience has now demonstratively shewn me that this very privation, by me so long regretted, has, in its effect, been fortunate; since, however I may be sincerely grieved at the loss of those early friends, my grief would certainly have been much more pungent, if the circumstances of my life had allowed me continually to increase and to fortify those friendships by constant and endearing intercourse. Poor Sir Joshua! How good, how kind, how truly amiable and respectable! The best of men, whose talents, though an honour to his country, were the least of his qualifications! Indeed, I most sincerely lament him, and perhaps ought still more to grieve for you, my dearest Edmond, who have lost the society of a friend so justly dear, of a companion so truly valuable. Yet let us not repine, all is surely for the best, and perhaps our own dissolution would be scarcely tolerable to us, if our life were not embittered by misfortune, and if we were not from time to time, as it were, habituated to death in the person of our friends.

"But, to turn from this melancholy subject to one not much less disagreeable. You have heard, I suppose, of our having been obliged to refuse to our Catholic fellow-subjects a request which madness alone could have granted. You have also undoubtedly heard of the unlucky burning of the House of Commons,[3] which some ill-disposed zealots have wickedly and foolishly wished to connect with that refusal. Many reports have indeed been circulated, all of which I think malicious, false, and nonsensical, and I entreat that you would persuade your English acquaintance to think so too, an opinion in which I trust they will be speedily justified, as a committee is now sitting to examine into the cause of the fire, which will, I conceive, be demonstrated to have been purely accidental, and to have taken its rise from certain ill-constructed flues belonging to those accursed stoves, by which, as you may remember, the Commons have, for some years past, been scorched and diseased."

---

[1] Niece of sir Joshua Reynolds, and daughter of John Palmer, of Torrington, Devon. She became the second wife of Murrogh O'Brien, marquis of Thomond.

[2] *See* p. 51.

[3] *See* "History of the city of Dublin," 1859, vol. iii., p. 141.

179.—Malone to Charlemont.—Sir Joshua Reynolds.

1792, March 13, London.—"I have by this night's post sent you—through the hands of Mr. Lees, of the post office—some of the proposals for my new edition of Shakspeare, to give to any persons who may take concern in such matters. I took the liberty of putting you down as the first subscriber in Mr. Robinson's book, because I would not lose the credit of your name; but you will have, of course, one of my own presentation copies, so you can either transfer your subscription copy hereafter to some friend who may be glad of so early an impression of the plates, or, if that should not be the case, must give that set to some one to whom it may be acceptable. If I have committed any error in this, be so good as to let me know, and it shall be set right. You have seen by the papers with what respect and decorum the funeral of our dear friend, sir Joshua Reynolds, was attended. We had four lord-lieutenants of Ireland, three dukes, three knights of the garter, two of St. Patrick, etc.,[1] and, what was better than all this, a most sincere and general regret for the loss of that most amiable man. I cannot but think that the physicians were extremely negligent, and that there would at least have been some chance of saving him if they had exerted themselves. He, unfortunately, had two friends, physicians, from whom he could not disengage himself, and of whom he had not the least opinion, nor had we who were about him; but Warren[2] was very early called in, I think in November, and we supposed whatever could be done by art, he would do; but he as well as the rest still persevered in saying that sir Joshua was depressed without a cause, and that if he would but exert himself, he might be well. This language was held almost till within a fortnight before we lost him for ever. When his body was opened, his liver, which ought to have weighed five pounds, was found to weigh eleven. One of the symptoms of this kind of complaint is, I am told, a great depression of spirits, and a disinclination to solid food, both of which he had, yet from neither of them did they attempt to draw any conclusion, while day after day they declared they could form no judgment what was the matter with him, nor did they ever require a consultation, or call in the aid of a surgeon to examine every part of his body, and to investigate the seat of the disease. At length, about ten days before he died, Heberden[3] and others were consulted, and they then at last pronounced his liver affected. It was then, indeed, so large and so hard that any one might have known that to be the case. Such wonders have been done in the East Indies by mercury in this disorder, that I cannot but lament it was not earlier discovered; but all speculation of this kind is now only a source of useless regret. It is supposed that the liver did not begin to grow to this extraordinary size till last September or October; but this is mere conjecture. On the dissection, it appeared that the optic nerve of his lost eye was quite shrunk and flimzy, but the other, which he had such constant apprehension of losing, was unimpaired. His will, which was made on the 5th of November, begins with this melancholy paragraph : 'As it is probable that I shall be soon totally deprived of sight, and may not have an opportunity of making a formal will, I desire that the following memorandums may be considered as my last will and testament.' It is perfectly clear and well drawn up, without any mistake, except making his old servant, to whom he has bequeathed a thousand pounds, a witness. This was discovered in time by his happening to mention that circumstance to Mr. Burke (the only one he did mention, except his having made him his executor), and remedied by a new publication in the presence of three witnesses. He consulted me last September about the new edition of his 'Discourses,' [1] and we revised them then, so they are now ready for the press. It was his intention to add to them Mr. Mason's translation [2] of Du Fresnoy, with sir Joshua's notes, which Mason has consented to; and I mean to print the whole, together with three 'Idlers,' written by our friend on the subject of painting, in a quarto volume. About five hundred copies will be sufficient, and a small number of the second volume of the 'Discourses' must be printed for those who bought the first. After the quarto shall be sold the whole will be re-printed in three volumes octavo. As to the odd numbers of his 'Discourses,' which you want in quarto, it will be impossible to get them, being long out of print; and he himself found great difficulty in making up a complete set when we revised them. I am just going to dine at our club, where, if I see Dr. Warren, I will certainly mention what you desire. I had great pleasure this day fortnight in finding a proposal which I made to have a marble bust or picture of our late friend (who was our founder) set up in the club-room, perfectly agreeable to every one, unanimously adopted."

---

[1] *See* "Works of sir Joshua Reynolds," edited by E. Malone. London: 1798, i., cxi.
[2] Richard Warren, M.D., died 1797.
[3] William Heberden, M.D., died in 1801.

180.—CHARLEMONT to RICHARD SHERIDAN.

1792, April 13, Dublin.—"Thinking exactly as you do [3] of Paine's very entertaining, very ingenious, but very dangerous performance, and too vehement a lover of the constitution in its purity not to be offended with its slanderer, I was, I must confess, vexed at the resolution to which you allude, and still more so at finding your name, without your consent as I well knew, published as one of the committee. Yet how to advise upon this occasion I do not well know. A serious public contradiction would not be pleasant, and possibly not innoxious. Perhaps the best method may be to expostulate between jest and earnest with some of your brethren on the liberty they have taken, and to declare in all companies, without being too serious, your real opinion of the tendency of the pamphlet, giving it, however, its due praise, for much merit it certainly has, and laughing at your being put upon a committee to disseminate that which you do not approve. This is, I confess, all that immediately occurs to me, and I only mention it for your consideration, and as a hint on which you may improve. Men connected with the popular party will often be brought into scrapes of this sort, as the people who do not sometimes go too far will seldom go far enough. But prudence and unvarying rectitude will finally prevail, and set everything to rights."

---

[1] First published in 1771.

[2] "The Art of painting," by C. A. Du Fresnoy, translated into English verse by William Mason, M.A., with annotations by Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1783.

[3] The date, 1792, in the MS., should probably have been 1791.

181.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1792, April 26, Belfast.—" Mr. Atkins, who has just erected a very handsome theatre, at considerable expense, is in danger of having his expectations blasted by the patentee Daly,[1] and goes to Dublin with a petition, backed by the most respectable people here, for the protection of a patent to himself. The former is a tyrant eager to invade foreign territories; the other is a mild monarch, tender of his subjects, and wishes only to defend himself. He has been known among us for a length of years, and is universally esteemed as a good and just man, and a humane, liberal manager. If your lordship can help him and us in this business, I need not solicit you to do it."

182.—Hon. ROBERT STEWART to CHARLEMONT.

[1792,] April 30, Mount Stewart.—" I should have acknowledged your last most flattering letter by obeying its injunctions earlier, had I not encouraged hopes that by making Dublin my way to England I might possibly have the happiness of delivering in person the manuscript,[2] which I now take the liberty to send by the mail coach. It has been copied by my father's clerk, I am afraid, inaccurately; and in a hand not much more intelligible than that which you found so difficult to decipher. Did I not confide much in your charity, and somewhat in your partiality, nothing could prevail upon me to commit these incorrect productions to the reperusal of an eye which will infallibly detect all their weakness. I beg you will accept them as a proof that your lordship's wish is to me a command; and its power cannot be more strongly exemplified than when in obeying it, I commit myself before a judgment in the extension of which it is my first ambition to stand high. I sail to-morrow for Portpatrick. I have been induced to prefer this passage from its shortness, on account of my eldest sister, who accompanies me to London, and suffers very much at sea. I shall remain some weeks in England, and propose passing the summer on the continent, probably at Paris, provided the king of Hungary, whose disposition appears at least as hostile as his father's, suffers it to remain in tranquillity. If I can collect any information worth conveying to your lordship I shall take the liberty of troubling you with a letter.

" I perfectly agree in your observation, that a right never to be exercised (provided arguments might not be drawn from the denial of one right to the resumption of another) is in fact no right at all. But I must suggest that it never was in my contemplation to assert that the time never could arrive when Ireland might with great prudence, propriety, and advantage exercise her right of trading to China. I merely spoke as to the present policy. It is impossible to argue commercial regulations on any other grounds than with reference to the present moment and existing situation of affairs. When the policy may alter depends on a change of circumstances, or, as far as it relates to my individual sentiments, on a superior conviction from arguments which I have not yet heard advanced. But to surrender the future exercise of that trade, would be as decided a breach of duty as to surrender the right itself."

---

[1] Richard Daly of the theatre royal, Dublin. *See* " History of the city of Dublin," ii., 1889.

[2] *See* pp. 145, 162.

183.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1792, May 12, Dublin.—"Sickness is often the source of acts of charity and benevolence. It softens the mind, checks our ardour, and by restraining us in the course of our usual pursuits, affords us leisure to think of our absent friends, and to bestow upon them those favours which hard-hearted health would have refused. All this is very fine, but a vulgar proverb would better have expressed my meaning: 'It is an ill wind blows nobody good.' Such a blast was not your sciatica, to which I am indebted for the receipt and entertainment of your two excellent letters. My malady is, alas, of a far different and more provoking nature, since, while it increases my wish for friendly correspondence, it deprives me of the power of indulging myself in writing. How then can I possibly follow you in the many points which you have suggested? In truth I cannot, my eyes forbid it, and I must perforce comply. The last news from France, even by the French accounts, is horrible and alarming to all who wish well to their cause. I have often said, because I have long known, that the French populace was naturally savage, and their native barbarity is now increased and exalted not only by anarchy and total want of subordination, but even by the ardour of their virtuous pursuit. No matter, all will yet turn out well. Much blood it is true may be spilt, but despotism will never return, and the bustle will end in freedom tempered by law, and in a constitution, even to you I will venture to say it, far better than that which their philosophers have devised for them. There never yet was a country where revolution was so indispensably necessary. Its government was tyranny, and that, too, by means of a widespread and still increasing noblesse, brought home to every man's door. In many arbitrary governments the people, as being at too vast a distance from the throne to experience its pressure, are at least quiet; but in France every peasant was not only a slave but felt all the effects of slavery. No wonder then if, upon the first opportunity, a nation so circumstanced should have rushed beyond the limits of political wisdom. But they are emancipated, and spite of the world will continue so, and the present system of anarchy will settle into regulated liberty. May these my prophecies prove as true as those which I formerly uttered respecting a parliamentary reform are now like to turn out. You know I have always said that necessary measure would infallibly take place in both countries, and I have now to congratulate both you and myself that England will probably take the lead. So much the better since Ireland must follow, and the great desideratum of a proper plan, that difficulty which has never yet been surmounted, will probably be obtained for us by the superior political wisdom of our elder sister. I say again, Ireland must follow, notwithstanding the patriotic endeavours of your wise townsmen to throw in our way the only obstacle that could be devised, the removal of which, for it must be removed, will be a task of labour and difficulty. If the papers I read respecting the oath of the 'United Irishmen' be written by Dr. Bruce, he is indeed an excellent writer. Pray let them, and such others as are of the same pen, be collected and published in a pamphlet. Nothing would be more useful, nothing is more necessary. Tell Joy that I have some time since sent him an account of my operations in favour of his friend, the ingenious perpetual motionist. As I have as yet had no answer to my letter I fear it may have miscarried. Poor Belfast, my heart grieves for her, yet she may be saved, since many wise and virtuous citizens still remain. My friend alone, who has, from the vigour of his constitution, escaped the dangers of contagion, is amply sufficient to save her from destruction, and perhaps even by degrees to preach her out of her madness."

184.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1792, May 23, Belfast.—"I take the liberty of sending you for your amusement a kind of literary curiosity. I have sometimes mentioned Mr. [Edmund] Burke to you in terms of some acrimony. I like to be candid, and to lay open (to your lordship at least) my very weaknesses. You will see by the enclosed that some degree of private resentment may have mixed itself with what all sound Whigs must feel on the score of his late public conduct, you will see that I am of the 'genus irritabile,' though I cannot add the 'vatum.' On finding that I had lost my codex (fairly or foully, let your lordship judge) I set about making another from some loose scraps of paper and some traces remaining in my memory, and I was once or twice on the point of boring you with the perusal, when I had the happiness of having you under my roof. But one consideration for you and another for myself checked me; for you, thinking it cruel to accumulate such a 'labor improbus' on your unavoidable fatigues; for myself, as it might have robbed me of one or two half-hours of a conversation which I so much prized. You will now be curious to see the unfortunate cause of this breach between friends whose acquaintance commenced so early as about the year 1750."

[Enclosure.]

i.—"1791, May 7.—Some time in the year 1780, or early in 1781,—when I had the honour of a pretty regular correspondence with Mr. Burke, and when he lamented in all his letters the decay of public spirit and both public and private virtue, expressing apprehensions that even the small portion of liberty which we yet enjoyed would be swallowed up in despotism,—I happened to mention a tragedy to him which had lain long by me, and which I told him, though I considered it by no means fitted for the stage, I conceived might possibly make some useful impressions in the closet, adding that I wished to submit it to him, and to him alone, for his opinion as to that, and at all events for his corrections. On his expressing a desire to have it I sent it over immediately, and in a little time after I received a letter from him, in which he styled it 'excellent,' an epithet which I was sure it did not deserve, but which pleased me as a proof of his partiality to any production of mine. From a subsequent letter it appeared that he had taken liberties with the manuscript, very different from those I wished him to take, and which my declared views in sending it to him, and the restriction under which I had communicated it, did not warrant. And there the thing rested for two or three years when, becoming a little uneasy, as was natural, and begging to have the piece returned to me, all the satisfaction I could get was that it had been mislaid and that he had searched for it in vain! This unavoidably produced some little discontent on my part, and that, a degree of coolness between both, so that our correspondence gradually died away, to my great regret; so great, that on my receiving kind compliments (verbal ones) from him by lord Macartney two or three years ago, I seized what I thought an opportunity of reviving our intercourse, and wrote to him in the most respectful and affectionate terms, without the least reference to what, I had thought, I had some right to take amiss, but to this letter I have not had the honour of any reply. It is not easy to forgive those we have treated injuriously, and from the late tergiversation of that eminent genius, I must think 'latet anguis in herba.'"

[Enclosure ii.—Edmund Burke to Haliday.]

1781, July 28, Charles Street, St. James' Square.—"Mr. Sheridan has at length got disengaged from his attendance on the parliament house and the play-house, and has found time to take his pleasure; and having the choice of the pleasures he should take, he has made the best and read your play. He tells me he is extremely struck with it, as original in its manner (or at least by differing much from the usual style) and highly affecting in several of the scenes. But he proposes to suggest some alterations to you from his theatrical experience, which he thinks you will not disapprove, and which he conceives will contribute to the success of the piece. He proposes to bring it on next winter. This I have no doubt he will do, but as to the alterations it may be some time before I shall be able to transmit to you his ideas on that head; for with a thousand good qualities he has the fault common enough to men of great genius as well as of no genius—I mean laziness and procrastination—faults, however, that have kept back pieces of his own as well as those of others, and have been (as indeed such faults usually are) more prejudicial to himself than to any one else. As soon as I can get his observations, I will send them to you. The merit of the piece will, I dare say, ensure its success, in spite of its spirit and principles, which are wholly alien to those which prevail at this time, and in this kingdom. I say nothing of public affairs, because I can say nothing of them which can be agreeable to either of us. I send you a poem that has just appeared, the work of a young man of Norfolk. I think the versification in general very good; and that the author shews a power both of thinking and inventing."

185.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1792, May 28, Dublin.—"I cannot be at all surprised that you should think yourself ill-treated by Burke, since, though we should suppose that your manuscript was lost by carelessness alone, that carelessness was most certainly in a high degree culpable. But be this as it may, his communicating your tragedy to Sheridan, not only without your permission, but contrary to what he must have known to be your wish, was undoubtedly unwarrantable, and can only be excused, or rather palliated by supposing that, struck with the merit of the performance, he meant even contrary to your intention, to cheat your modesty into fame. One thing, however, I wish to know which is not very clear from your letter. Has your memory, assisted by the scraps of paper, been able fully to repair the loss? Are you still in possession of a complete copy? If so, I cannot avoid flattering myself that you know of one, who, spite of his eyes, will read with pleasure, and spite of his friendship, as far as his abilities allow, judge with impartiality."

186.—Charlemont to Malone.

i.—1792, June 15, Dublin.—"You judged right respecting the sale of our poor friend's books.[1] They have, I believe, sold for almost the double of what the family got for them. During the week of the auction the Dublin world was book mad. All men bought, they who could and they who could not read, and the prices were more than London would have afforded. I am glad of it for two reasons, because Archer[1] is an honest man, and deserved success for the more than Irish spirit of his enterprise, and because four Scotch and two English booksellers were disappointed in their impudent expectation of finding Ireland a land of ignorance, where the best books might be purchased for a trifle. For my own part I did not attend. The sale was shocking to my feelings, and I wished to keep out of the way of temptation. I sent a very few commissions, and paid dear for what I bought. Think of my paying four pounds five for the translation of Demosthenes by Figliucci![2]

---

[1] *See* p. 187. The library of the right hon. Denis Daly was sold by auction at Dublin, in May 1792. It had been disposed of by his family for 2,300*l.*, and the purchaser of it gained nearly twelve hundred pounds by the sale at auction.

"The accurate account you sent me of our book and money transactions, while it afforded me pleasure by reminding me of my obligations to you, could not fail to shock me by the recollection of the trouble I have given you. But I comfort myself with the flattering persuasion that, in contributing to your friends' amusement, trouble is converted into pleasure, and shall therefore proceed with my impertinent commissions. Is a complete set of the 'Bibliotheca' of Fabricius to be had in London, and at what price? If they can be got, and are not too expensive, I would wish to have them uniformly and richly bound by the best London binder. Has the third volume of the Asiatic researches yet made its appearance? That I must have, as I have already the two former volumes. I would wish also for the Institutions of Timour, etc., with an English version by Major Davy and Mr. White;[3] Oxford, quarto, 1783. You see how unconscionable I am, and that too at a time when my eyes, by reminding me that I ought to write no more, remind me also that I have no great need of books. But the bibliomania, like many other passions, is but too apt to increase in proportion as the means of enjoyment diminishes."

186, ii.—1792, June 18, Dublin.—"You seem to wish to have your name removed from our list,[4] or rather to be admitted an honorary member. I have too much the esprit du corps about me willingly to consent to the former, as though your business, or your idleness, has prevented you from being efficient among us, it would be grating to my feelings to strike out from our society such a name. As to the latter expedient, it is impossible, since it is one of our fundamental rules that no Englishman or Irishman shall be admitted as honorary, a law which has never been trangressed but in favour of Burke, to whom such transgression was made a particular compliment, never hereafter to be made a precedent. Under these circumstances, I shall wait your further orders, which I beg that you would speedily communicate, and if you should persist, will endeavour to get the better of my reluctance."

187.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1792, June 26, Belfast.—"Seals were once protection to letters; not so now, any more than candles are to our windows, when illuminations have been imperiously commanded, and that to an extent never before practised. Of old it was deemed a sufficient evidence of our loyalty, and testimony of our joy, if our middle storeys blazed on birthnights or other joyful occasions; but yesterday we were ordered to illuminate every pane of glass from our cellars to our garrets inclusive; neither our bed-chambers nor our family sitting-rooms, left for the retreat of the inhabitants from the inspection of the mob or their tumultuous yells and execrations; nor the shop-windows of our tradesmen, where such a variety of wares are displayed in the day-time, and usually left for the following day's exhibition. This injunction, as every one coming from a certain quarter now must be, was most universally and punctually complied with; but last night we had, to the delightful music I have mentioned, an accompaniment of stones thumping against doors, and the shriller shivering of glass on the pavement; and this day I literally paced many streets on the shining fragments, amused with the labours of countless glaziers who, with all their industry, will not for a considerable time be able to efface these yawning devastations, as they must wait for the slower operations of the carpenter in repairing or renewing the shattered frames. As I write I can by the turn of my head see two houses nearly opposite to me, with all these exterior marks of ruin, though I can aver that a candle burned at every pane. Mr. C. Greg's hospitable house is a complete ruin; it was once on fire and would have been consumed but for the interposition of good colonel Leslie, and the owner, I believe,[might have been] murdered but for his own good legs. I saw in my pleasing morning's perambulation many other houses nearly in as bad a state, and I have seen several of our most respectable and truly loyal neighbours who had singular escapes in their persons; our sheriff, Mr. Skeffington, one who exerted himself with becoming spirit to preserve or restore peace and security—you will guess who I mean by the mob; our good general Lake kindly had ordered the retreat or tattoo to be beat at the early hour of eleven; but I heard many of the said mob swear they did not regard the drums, and would retire when they thought fit. Indeed, most of them were so drunk as probably not to know either what the drums said or themselves. To their immortal honour our yeomen infantry (so styled by a curious figure of speech, for there is not a yeoman among them) were distinguished by their zeal. Their commanders, very good men and true, have, like Fortinbras in the play,[1] 'shark'd up a list of landless resolutes.' This, my dear lord, is a true though brief sketch—I fear you will think it a long one—of our rejoicings last night, and you may depend upon its veracity, though I should not wish to have myself mentioned as your authority. On the whole I thought it no bad representation of a hostile enemy's taking possession of a town; and no bad method of diffusing and strengthening loyalty and an attachment to the present order of things; but Lake's 'lambs' are gentle indeed to some 'kids' I could mention. I wish I could most royally shut my eyes and my ears to what is going on, or lose the recollection of the halcyon days we enjoyed under your auspices, and those of your old yeomen."

---

[1] A Dublin bookseller.

[2] Printed at Rome in 1550.

[3] "Institutes political and military, written originally in the Mogul language by the great Timour, improperly called Tamerlane, first translated into Persian .. and thence into English . . by Major Davy . . With a preface, indexes, geographical notes, etc. by Joseph White, B.D."

[4] Of members of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

188.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1792, July 21, Dublin.—"Your townsmen, whom I once thought my friends, and whom I still love, grow yearly, with grief of heart I speak it, worse and worse. Their present conduct quadrates with no one principle of reason, and their hint to the army, however unavailing, is perfectly wicked. All that can be said for them is that, like the rest of the world, they are influenced by some malign conjunction of the stars which seems to have spread an epidemic madness through the greater part of mankind. You see how far I still wish to favour them when I ascribe their delirium to the influence of the heavens rather than to that of our Dublin Jacobins. Can a commercial town, daily rising in importance, wish to propagate throughout the island that bane to commerce, confusion? But the subject is too distressing, and I will say no more of it."

---

[1] "Hamlet," act i., scene 1.

189.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1792, August 7, Belfast.—"How wofully are we disappointed! The close of the eighteenth century, which was to have been marked with chalk as the era of widespread liberty and universal peace, is likely to be begrimed with coal as that of restored and confirmed despotism, injustice, and horrid bloodshed. I look at France with horror, at Poland with inexpressible pity, and down on Holland (must I say England too?) with contempt as a province of Prussia, and a dead putrefying carcase that once was animated by public spirit and magnanimity. Shall Asiatic Ockzacow make one scale of Europe's balance kick the beam, and shall the kingdom of Poland be swallowed up by voracious, overgrown Russia, and those scales keep even? These things are past my comprehension, and I should gladly draw off my attention from all political objects, foreign and domestic, and confine myself to my books and my business, but I cannot while 'humani nihil a me alienum puto.' The demon of discord flaps her wings over devoted France. She perched on Ireland in her way in the mask of union. This 'concordia discors' hath split our old societies. No 'United Irishman,' save one, will now visit our Whig club. Thank God we have but five of that fraternity, and all of this town, but a general coolness seems to have pervaded our country members. The 15th of June saw but one of these with seven of our townsmen in the clubroom. I am glad to find our present secretary (one of the 'United') has neglected to advertise our stated meeting for the 12th instant. It would have been miserably attended; it is better it should slip 'sub silentio.' At any rate that day was fixed on in compliment to a favourite prince, who appears less attractive since a late display of himself in a certain house. I rejoice that a subscription is set on foot for the poor Poles in England. I doubt not it will prove a liberal one. For the honour of Ireland I hope she will follow. I hope something may be done even here, though our present passion is for parades and palaver. There never was a more interesting spectacle than Poland now exhibits to any one who possesses a sentiment of justice or of humanity."

190.—MALONE to CHARLEMONT.

1792, August 7, Beaconsfield.—"I have been a long time indebted to you for two letters, and I suspect another antecedent to either of those has miscarried, as in neither of them you mention having received my pamphlet which I sent you in the beginning of May; unless, indeed, as it well might, it escaped your memory. I have been somewhat of a wanderer this month past or you should have heard from me much sooner. Having long wished to devote some time to a rummage of MSS. at Oxford, I accompanied my brother and his family there on their way to Ireland and stayed a fortnight there after they left it, and employed my time so much to my satisfaction that I mean to make another visit there next month. There are many curious anecdotes there of the most considerable persons of the last age, which I hope some time or other to give the world, but at present, what with my quarto Shakspeare, sir Joshua Reynolds' works, and Jephson's 'Roman portraits,' which he has put under my care, my hands are quite full. Neither the Shakspeare nor Jephson's work are yet in the press, and I have turned my back on them all, having resolved to idle for a month or six weeks. I have been here (Hall Barn, near Beaconsfield, the seat of the poet Waller) these ten days, and mean to go to-morrow to our friend Mr. Burke's, which is but a mile from hence. From thence I shape my course next week to Tunbridge, where I have promised to meet Mr. W. Gerard Hamilton, who had a paralytic stroke last winter, and though now tolerably well, is in a very uncertain state. Burke is perfectly well, and the youngest man of his age I know, though he is always representing himself 'emeritus' and unfit for service. I wish he would devote the remainder of his years to literature. I once proposed to him the revisal and enlargement of his 'Sublime and Beautiful,' to which at the end of thirty years he could make most valuable additions. But he pleads that his mind has now taken an entirely different bent, and his studies have been long diverted to other objects. Yet such is his versatility that I have no doubt he could yet do wonders. As I find your rules will not permit me to be an honorary member of your Academy, I cannot think, however unworthy or inefficient, of withdrawing from it, but pray have the goodness in the printed list to 'unfrock' me, for they regularly for several years have represented me as a clergyman.

"Before I left town I made some enquiries about the books you mention. I could find but one copy of Fabricius's 'Bibliotheca Græca,' and that cut so close that it will not bear binding anew; it will be very difficult to meet with a copy for that purpose, but I do not despair. Have you his 'Bibliographia Antiqua?' It is a most useful book. I met also with one copy of Paulus Jovius, but it was not good enough; Boydell's second number of the Shakspeare prints my brother carried over, and he paid for them; they have much disappointed people. I find Mr. Steevens has printed 'Romeo and Juliet' from my edition, having taken seventy out of eighty of the emendations. I know not much of the Miltons; one is by Boydell, another by Jefferies, another by Fuseli I think. My brother is a subscriber I believe to them all, and has carried over the only one yet published, so I would advise you to look at his books before you engage. Milton seems to me a very bad subject for prints. I have never got the spurious plays attributed to Shakspeare bound because two are yet wanting to complete the number. You shall have the second volume of the 'Loves of the Plants' and the East Indian books by the first opportunity. An offer was made about a month ago to take the duke of Portland or lord Loughborough into administration without including Fox. This, as might have been expected, was immediately rejected. This day's paper brings us an account of the deaths of lord Guildford and general Burgoyne, whom I saw very well in London a fortnight ago. It is not worth while to make you pay double postage by breaking in on another sheet, so I am reduced to end here."

191.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1792, August 10, Dublin.—"However I be afflicted, I am not surprised at the present state of the French. I know them well, and though heaven forbid that I should say they are not capable of liberty, yet most certainly they are by no means fitted for that constitution which their foolish philosophers have given them. Perhaps, indeed, it might be difficult to find a nation to which such a constitution was suited; if any, the Americans alone could bear it, whose manners would possibly have the power to rectify every blunder. But surely this is not the case with the frivolous, the luxurious, the barbarous French, epithets which I have always thought they deserved, but to which they have now indisputably proved their just claim. Voltaire, who had carefully studied them, draws their exact portrait in a very few words, 'Ils sont des singes et des tigres.' But for the poor Polanders my heart bleeds, and my understanding assures me that it ought to bleed for them, an excellent people, who have corrected a most vicious constitution into one under which they might live happily, who, excepting a very few nobles, loath to resign their ideal chance of sovereignty, are unanimous in their wishes. That such a people, in such a cause, should be crushed between the paws of an overgrown bear is, I confess, an event which exceeds the bounds of patience, and ought to be counteracted by every spirited nation. Individuals in England will, I doubt not, do all they can. Would I had money, and I also would subscribe, but the subscription of individuals is only a satire, and a just one heaven knows, upon the minister. Yet for all this I do not give up my comfortable hopes. France will yet be free, though probably not in her own way, and even Poland may yet be rescued—not from principles of virtue but from those of interest. The southern powers can never allow Semiramis to extend her empire over the whole north. Your account of my beloved Belfast is grating to my soul, but it could not well be otherwise. You now see that all your attempts at concord have produced nothing but a 'concordia discors.'"

192.—CHARLEMONT to MALONE.

1792, August 20, Marino, Dublin.—"You do me justice in supposing that one of my letters has been lost, since, though unable from the weakness of my eyes to write much, I have never yet left you unanswered, and most certainly did acknowledge with thanks and approbation the receipt of your pamphlet. If I could grudge you any pleasure I should think with some degree of envy on your fortnight spent at Oxford, as, exclusive of your particular business there, I know of no place where much time can be spent with more satisfaction. Ten times at least have I visited that venerable seat of the muses, and could with delight revisit it ten times more, perfectly agreeing with a travelled friend of mine whom I have heard declare that after having seen the whole world Oxford was most worthy of a traveller's attention.

"You have, it must be confessed, much work upon your hands, and are undoubtedly right in allowing yourself to idle for a few weeks, but surely your idleness is of a whimsical kind, and if poring over old manuscripts, with eyes already well-nigh worn out in the service, be a relaxation, I can scarcely guess what you would call labour.

"Burke is, indeed, a young man of his years, but the reason I take to be that if age should deprive him of one half of his ideas he would still have more left him than any man of five and twenty. If he has really given up politics, a cession which I wish heartily he had made twelve months ago, literature will be his only resource, and he will yet be able to delight and to inform mankind, though I cannot with you recommend a revisal of the 'Sublime and Beautiful,' since, notwithstanding the miraculous texture of his brain, thirty years may I fear have taken from him more in fire and in fancy than they have given him in experience.

"For the precarious state of my very old acquaintance Hamilton, I am most sincerely grieved. There was a man whose talents were equal to every undertaking, and yet from indolence, or from a too fastidious vanity, or from what other cause I know not, he has done nothing.

"When I mentioned Fabricius[1] to you I was, as you may recollect, desirous of possessing a copy of all his works; they are all of them curious, and in my present course of study necessary for consultation. A Dublin bookseller, now on the continent, has promised, if possible, to procure them for me. Boydell's second number I have, thanks to your brother, safely received. I do not see why people should be disappointed, as the large prints appear to me excellent, and the small ones are, I am told, to be engraved anew. The difference, indeed, between the proofs and the ordinary prints is inconceivable, a not unusual trick with London engravers, and this may, I doubt not, have depreciated the work.

"Respecting the Milton to be chosen you leave me undecided, and your brother is not in town. Milton does not seem to me a bad subject for prints, though, indeed, a very difficult one. The paradisaic scenes most certainly give the fullest scope to the genius of the landscape painter, and the figures, tho' but two, might be beautifully varied. heaven and hell might also produce incomparable pictures, but the genius of the artist must be in some degree analogous to that of the poet—a coincidence, I confess, not easy to be found. Dramatic poetry is, however, far better fitted for picturesque representation than the epopée, since the peculiar business of the former is to speak to the eye as well as to the ear, and every scene ought in effect to be a picture

"As for the spurious plays, though incomplete, I would wish to have them bound, and well bound, since they have been honoured by bearing the name of Shakspere. To complete them would be the work of a life, and as only two are wanting, blank sheets with the titles may supply their places. I have procured here the 'Loves of the Plants.' The East India books will be highly acceptable.

"The offer made to the duke of Portland was, I believe, a good deal more general than your intelligence seems to make it; the rejection was, however, unanimous, and one only thought it merited some little consideration. What will become of France? Was there ever such a scene of anarchy? I have always thought the French to be precisely what they have proved themselves, and Voltaire, who knew them accurately, well describes them—'Ils sont,' dit-il, 'des singes et des tigres.'"

193.—CHARLEMONT to RICHARD SHERIDAN.

1792, August 22, Marino, Dublin.—"I direct this note to Belfast, where I hope it will find you happy in the wholesome society of my ever dear friend Haliday, whose conversation is a better restorative even than his excellent prescriptions, though I sincerely believe these latter to be as good as can possibly come from any son of Æsculapius."

194.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

i.—1792, October 17, Belfast.—"If you have patience, my lord, to read or listen to that tedious, democratic stuff, I beg you may recollect the occasion of my first mentioning it to you, that I sent it in obedience to your lordship's commands—sacred things to me; that it was wrote a quarter of a century before the publication of Paine's monstrosities, or the commencement of this too subversive revolution. What a reverse in the affairs of France!"

---

[1] Johannes Albertus Fabricius, editor of "Bibliotheca Latina mediæ et infinæ ætatis," 1734, etc., died at Hamburg in 1736.

[Enclosure :] Prologue :—

"'Fas est ab hoste'—lo! polite Voltaire,
Thy voice hath rous'd 'une barbare insulaire,'[1]
A desp'rate Irish savage to advance,
And cope with thee, old champion of old France.

"Well hast thou said—you can both say and sing,
Some candour add, and you're of writers king;
Tyrant till then the bard[2] of nature fear,
Lest his ghosts haunt thee, or his witches tear;
Well hast thou said, 'In all the stores of time
No theme so suited to a British clime
(A clime where liberty and virtue shoot,
Vig'rous and lovely, from a rugged root)
As this of Brutus,' tho' scarce touch'd it lies,
As yet if seen, unwept by British eyes.[3]

"Moved by the charge the bardling of to-night
Leads Brutus, with a trembling hand, to light;
Warm from the heart, he writes but what he feels,
Yet from Voltaire four little words[4] he steals;
But with the plunder'd poet to make friends
He to the snarling critic makes amends;
'Tis only robbing Peter to pay Paul,
He freely gives the rest for him to maul.

"O! what a mark for pointed ridicule,
What a fine plaything for a critic fool,
To see in this refin'd, enlighten'd age
Plain, home-spun cockneys on the tragic stage!
Rough, rude plebeians near patricians placed—
It may be nature but it is not taste.

"'Shakespeare did so,' replies my critic smart,
'You still quote nature, what we want is art.'
Then know, to thy confusion, man of rule,
The stagyrite permits it in his school;
Moderns may follow where old Athens leads;
Greek choruses are Shakespeare's men of trades.

"Not that we would disgrace the buskin'd muse,
With peasants groaning in their wooden shoes,
Willing, submissive slaves she doth disdain;
Our malcontents are of a diff'rent strain;
Far, far above the wretched tools of state,
Tinsel'd and titled that on despots wait;
Bold, free-born blades, to make a tyrant stare,
Such once were Romans, and yet Britons are."

194, ii.—1792, October 25, Belfast.—"Give me leave to recommend two late publications to your perusal, extracts from one of which (for I have only seen it in the Review) I have read with very great pleasure, and the whole of the other with very great pain. I mean

---

[1] "An epithet which this very liberal poet and philosopher very liberally bestows on the inhabitants of these islands; vide ses œuvres passim."

[2] "'Les farces monstrueuses de Shakspeare qu'on a nommé des tragédies.' Vide 'l'épître dedicatoire de l'Orphelin de la Chine.'"

[3] "*See* the dissertation prefixed to Voltaire's 'Brutus.'"

[4] "I am Rome's consul—'Je suis le consul de Rome'; vide Voltaire's 'Brutus.'" Perhaps Voltaire was a thief also.—'Exuit patrem ut consulem ageret.'—Valerius Maximus."

Somerville's[1] history of a very important and interesting period. His character of king William is drawn with so just and excellent a pencil that I have insisted on Joy's devoting a column of his paper to it, as I think the publication of it will come very seasonably before the meeting of our Whig clubs, and at a time when it is become in some sort fashionable to scout a certain once favourite toast. Men of the little mind, to borrow an expression of Ossian, contemplate that illustrious hero in the narrow and contracted view of his being merely the sovereign of these islands, and that too with jaundiced eyes. I hope this book will convince them of what they have often been told, that they should cherish and revere his memory, not as the deliverer of these kingdoms only but of Europe, and as the champion and saviour of the independency of its kingdoms. I hope they are reprinting the work in Dublin. The other book is the history of borough representation (indeed of representation in general) in Britain. It is a statement of humiliating and alarming facts, and therefore should produce great and effectual impression if the public mind be not palsied. It is preceded by a long introduction, replete with historical, political, and legal knowledge. Pity that it is so incorrectly printed. The writer must be known as he mentions himself as the person who introduced our Flood[2] to the borough of Seaford; but it is probable you have anticipated me with respect to both publications.

"I returned on Monday from a long, painful visit to that dignified patriot and senator, Brownlow,[3] [who had been] torn and exhausted to a great degree of debility by a dreadful disorder.

"I rejoice with your lordship in this terrific duke's[4] advancing backwards; yet I cannot express myself so rapturously as one of your commissioners did to his friend in the country when the said duke had swallowed up Dumourier with his soldiers all. 'Joy, joy, joy, the day is our own.' Harding, my lord Camden's nephew, passed some days lately at Mount Stewart; it was a great mortification to me that I could not pass one of them with him; he is sensible, lively, and entertaining. A friend of ours, who was more fortunate, happened to be there when there had been a long pause in French news, which Harding readily accounted for by affirming that Dumourier was so completely surrounded that not a single courier could possibly slip through; adding with infinite satisfaction, 'I think our business (if I may be allowed the expression) is completely settled.' The next day he was at our friend's house. The mails had arrived. 'Well, sir?' 'Why, faith, the duke is not so great a general as I took him for.'

"I am glad that you had so large, and, I am sure, excellent a party at Marino during the general deluge. Society is the best antiplueritic in the world. When Tennison[5] was enjoying his bottle upon circuit, and Robinson[6] quaking in a dark corner of the room, as it thundered overhead, 'Come out of your hole, brother Robinson,' cried the other, 'believe me claret is the best antithunderatic in 'rerum natura.'"

195.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1792, October 29, Dublin.—"I admire your tragedy, and think that it may hold a first rank among all modern performances. But why do

---

[1] "History of political transactions and of parties," by Thomas Somerville, D.D. London: 1792.

[2] Henry Flood became M.P. for Seaford in 1785. He died on 2 December 1791.

[3] *See* vol. i. p. 432.

[4] Frederick, duke of York, commander-in-chief in Flanders.

[5] Thomas Tennison, justice common pleas, Ireland, 1761–78.

[6] Christopher Robinson, justice king's bench, Ireland, 1760–87.

I talk of modern? It is truly ancient; nay, I will go farther, it is Shaksperian, and, having said that, no more can be said. The conduct is good, the characters are true and well supported, the dialogue is excellent, and what particularly pleases me is, that you have contrived to allot to every principal personage a language peculiar to himself, an idiom, if I may so call it, by which he is distinguishable. Here is no frippery, no gewgaw tinsel, no glittering will-o'-the-wisp, but all is solid, and poetry in its senses. At the same time, I will by no means say that there are not passages which might be amended. A faultless poem is, I believe, always a dull one. The last act might possibly be more wrought up, and a few scattered sentences may be liable to criticism; but, upon the whole, it is a good and sound tragedy. Such are my real sentiments, which, however, I should have delivered with more certainty if your cursed cramp writing could have been read with a greater degree of fluency. The feelings evaporate while we are poking out the difference between an r and an n. How strange it is that one who writes so well should write so cursedly ill! And yet I perceive that you have done your best. I have not, however, yet done with it, but, as I have now an idea of the whole, shall, as far as my eyes will allow me, reconsider the particular parts. How vexatious it is that such a play upon such a subject cannot, I fear, now with propriety be laid before the public. The times, I doubt, are not fit for it, and it is too good, too impressive to be, at present, hazarded."

196.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1792, November 15, Belfast.—"I hoped for something worth mentioning in consequence of the meeting of our club, but I was disappointed. Mr. Hamilton Rowan popped in just as we were sitting down to dinner. Certain resolutions had been framed and adopted previous to our meeting, and it was to no purpose for a single individual to combat or attempt to modify them; nor was there much reprehensible, as I hope your lordship thought when you saw them in the paper. But, I suppose, we shall have no more meetings on the 4th of November.[1] We must not commemorate the greatest man of his age, and the greatest king that ever filled the throne of Britain—Alfred ruled but a part of it—lest we should give offence to the tender consciences of those soi-disant Catholics and ci-devant Papists. I think, with old 'Shandy,' that there is an infinite deal in a name."

197.—MALONE to CHARLEMONT.

i.—1792, December 3, London.—"I have often reproached myself for letting your letter remain so long unanswered, but I have for some months been in an unsettled state and have moved about much more than is usual with me. I went, as I told you I intended, to Oxford, and spent six weeks there very much to my own satisfaction. After another visit or two thither I hope to furnish you with a very curious book of anecdotes of most of the eminent men of the last century. Don't you like to know that Butler, the poet,[2] was a man 'of a middle stature, strong set, high coloured, a kind of sorrel hair, of a severe and sound judgment; a good fellow'; and that Waller[3] was 'somewhat above the middle stature, thin body, not at all robust; fine, thin skin, his face somewhat of an olivaster, his hair frized, of a brownish colour; full eye, popping out and working; oval faced; his forehead high and full of wrinkles; his head but small; brain very hot and apt to be choleric.' These little traits, from one who was personally acquainted with the persons he describes,[1] please me much. But unluckily they are written in a most miserable small hand, and several hours were consumed each day in transcribing a few pages. Mr. Windham came to me while I was at this work, and stayed for a fortnight with me at Oxford, which was a delightful accession. We had much talk on the melancholy state of public affairs; for just about this time the French armies began their triumph, and it did not require much foresight to see that the dangerous principle of equality which, like the followers of Mahomet, they are now propagating with the sword, must finally affect this country. We then talked of the necessity of counteracting the mischievous industry of those who wish to subvert our admirable constitution, by publications levelled to the capacity of the lower orders. But all the grave heads of houses there and elsewhere seemed to think everything perfectly secure, and that we had nothing to do but to look quietly on the storm which agitates our neighbours abroad. At length people seem to be roused from a kind of lethargy, and an association of the kind I have mentioned has been formed, which has had a considerable effect. Their first address—which I enclose—was drawn up by a young barrister, a Mr. Reeves,[2] author of the 'History of English law,' and does him great credit. Many similar associations are now forming all over the kingdom. Nothing could be so strange or so impolitic as Pitt's proroguing the parliament only a fortnight ago, at the very time that the French had got entire possession of the Austrian Netherlands and had the Dutch completely at their mercy—to the middle of January; an interval of near six weeks for timid men to brood over their fears, which indeed are not without foundation, and for wicked men to use all their arts to agitate or inflame the people. Windham and Burke have had many consultations with him during this last fortnight, and the duke of Portland, etc., and they have, I have good reason to believe, agreed most firmly to support every measure that may tend to give stability to our most excellent constitution, however they may differ in other points. With respect to a coalition or participation of offices, there has not been the least thought of it, at least on their side. I do not find, however, that Mr. Fox has been at any of these meetings, and I was yesterday told, but not from the best authority, that at a meeting at the duke's on Saturday (December 1) he had declared he would not accede to this temporary suspension of opposition; that he sees no danger; that the French revolution or the French principles cannot affect us. If this be so, he and Sheridan and Erskine and Grey will be on these points a phalanx by themselves, and Fox will be at the head of that republican party which is now beginning to lift up its head and to utter publicly sentiments which they would not have dared to mutter two months ago. At length Pitt has seen the folly of keeping men's minds in a state of suspense, and on Saturday came out a proclamation for the meeting of parliament on the 13th of this month, and for the embodying the militia on the 14th. On Wednesday there is to be a great meeting of all the merchants of London, when they will probably enter into similar resolutions with those which they entered into for the support of public credit in 1745. The Tower has for some days past been put in a posture of defence, and a body of the artillery stationed there; not from any information of an intended attack upon it, but lest, by some tumultuary and unforeseen rising of misguided people, the immense store of arms should be seized. A great number of troops are also drawing to the counties in the neighbourhood of London. All these movements, however wise or necessary precautions, have had a great effect on the funds and sunk them twenty per cent. I have no doubt that before this day is over they will be at 65. For my own part, I think no caution can be too great, and that the most rigorous measures should be taken to crush, while we can, principles which tend to the subversion of the most beautiful system of government that ever was formed, and which he who follows knows not where they will lead him. Whenever parliament meets, Windham will, I think, make an admirable speech on these subjects; and the duke of Portland will probably mention lord Guildford's dying words to him:—'Not to suffer a single stone of the constitution to be moved,'—an injunction which he firmly means to observe. These declarations from the heads of opposition will certainly have great weight, and contribute to quiet men's minds. I am heartily sorry that Fox should not coincide with them The ground that he means to stand on is a parliamentary reform. If ever the old stale answer of ministers, which has so often been improperly employed, was seasonable, it is now. For my own part, were a scheme of change of any kind to be now dictated by the wisest men that ever lived, I should at present oppose it. The nation will presently see what it is to have a cabinet chiefly composed of boys, who are acting without any system, and merely on expedients. I know, from the best authority, that a fortnight ago they had not decided what part they should act with respect to foreign politics, and had no plan ready to be laid before parliament.

---

[1] Birthday of William III.

[2] Samuel Butler, author of "Hudibras."

[3] Edmund Waller.

---

[1] *See* "Letters written by eminent persons." London: 1813.

[2] John Reeves, founder of the "Loyal Association," and subsequently one of the king's printers.

"In the meantime, what are you doing in Ireland? And how very inconsistently is Burke acting in sending over his son[1] to you, and exciting in Ireland that very confusion which he is so zealous to prevent here? . :

"After I had written the above, I was obliged to go into the city upon business. The stocks have not verified my prediction, they have only sunk to 74. This morning the king's proclamation was pulled down at an early hour in every part of the town in which it had been pasted, as Mr. Reeves's address, printed on a broad sheet of paper, and stuck up in various places, had been served every day last week. The villains who wish to throw all things into confusion perform these feats in the night or before day-break. In the city to-day it has been resolved to have parochial meetings in every parish, to ascertain the inhabitants, that we may know our friends from our enemies, and who are the authors of these audacious proceedings. For several weeks past not less than four thousand per week of Paine's despicable and nonsensical pamphlet have been issued forth, for almost nothing, and dispersed all over the kingdom. At Manchester and Sheffield the innovators bribe the poor by drink to hear it read. The news on the 'Change was that the citadel of Antwerp, after a vigorous defence, had at length capitulated, and the French—who have already navigated the Scheldt—are actually on their march into Holland, under the conduct of Maranda, a South American Spaniard, who by the by is the man—and not Dumourier—who achieved all the success they have obtained. He is an enterprising, desperate, and experienced officer, and fitted for tumultuous times like the present. If this news be true, a war is inevitable.

---

[1] Richard Burke.

"I had intended to have transcribed a memorandum that I found at Oxford relative to your lordship's family, but find, if I attempt it, I shall lose the post, so will defer it till to-morrow. This is an unconscionably long letter, but indeed it was very requisite to make up for my long silence. . I have not time to read this over, so you must excuse and supply omissions, etc."

197, ii.—1792, December 4, London.—"That I may not be interrupted, I sit down immediately after breakfast to finish, or rather to add a postscript to my letter of yesterday.

"In a transcript made by Antony Wood from the register of the parish of St. Mary Magdalen in Oxford, I found the following entry: 'William Caulfield, son of George Caulfield, recorder of the city of Oxon, and Martha Taverner, daughter of Richard Taverner of Wooleaton, esquire, as baptized in St. Mary Magdalen's parish church, 8th October, 1587.' Then follow the baptismal entries of eight other children of the same George Caulfield; after which is this note: 'William Caulfield before mentioned, son of me, George Caulfield, was made lord Caulfield, baron of Charlemont in Ireland.' In a subsequent entry I found: 'George Caulfield (father of the above) was buried October 15, 1603.' Now, unless either Wood, in transcribing the register, or I, in copying him, have made some mistake, here is a great difficulty; for I find your ancestor, sir Toby Caulfield, was not created a peer till December 1620. Antony was in general very accurate; and therefore I am inclined to suppose that I have transcribed the figures 1603 hastily and inaccurately, and that it should be 1623; for the old gentleman appears to have made this entry himself, and to be sufficiently warranted in saying his son William was made a peer, he being joined in remainder in the first patent to sir Toby. But if the father was buried, according to my transcript, in 1603, he could not take notice of a creation that did not take place till seventeen years afterwards. When I go next to Oxford, I will examine the original register. In all events, I thought this little memorandum worth preserving, as it ascertains that the statement in your genealogy is erroneous, for it makes sir Toby's nephew, William, the son of a Dr. James Caulfield, whereas it appears he was the son of a different person.

"On a general retrospect, I fear my letter of yesterday may have given you an impression of greater danger and alarm than really subsists here, though there certainly does subsist a good deal of the latter. But I hope and think that the numbers of those who wish for innovation and confusion will be found very small. A very few persons would be able to tear down all the proclamations in the night, as well as the paper that I sent you, which has galled the republican party extremely, and they probably have employed inferior agents for this purpose. The notion of the Tower being put in a state of defence must appear very formidable at a distance, though it certainly has been only from precaution; but when that and the other circumstances which I mentioned to you yesterday get to the Land's End in Cornwall, how much will they be magnified? Of late a vast number of country banks have been established in various counties, which have made great fortunes with small capitals: these alarms will certainly produce a run on them, and many of them will be broke. Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Lord Temple were both dismissed from the service on Saturday for the part they have acted, and their commissions given to others. I believe they are allowed to sell. Did you observe several odd sums subscribed for the assertion of French liberty, as it is called? 52*s.* frequently,—this is the price of two muskets. Can any one imagine that five or six hundred pounds, for that is all they have got, will be transmitted to a nation now over-running the world, and who, besides, have one of the most fruitful mints that ever were employed? But these same muskets may either be employed at home, or supposing nothing of that sort in contemplation, those respectable persons, Mr. Thomas Paine and Mr. Horne Tooke, the latter of whom is the principal agent in this business, may employ the money in dispersing seditious pamphlets through England.

"The sanguinary ruffians who now govern France, having expended the whole of the church property, are now living on that of the emigrants, whom they have proscribed, whether they had taken arms or not, without mercy. The total number of those who have fled amounts to near two million. There are now three thousand priests alone in this town, and near four thousand in Jersey. Many of the persons who wished originally for a proper reform of grievances which they indubitably lay under, are here in the greatest want; among the rest the duke de Liancourt.[1] Much the greater number, however, of these have been assassinated in France. What a surprizing similarity there is in many instances between their proceedings and some of ours in the last century! At first the 'Covenant' was all in all; but as in that some regard was paid to the king, when it was necessary to get him out of the way and to create a republic, then the engagement was the only thing, and the 'Covenant,' as one of the writers of the time expresses it, was an almanac out of date. Thus, in their boasted constitution, which was to be the envy and astonishment of the world, and to which they took twenty oaths, they swore to be true to the law, the king, and the nation; but they have since found it convenient to leave out the middle term.

"Since I began this, a gentleman has called on me, who had heard that four persons were sent this morning to the Tower, but I doubt the truth of this report; though without doubt the ministry had good information, or they would not have used such strong words in the proclamation.

"I have at length picked up for you a very bad and mutilated copy of the 'London Prodigal,' wanting eight or ten leaves; but it is the only one that has come to sale these ten years: I can now therefore, at last, bind up the plays falsely ascribed to Shakspeare. Mr. Steevens' fourth edition in fifteen volumes in octavo comes out in February next, and I hope before that to put my quarto to the press."

198.—STEPHENSON to CHARLEMONT.

1792, December 5, [Dublin,] Paradise Row.—"Being informed that a militia will be embodyed and put on the establishment at the meeting of parliament, I beg leave to represent to your lordship that my ancestors were among the most active Protestants in the county of Armagh in every stage, and they served throughout the war from the beginning of the Revolution. My father in 1745 raised and disciplined a company of militia, which mustered 411 strong, and in the beginning of April 1746, obtained a captain's commission at a time that the rebels were every hour expected to land to join the Papists, who were then ready to receive them. I still hope to keep up the respectability of my family in the county of Armagh, and, if a militia is raised in the county and you are pleased to continue me in the rank my father possessed, I will be bold to say I shall have as good a company and as steady friends to the Protestant interest in church and state, and to the house of Brunswick, as any in Europe. I beg leave to observe to your lordship it is not the magnitude of estates that attaches man to man, it is the cause and their confidence in the leader."

---

[1] Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, author of "Voyages dans les Etats-unis d'Amerique."

199.—Malone to Charlemont.

1792, December 14, London.—"I send you, according to promise, some of the small tracts and single sheets which have been published here for the instruction of the people, and to serve as antidotes to the poison that has been infused into them. Would it not be very desirable, besides reprinting the single sheets for dispersion, to reprint the whole, together with Reeves's paper, in a small pamphlet, which I believe, if printed in the form and size of Dr. Vincent's discourse, might be sold for sixpence.

"The house sat till five o'clock this morning. I have not seen any one to-day, so can only speak from the newspaper. Fox made a very long speech, and one more answerable, in my opinion, than ever he delivered in Parliament. Windham in his answer was, I think, evidently crippled by his friendship for him, as I expected he would be. Lord Lansdowne, in the house of lords, and Fox, in the other house, for the comparatively small object of assailing ministry, have thrown out some things respecting Ireland that will tend strongly to disturb the peace and to shake the whole property of that kingdom. Finding here one universal blaze, I will not say of loyalty, but of attachment to king, lords and commons, they are driven to try what can be done by inflaming the Catholics of Ireland. For my own part, I am very far from wishing the present administration well. On the contrary, I live entirely with the opposition and most heartily wish they had the government of the country. But the question is not now whether we shall have this administration or the other, this king is a good or a bad one, but whether we shall have any king in this country, or a protestant parliament in Ireland; and for this reason, at the present juncture, and while France professes to plant her baleful tree, falsely called the tree of liberty, in every part of the world (which in this country, where we suppose we possess it already, can only mean licence and anarchy, assassination and plunder), in such a juncture, I should certainly act the part that my friend Windham acts. I expected the house would have been much fuller; there were only 340 members besides the tellers; 50 for Fox's amendment (which was to leave out the whole of the address, except the words of course), and 290 against it. In the lords they did not divide. I hope the universal contempt in which lord Lansdowne is held by all parties here, will prevent his words having any weight in Ireland. I have written to you so fully lately that I will make no apology for adding no more at present.

"There is a little short argument at the end of the 'Pennyworth of truth' which I believe will have great weight with your friends in the north, if they should incline to join with the Catholics, as I have heard at present they do: 'They will perhaps tell thee John that thou hast nothing to lose, and that any change may be to thy advantage; but thou hast a body and soul; and if thy body goes to the gallows, and thy soul to the devil, won't that be a loss, John?' On second thoughts, however, this would be more applicable in the south or the west, but they are not 'godly' enough for the latter part."

200.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1792, December 16, Belfast.—"We have been amused here by accounts of negotiations carrying on with your lordship, on the part of that Castle [of Dublin], which till lately disgraced itself by paying such small attention and so little respect to your lordship, as argued egregious folly and something still worse. Some suppose that these visits or applications, to a nobleman not a hundred miles from Rutland-square,[1] have the Catholic business for their object; others, this new green-horn corps, of liberty and equality, which gives much offence to all good and well-disposed people. Be it what it may, I should be glad that government were in their distress looking up to your lordship, as I am sure they will get the most salutary counsel, and I wish I was equally sure that they would have the grace to follow it; I may as well say distress, for I do believe administration, 'hic et ubique,' are at their wit's end,—and after no long journey. Were it not that Mr. Pitt is in the habit of shewing his teeth when he dare not bite, and raising his hand when he dare not strike, I should conclude that we were on the eve of a war; yet I am at a loss for the object. I do not believe that the French mean to enter Holland; the very measure of opening the Scheldt must alienate the Dutch patriots from them, commerce being the strongest feature in Dutch patriotism; and I can hardly think that we shall involve ourselves in most inconvenient and hazardous hostilities, merely to keep the Scheldt shut, in pursuance of iniquitous treaties, in the face of the 'rights' of 'rivers.' Still less can there be any dread that France should intermeddle with Britain, though this post haste and rummage through the land are thought by some to betray symptoms of that absurd fear.

"The Catholic ambassadors, I am told, gave some marks of their good sense as they passed through this town, condemning the extreme violence of the 'Northern Star'[2] as being more likely to injure than serve the common cause. Some say that people were hired to draw their carriages from the inn, and two or three boys to huzza before them; I was out of town. Had the minister conceded to those bills which he caused to be so repeatedly rejected in our house, and which, copied from the British statute book, tended to make it equally uninfluenced with that of Britain—and God knows that was not much—had he not insulted us by such avowed and profligate corruption,—had he not resisted all reform in the Scotch boroughs, which exhibit the most infamous mockery of representation,—had he not shamelessly set his face, in the last session, against a reform in that of England, his pretended zeal for which was one main rung in the ladder by which he mounted—and had our friend Burke never burned his fingers with the French Revolution—what a world of mischief, possibly of general confusion, might have been prevented! But, wholly intent on finance, his eyes were shut to the growing change in the public mind, the rising temper of the times,—to the things which belonged to his peace, though now they are hid from his eyes;—at least I fear it,—and these new 'irritamenta malorum,' these additional, most unmerited pensions, to the amount of 12,000*l.*, justify that fear. We shall now see whether, like Addison's 'angel,' he can 'ride in the whirlwind and direct the storm,'[3] or whether he is to become a fallen one. We are much delighted here, as I am sure your lordship must be, with Fox's temperate yet firm speech in the Whig club. The king and the people should look up to him."

---

[1] In which Charlemont house stood.

[2] Newspaper published in Belfast.

[3] "The Campaign," poem to the Duke of Marlborough, 1705.

201.—MALONE to CHARLEMONT.

1792, December 22, London.—"You probably have been much surprised at some of the movements here during these last ten days. C. Fox, as I told you he would, set off at a very smart pace towards republicanism; but, finding the whole people of England against him, has become somewhat more moderate. After what I mentioned to you in my former letters, it might seem strange that lord Edward Bentinck and some others should have been found in his first division, where he had only 50; but the fact is that the duke of Portland has such a regard for him, that he could not prevail on him self to desire his friends to go against him, and by the mediation of certain persons who went between [and] [1] said perhaps more to each than the other warranted [had he] [2] left them to themselves; saying, however, that Fox had faithfully promised him to be extremely moderate. This moderation you have seen by the motions. Both the duke and lord Fitzwilliam and the duke of Bedford were against any amendment to the address, the first day. and on the second, when Fox made that disgraceful motion—I mean disgraceful to the nation—to send an ambassador to the present gang who rule in France, he would not venture to divide, several of his friends having either declared they could not go with him, or actually going away to the country. It is supposed, had a division been insisted on, he would not have had twenty with him. Burke read a long amendment to his motion of that night, and having been up the two preceding nights till 3 o'clock, begged most earnestly that he might have time to digest it into better form; but Fox would not consent. Within these few days, however, finding the tide run so strong against him, he has signed one of the associations, but with no very good grace, having before declared in the house that he had advised his friends in the country to sign, whatever might be their sentiments, lest they should be thought disaffected. There is, I think, at present but one voice in the nation,—putting Fox, Grey, Sheridan, and a few more, out of the question. That vain fellow, Erskine,[3] had been going about this month past, saying he would make a speech in defence of Paine's nonsensical and impudent libel on the English constitution, that would astonish the world, and make him to be remembered when Pitt and Fox and Burke, etc., were all forgotten. After speaking for four hours, and fainting in the usual form, the jury, without suffering the attorney-general to reply, or going out of the box, found Paine guilty. I send you a very curious and authentic account[4] of the assassinations at Paris in September last, which is so interesting that I imagine you will not begrudge the postage."

202.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

i.—[1793,] January 15, Dublin.—"Sheridan,[5] by my desire, wrote to you from the house, but, spite of my eyes, I cannot leave you uncongratulated. Never did I witness such a day in parliament. Such was my delight that I had scarcely power left me to laugh at the ludicrous oddity and comical amazement of many long faces in the assembly.[1] Is not Ponsonby a fine fellow? Shannon, too, has most cheerfully acceded, Conolly seconded, and government assents and trembles. For heaven's sake, let our people now be calm; nothing can possibly embarrass us but their violence."

---

[1], [2] MS. torn.

[3] Thomas Erskine, subsequently chancellor of England.

[4] Not in the collection.

[5] Richard Sheridan, M.P. *See* p. 226.

202, ii.—1793, February 1, Dublin.—"Supposing that the business of the goldsmiths' corps may already have reached you, I must inform you in a few words, that, to say the least, that corps has acted a most imprudent part. It is one of my own corps, but, for years past, has neither asked nor taken my advice. I have suffered on this account much uneasiness, and a great deal of trouble, but am thoroughly contented with the last, as I have reason to flatter myself that my efforts have been highly instrumental, not only in defending, but in adding new sanction to the Volunteer institution. I can write no more, but must content myself with my hearty prayers that all may be quiet amongst you. All our success depends upon your firm tranquillity and rational expectation."

203.—HENRY JOY to CHARLEMONT.

1793, February 22, Belfast.—"I enclose you a very particular report of the Dungannon debate, which decides the opinion of Ulster on some essential points. Having taken it down myself, I am certain it is correct and impartial. I should be highly gratified by your opinion on the result of the business, and on your lordship's hope (if any there be) of a reform."

204.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1793, February 26, Dublin.—"My still declining health precludes the possibility of answering your last letter. It ought not, however, to remain wholly unanswered, but I must have patience, and content myself with sending you a few incoherent sentences to be by you connected. I did indeed exult exceedingly, perhaps too sanguinely, yet one cause of exultation still remains unimpaired; I continue to rejoice in the firmness of my friend Ponsonby, and the more so, as that firmness will probably one day carry our point. I have also reason to be pleased at having satisfied myself and disburdened my own conscience by two long interviews with Hobart and the lord lieutenant, in which I have told them more and plainer truths than they have ever heard since their inauspicious arrival in this distracted country. These interviews were followed by what gave me still more pleasure; eleven county members, most of them your friends, demanded an audience, and amply confirmed all I had said, adding their superior weight to my weak endeavours. Such is the credit side of my account, which is, alas, so greatly overbalanced by the per contra, that neither my eyes nor my spirits will allow me to enter into its tedious articles. I cannot entirely agree in your ideas concerning the French war. My utter detestation of that people may perhaps in some degree bias me against them. For a week they were old Romans, but have ever since been savage Gauls. I exulted in their emancipation, but I shudder at its effects, which, by defiling the white robe of the goddess with human gore, by dressing her in the horrid garb of tyranny, have put even liberty out of fashion. The war is undoubtedly an unpleasant one, but there is one cause to which you do not seem to advert. It has been the uniform policy of England, for at least a century past, to keep out of the hands of the

---

[1] In reference to a resolution proposed by William Brabazon Ponsonby on measures for a more equal representation of the people in parliament.

French the long stretch of sea coast which the uniting Holland to Flanders must necessarily put into their power, the possession of which would infallibly deprive these islands of that naval superiority on which depends their existence as a commercial and powerful state. This has been the object of every war, of every peace, hence the demolition of Dunkirk, hence the barrier treaty, etc., etc., and hence probably the best and most rational excuse for the present hostilities. Respecting the volunteers of this city, they are, alas, no longer what they were. They now have undoubtedly put themselves in the wrong; with me they have been long so. I have indeed been their nominal general, but for many years past they have in no one instance asked my advice, nor have they ever taken it when offered unasked. Their follies have brought shame upon the institution. Upon a late occasion their conduct has been absolutely indefensible. No Egyptian hierophant could have invented an hieroglyphic more aptly significant of a republic than the taking the crown from the harp, and replacing it by the cap of liberty. The corps which adopted this emblem, and gave itself the title of 'National Guards,' was on all hands condemned, yet all my endeavours could not prevail on many other corps to avoid sharing their fate by adopting them as brethren. Add to this a refusal to attend me round the statue of King William on the 4th of November, the anniversary of their institution, a ceremony which had never till then been omitted, their silly and useless affectation of French summons, French appellations, etc. No man is more likely to err than I am, but I will never be led astray with my eyes open, nor shall even the love of popularity, certainly one of my darling passions, ever induce me to deviate from that which my best judgment assures me is right. It has been their custom to assemble on St. Patrick's day, but I have never yet attended them on that occasion, and most certainly shall not begin now. The anxiety their conduct has occasioned me is beyond expression, and neither my health nor spirits can any longer bear it; yet I love the name, and therefore lament. I have just now received a letter from Joy, to which, as my eyes render it impossible for me to give a full answer, I must beg leave shortly to reply through your conveyance. Thank him for his enclosure, which I have not yet been able to read. Some of the resolutions were excellent, others, perhaps, too violent; but, upon the whole, the business went off well. Perhaps a firm and respectful petition to parliament might have been better than the resolutions. Respecting reform, it will, I fear, be strenuously opposed, yet our numbers will, I trust, be greater than ever. What I some time since foretold to you has exactly come to pass, and that right of suffrage, which the north has so greatly contributed to acquire, is now used by every anti reformist as the strongest argument against our universal wish. Much, however, will, I trust, be done even in this session, and some good foundation will be laid Much internal reform will, I doubt not, take place, and pension and place bills will pass, the latter of which is certainly a most desirable object. By next Saturday I shall be better able to judge than I now am of Mr. Ryder's business. And now adieu. Though this incoherent letter has been written at twenty intervals, my eyes are so weary that I can scarcely see the paper."

205.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

i.—1793, March 13, Belfast.—"You have heard of the 'muck' which was run in this town on Saturday[1] last by those more than savages, his

---

[1] March 9.

Majesty's light dragoons. The wretched Indian, rendered mad by arrack and the loss of his all at play, draws his bric and kills and wounds all he meets in his race till he is knocked on the head. Our doughty assailants, without having either of these excuses, at an early hour and a very short time after they had marched in, sober from everything but unprovoked rage, sally forth with their drawn sabres, and cut and slash indiscriminately at all they meet, wounding several, amongst them some of our respectable and quiet townsmen (I must not call them citizens) and a spirited magistrate, striving to protect defenceless people by restoring order, while the streets were filled with the cries of terror; and this from no sudden impulse of fury, for they had determined on the exploit many days before they left Lisburn, where, it is said, it had been whispered to them to spare neither carcase nor limb. Had they confined themselves to their less heroic feats of breaking windows and pulling down signs,—heads which were much respected by all but slaves and tyrants when they were put up, and that in such obscure corners, that scarcely any of us had ever heard that such things were—it might have been endured. Mirabeau and Dumourier fell, but the venerable Franklin, from his greater elevation, and being well fortified with 'robur et æs triplex,' [1] baffled their gallant efforts. A second irruption was determined on for the following night The coffee house was to be stormed,—it would, however, have been well garrisoned—and a painting of the demolition of the Bastille, which had served to decorate our premature processions in honour of French and Polish liberty, was to be carried off as 'spolia opima.' Tell me not after this of French barbarity or French insubordination. Further mischief, however, was prevented by the meeting of the magistrates with general White at their head,—'great on the bench, great in the saddle'—and an assurance from that 'prætor' that peace should be preserved that night and the troops sent out of town next morning. Four had marched in on Saturday, and two came in on Monday, but all the six were immediately ordered away, without doing any further mischief than cutting off the cheeks of a harmless man who happened to be within the range of their broadswords. The committee, I have been just told, are now sitting to inquire into the origin and cause of this disturbance; but that the general differs from the rest, insisting that the only object of their interference is already obtained by the restoration of tranquillity; while others allege, and not without some seeming reason, that the inquiry is necessary to vindicate the reputation of the town, the honour of law, and for the satisfaction of justice. He threatens, it is said (but this I will not vouch for), in case they persist, to send for these lambs on horseback back again. However, the proclamation by last night's mail disarming or at least disembodying the Volunteers, at a time when they were never more needed for that defence and protection which we have experienced from them, will, no doubt, satisfy all parties. Good God! that the town of Belfast—distinguished for its attachment to the constitution, from and before the Revolution, and to the house of Hanover, through the Tory and crooked politics of queen Anne's later years; and ever since its accession, in the years 'fifteen and 'forty-five, when we armed in its support, and in that last rebellion garrisoned, at the request of government, the town of Carrickfergus with three hundred well-appointed and well-disciplined Volunteers at our own expense, who contributed in an uncommon degree to the unbought defence of the land, support of the laws and preservation of good order, when half the world was leagued against Britain, and we were abandoned by her fleets and our own army

---

[1] Described as "made of copper and hung with iron."

—that we should be thus insulted and dragooned, on very frivolous pretexts, and the laws of the land wounded through our sides! By heaven! as 'Shandy' says, it's too much. I was abroad when this riot happened, and did not get home till last night."

205, ii.—1793, March 14, Belfast.—"I must, from a principle of justice, plague you with a short postscript. I conversed at some length this day with one of the committee, who assured me that the general [Whyte] showed the utmost zeal in restoring and securing the quiet of the town. He pledged himself for the peace of it on Sunday, and cut off all danger of farther disturbance by ordering out those equestrian miscreants on Monday. There is no doubt that the riot was premeditated, and that a list of the proscribed persons and houses was furnished to the ruffians."

206.—Charlemont to Haliday.

i.—1793, March 20, Dublin.—"I have been long silent, much longer indeed than my heart would have wished; but I could not help it, my eyes would not obey the dictates of my inclination. Your letters also were not of a nature to be answered either briefly or without affecting my nerves, and they, alas, have had already too much to irritate them. The behaviour of the military was horrible, yet I am glad that it has given general White, whose character is excellent, occasion to conduct himself so very properly. Your townsmen also have done themselves honour by shewing their sensibility to good, proper, and polite conduct. The extension of the proclamation exceedingly vexed me, but it was not in my power to avert it. Indeed, many in your town, though I am thoroughly persuaded very far from a majority, have acted sadly and foolishly. Their conduct has been absolutely indefensible, and even they who loved them best, and wished most to palliate their misdeeds, have been compelled to hang down their heads in silence. No lover of the constitution, no well-wisher to peace and good order, could possibly approve, and the utmost that could be done was to lay the blame, where certainly it ought to lie, on the wild, not to say criminal, effervescence of a mad minority. The interests of their country, both political and commercial, which, notwithstanding all their errors, I am confident they hold dear, have been greatly injured by them, and if they wished well, as I doubt not many of them did, they have completely counteracted their own wishes. You know my love for Belfast, which even now I regard as a faulty child. Her merits have, indeed, as you well observe, been great, but what has she lately been? What has she lately done? She has contributed, principally contributed to the completion of that which (O may my prophecies be false!) will end in the ruin of all that is dear to us, and the consequences of which she herself will be one of the first to feel."

206, ii.—1793, May 14, Dublin.—"Why will you ever suppress any letter written to me, when you must be assured that to be made acquainted with the sentiments of your heart, be they what they may, must ever be satisfactory to me, and when you cannot doubt that what you are pleased to call your nonsense is peculiarly suited to my taste. Sorry indeed I am that a town, which, though it is impossible for me to approve the conduct of some among its inhabitants, must ever be dear to me, should find itself under the circumstances you complain of. Yet, in truth, its imprudence, to call it by no worse a name, has been the cause not only of its own misfortunes, but has contributed not a little to spread a baneful influence over the whole kingdom. The bow has been strained till it has broken, the musket has been so overcharged as by bursting to wound those whom it might otherwise have defended. For a farther explanation of my meaning, vide an answer I lately wrote to a letter from the worthy Mr. Joy, if he shall have thought it worth while to preserve a scrawl so inadequate and unconnected. You ask me what is meant by this unusually protracted adjournment of Parliament. Indeed I do not know, as I have never been, and probably never shall be, in the secrets of government. As to Union, I do not believe it has been thought of, though it be by no means improbable that our grandchildren may taste of this as one of the blessed fruits which the late amazing cultivation has fitted our soil to produce. The most likely motive I take to be the East India business, which not being yet settled in England, renders it difficult for administration to determine on what can be done for Ireland. This, however, is mere surmise, and very possibly what you hint may be the real cause. If what has been desired should be granted, of which I have some doubt, I shall perhaps be better pleased than you seem inclined to be, because I cannot but look upon every internal reform as not only good in itself, but as a step towards an external one. Respecting this, though the late frenzy has furnished its opponents with the only argument that could ever be made use of against it, an argument which might possibly have had some little weight even with me if I had not a borough, and though in England its fate has lately been rather worse than usual, a misfortune produced by the critical situation of foreign affairs, and by the Belfastism of the party, still I flatter myself that we are making advances towards it, since its friends have most certainly been augmented by an important, and, as I verily believe, a truly faithful reinforcement. I know lord Cornwallis well enough to give perfect credit to all your Eastern friend has said of him. His manners are incomparable, and his heart is, I believe, most excellent. Do you not know that we have some chance of possessing this Indian rarity? The lieutenancy will certainly be offered to him, though I believe him too wise to accept of it. Having obtained the character you mention, he would be unwise indeed to hazard the loss of it by serving in Ireland under the present administration.

206, iii.—1793, June 13, Dublin.—"A thousand thanks for your pleasing letter, and still more pleasing verses, delightful in themselves, and still more so to me when I consider them as a proof that no disagreeable circumstances have been able to overpower your philosophy, or, as it may be more truly expressed, to prevail over that fortunate flow of spirits with which nature has blessed you. Some time since I should have attempted, though even then without success, to have answered your epistle in its own style, but, alas, ill-health and vexation of spirit have well-nigh quenched in me every spark of humour, every poetical effervescence. There is, besides, one expression in your letter which does not, like the rest, contribute to drive away care. You tell me that you neither like nor understand politics. In weariness and dislike I most perfectly agree with you, but the last word 'understand,' which cannot be taken in its liberal sense, seems to intimate that, though you still differ from me in opinion, and particularly from the sentiments expressed in my last, you will no longer dispute; that is to say, that your heart will not for the future be as open to me as it ever has been. If you comprehend this confused statement of my, perhaps unfounded, explanation of your words, you will not be surprised that this expression should not, like the remainder of your letter, contribute to suppress every uneasy thought. But no more of this.

"Though I be really weary of politics, and write to one who does not understand them, I cannot avoid informing you that our labours have not been fruitless, and that if our success has not been equal to my wishes, it has, however, far exceeded my expectations. The explanation of the navigation law, together with its consequences, is a real commercial benefit. The entire cession of the hereditary revenue, which is now to be consolidated with the other national funds and strictly appropriated, is a great and long wished-for constitutional and financial acquisition; and the establishment of a treasury board, which will be paid for by the salaries of the useless and alien vice-treasurers, will, in effect, nearly answer the purpose of our responsibility bill. By this, however, I fear we have lost lord S . . . ., but even supposing this to be the fact, we are amply paid for his defalcation. Kings' letters, so long and so justly complained of, will now be at an end, and officers in our own power will be made responsible for their conduct. Respecting place and pension bills something will be done, but to what extent is not yet explained; my hopes, I confess, are by no means sanguine upon these heads. Reform will not be immediate, but I have little doubt of its taking place in no very long space of time."

206, iv.—1793, July 1, Dublin.—"This last disorder I shared, however, with all the world, every one here having suffered from the same complaint, insomuch that loss of sight was almost universal in Dublin and its environs. Whether this cursed malady has reached your quarters I know not, but a far worse disorder, mental blindness, appears now to be endemic almost over the whole island. Every post brings us fresh accounts of civil contention, and the extreme folly of administration is every day evinced by its effects. Thank heaven, however, the north is at peace, and I have little doubt but that the superior good sense of my northern friends, prevailing over the folly of ministers and the wickedness of designing agitators, will continue to keep it so; indeed, this confidence is my only consolation."

207.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1793, July 2, Belfast.—"You have no doubt heard by this time of the very unfortunate affair which took place at Castlereagh, within two miles of this town, on Friday, and of the severe chastisement which the poor deluded though justly irritated people met with. Never was any measure so universally execrated as this one of the militia, a most unnecessary, expensive, and corrupt establishment. The people, who have been so often told that, in these free and happy countries, the law is nothing but a declaration of the public will, think it hard that a measure of this magnitude should pass the house without opposition, though directly in the teeth of the wishes of nine-tenths of their constituents, and of the people at large; and it is hardly to be wondered at that they should express their resentments in an unwarrantable manner. They see, besides, a great want of respectability in many of the deputy governors, while these gentlemen too often exhaust the patience of the assembled multitude by their tardy arrival. For instance, they were summoned some days ago to meet the deputy governors of the county of Antrim at Ballimena by nine in the morning. The people were punctual, but their worships did not arrive till six in the evening, and were glad to make a precipitate retreat. They kept their time better at Castlereagh, but time enough was given for the operation of inflammatory speeches and more inflammatory whisky; the consequence was that they attacked the house of rendezvous with volleys of stones, and with the same missiles drove the dragoons, who were there for its protection, down the hill, where they got under shelter and prepared for action. They then attacked in their turn, firing twelve rounds each of their pistols and carabines. The troop then charged through the dispersing populace, sword in hand; five were laid dead on the spot, many more mortally wounded (three of whom, that I know of, are since dead), and a great number severely. To repel the mob was justifiable and right; to fire on them for that purpose, and to disperse them, was equally so; but the cruelty of the business was here. After the people were dispersed and flying the dragoons divided, and, unofficered, galloped a circuit of two miles in different directions, cutting down and slashing every one they met or overtook, most of whom had never been in the tumult, but were peaceably going about their own business, some of them to our market. It might be some excuse, that they were, as it is asserted, drunk. The whole 32nd regiment, quartered here, with the artillery, were ordered out, but arrived too late to increase and enjoy the massacre. Give us 'lettres de cachet,' and we shall want none of the blessings of the late French government. We are told of the security of our persons and property. The first no longer exists, and the desirable letters I have mentioned would trammel up the other. In short, the prospect is gloomy —servitude, or a dreadful explosion. All confidence in government, or in parliament, is lost . .[1] I clearly discern an alarming change in the officers of the army. I, for a course of years, with others and better of our townsmen, cultivated the acquaintance of such as were quartered here, and vied with each other in extending hospitality to them. We found enlightened men among them, and many of liberal principles. The reverse in every respect is now the case. I must add that those wretches at Castlereagh had no intention of a riot, not a gun among them, nor even a pitch-fork."

208.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

i.—1793, July 8, Dublin.—"Wretched country, what will become of you? Your people are frantic, your governors are idiots; horrid state of things, when frenzy is to be guided and ruled by imbecility. How comparatively happy was our situation when such accounts, as thrilled every humane heart with horror, were brought to us by the packets alone, since now, alas, every post from the south, from the west, and finally even from the north, comes fraught with discontent, insurrection, and carnage. Mala res, yet, spite of your melancholy predictions, I will not add, 'spes multo asperior.' No, while our constitution is receiving daily improvements, while others of a still more important nature may rationally be expected from time, patience, and prudent perseverance, when providence has kindly set before our eyes a terrible example of the dire effects of anarchy, and, more than all, while we yet possess a few honest men like you, I will not despond, but still hope that our disorder is temporary and that we may be yet a sane and happy nation. Respecting the militia, what could have been done? The idea was popular, and had not long since been so universally the wish of the people that the refusal of government was accounted a grievance. The war was likely to deprive the country of part of its military resource, and our volunteers were no longer what they had been; they had abandoned their advisers, they had altered their principles, or at least their practice. That lively and invigorating warmth, which had animated and strengthened the constitution, was changed into a feverish heat which threatened its destruction. I, in particular, to whom this institution was endeared by every bond of amity, and, if I may venture so to express myself, even of paternal affection, could not but observe, with grief of heart, that my beloved sons were gone astray, and, by giving themselves up to the misguidance of deluded or designing men, were yielding to their enemies every advantage they could desire, and taking from their friends the means of supporting them. Alarms on every side surrounded us. National defence was required, and a militia was proposed. Many of our friends thought well of the measure, and some, even of our best men, took a part in it. Some of us, indeed, and I in particular, who disliked the proposition, and determined from the beginning to have nothing to do with it, were aware that it might now be unpopular, and would consequently give fresh ground to those incendiaries who are everywhere occupied in scattering their poisons among the people, to procure success to their infamous machinations. But what could we do? We desired delay. On the specious pretence of emergency it was refused; the general cry increased, and, reinforced by the voice of many honest men, was against us; the madness of the people had robbed us of our best strength, and, to prevent the ill consequences of a defeat, rendered shameful and fatal to our best hopes and purposes by the public exhibition of disunion among ourselves, we were, however unwillingly, obliged to give way.

---

[1] MS. torn.

"But indeed I did not imagine I could have written so much. Part of your letter must, however, remain unanswered, since, even to you, I can write no more. . . .

"I am yet very bad, and have written this letter 'à diverses réprises.' In point of finance I find the north in a sad situation. No rents, to my great inconvenience, are to be gotten from thence."

208, ii.—1793, July 15, Dublin.—"Your desire has been anticipated, and I have protested against the chancellor's accursed bill;[1] neither had I ever more difficulty in writing a protest. You know my principles, and I need not therefore tell you that I had a nice course to steer between base acquiescence on the one hand, and dangerous irritation on the other. The bill, bad as it is, was still more monstrous when first brought in; but the mover was disgracefully compelled within two days to alter it himself, by expunging the most noxious clause and adding the proviso in favour of petitions. This, for the head of the law, was sufficiently degrading. I have, however, not only protested against the committal, but have signed my name in the journals as dissentient against its passing, in which I was single,[2] my two friends[3] not having attended. It is not yet printed, but as soon as it is, I will send you a copy. You ask at what former period durst such a bill have been attempted. Far be it from me to palliate the crimes of this wretched administration, yet a moment's consideration will probably convince your naturally impartial mind that there have been faults on both sides, and that the madness of the people, though it cannot justify such proceedings, has been one principal cause of the minister's daringness.

"I have written, as you may perceive, in the utmost hurry. . . .

"Wednesday next, the bill will be debated in the commons, when I flatter myself the debate will not displease you. Poor [Richard] Sheridan is too ill to take a part. My nerves are all torn to pieces by all these occurrences, yet still I have the comfort of having acted honestly; without that, what would become of me? I cannot wonder at your indignation; yet let me exhort you to keep your temper—these are no times to lose it in."

---

[1] On unlawful assemblies.

[2] 13 July 1793, on question as to passing of bill on unlawful assemblies.

[3] Duke of Leinster and lord Arran.

208, iii.—1793, July 22, Dublin.—"As soon as I could procure a copy of the accursed bill, which was no easy matter, I sent it to you, and was not sorry that it had been so long delayed, as I had the opportunity of sending the alterations also, such as they are. You tell me in your last that county meetings are spoken of. At present I do not see that they could be of much use, but think that before the next meeting they ought to be universal for the purpose of instructing members, and petitioning for a repeal, an event which sooner or later will take place, as opposition have strongly pledged themselves against the measure. George Ponsonby, who was in England on business of necessity, luckily arrived in time to add his important voice, which he did, as usual, with the utmost ability; the whole debate was highly animated, and will, I am sure, please you."

209.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1793, July 24, Belfast.—"It was not my fault that you had not one other peer to do himself honour by signing your protest, and that there were not three other respectable commoners in the minority. But banking out the tide, from a few acres of Newton strand, is of more moment than raising mounds against the outswellings of power; and a young man of spirit may be allowed to think, when civil and military ardour come into competition, that 'militia est potior.' I rejoice, however, that Conolly was not with his lieutenant-colonel in the county of Derry, though I could have wished that one of our knights had been drilling his recruits in that of Antrim. 'Frailty, thy name is—.

"I always thought that delegation was the peculiar principle, and one distinguishing characteristic, of the British constitution,—something in which it had no archetype in antient policy—and that, from the analogy of the formation of our house of commons, the same mode should be allowed and practised, as the best, for conveying the sense of the people with respect to their grievances and their desires, and for this better reason also, that any other mode must ever be. We know what county meetings are, and their petitions; and all local petitions have in general been treated with what contempt (perhaps not altogether unmerited) as not expressive of the public mind, which never can be fully and certainly expressed, but in this way; and this is, in fact, the only safe and peaceful spring of renovation in the constitution."

210.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

i.—1793, August 1, Dublin.—"Though your observation be certainly true, that delegation is in the spirit of our constitution, it may yet be carried too far, and that a full assembly of national delegates, supposing itself paramount to Parliament, can neither be safe nor constitutionally proper, more especially in times like the present. . . . The act, however, I detest, and will at all times exert my feeble endeavours towards its repeal, an event which I trust will certainly take place from the abilities of those who are pledged against it. In the meanwhile, for heaven's sake, let moderation prevail, and let this wretched country at length know tranquillity."

210, ii.—1793, August 13, Dublin.—"Excellent; indeed, so delighted I have been with your incomparable epic ballad, that the first idea that occurred to me was to give myself a chance of future favours of the same kind by sending you in return one of my own composition, for I also, in my better days, have been a balladist, but three forcible reasons concurred to prevent me: the consciousness that my requital would be far inferior to your gift, the utter impossibility of transcribing, and the dread lest our correspondence might thus be wholly changed from the 'utile' to the 'dulce.' Yes, my dear friend, I clearly perceive, and most sincerely thank you for the kind intention of your later letters. The disagreeable state of my mind and body is well known to you, and your medical skill assures you that amusement may palliate, while any additional anxiety would only tend to increase my complaints. The subject upon which our thoughts have hitherto principally turned, no longer affords you anything pleasing or consolatory, and your friendship has therefore abandoned it, adopting in its stead that delightful and exhilarating view of humour for which your genius is so exquisitely fitted, and than which no remedy can more powerfully minister to minds diseased. Yet still, like those besotted patients who wish to be indulged in the use of that which has principally occasioned their disorder, I must beseech you not entirely to relinquish politics; information respecting the state of men's minds, however disagreeable, must be had, and from whom can I receive it so well as from you, upon whose fidelity, judgment, and true love of your country I can so firmly depend? But how sadly have I answered your most entertaining letter. . ."

211.—Charlemont to Malone.

1793, October 28, Dublin.—"You, who were wont to be the best of correspondents, have for a long time past left me without a line, neither should your silence have prevented me from soliciting a renewal of your favours, if various causes had not put writing absolutely out of my power. A few days since, however, I have been prompted to make this present attempt by my having received a book from you through the means of the attorney-general; and though, from the lamentable weakness of my eyes, my letter must needs be a short one, I shall at least have the advantage of reviving a correspondence, the late langour of which has been particularly unpleasant to me at a time when my remaining comforts are but few.

"I have lately seen—for heaven forbid that I should have bought—Steevens' last edition of Shakspeare. You know I always disliked the man, and certainly the manner in which he mentions you has by no means diminished my dislike. In all he says there is but too visibly a feeble, though, thanks to his slender abilities, a fruitless attempt to 'damn with faint praise,' which is certainly the species of satire least creditable to its author. Besides that, a publication at this period has, at least, the appearance of being meant to check the progress of your intended quarto, and indeed he has taken care to procure for himself the only advantage he can ever have over you by making his edition far more legible than that which you last published. The quarto, however, will not, I trust, be affected by it, and, indeed, I now wish for its success more ardently than ever; yet it is whispered here among the booksellers that the present state of the times may possibly retard its coming forth. I hope otherwise, and desire you will inform me how matters stand. . My nerves are sadly affected, neither is there in the general state of affairs, nor in the particular situation of this country, anything which can possibly act as a restorative to one who wishes well to mankind, who ardently desires the prosperity of the British empire, and the welfare and happiness of his native land."

212.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1793, November 13, Belfast.—"I presume at this time to address your lordship as a privy counsellor, on the score of this deadly epidemic prevailing at Philadelphia. That unfortunate city is deserted by all who could depart, and all communication with it is now cut off. By a letter received here last night from New York, of a date so recent as the 18th ult., the deaths, notwithstanding the diminished population, are stated as not fewer than one hundred daily! At this time of the year ships from Philadelphia usually arrive, and may be soon expected, unless this deplorable calamity has suspended the commerce of that city early enough to have prevented their sailing. I see by Joy's last paper, that the collector of Larne has received orders to subject all vessels from that port to the performance of quarantine. But why is there not a general proclamation to that effect? And why not extend it to ships from the West Indies, seeing that a similar plague rages in some of those islands? It is true that this most malignant infection was brought to Philadelphia by a vessel from St. Domingo, so crammed with fugitives, so wretchedly accomodated and so dirty, that a jail fever of uncommon malignity was generated among them, so fatal, it is said, as to leave but three living when the vessel came into port, who are said to have died after their arrival. By strange inattention, infatuation rather, these were suffered to land there, instead of being conveyed to some secluded spot; and instead of sinking the ship, that people, in general so wise, were so improvident as to send porters on board to cleanse her, who fell victims to the disease and disseminated the contagion. These facts surely suggest the most extreme caution on the part of our government to avert, if possible, such awful danger. I am this instant assured that a West India packet, very lately arrived in England, had fourteen people dead on the passage, though it is denied that it was in consequence of any such disease. One regiment, however, in Dominica, has lately buried twelve commissioned officers out of fourteen, with a proportional number of privates. I am too well acquainted with your lordship's philanthropy and love of your country to make any apology for the trouble I am giving you."

213.—MALONE to CHARLEMONT.—SHAKESPEARE.—STRATFORD.

1793, November 15, London.—" Six or seven weeks ago, I was going to inform you of some discoveries I had made at Stratford-upon-Avon, in the beginning of autumn, when I saw an account in the newspapers of your sad domestic loss,[1] and threw down my pen. Anything of that kind would then, I knew, be much out of season, and I could only have assured you, which I am sure you did not want to be assured of, that I was most sincerely concerned for that melancholy event. What you have left will afford better consolation than anything I can say on the subject.

"For these some months past, I have been more intently employed on Shakspeare than ever, endeavouring to form a new life of that extraordinary man, which you may remember I promised in my preface. The corporation of Stratford, early in the summer, very obligingly furnished me with some of their earliest records, which, however, were written in so old a hand that I was some weeks employed merely in reading them. When I had advanced some way in the life, my brother and his family came to Harrowgate, in Yorkshire, where I went down to see them, and, after their return to Ireland, I resolved to devote a fortnight to a thorough examination of everything that either Worcester or Stratford could furnish. The latter is in the diocese of Worcester, and consequently several old wills of the Stratfordians were proved there. After spending a few days there, where I thought my trouble very well repaid by finding two wills very material to my purpose, I repaired to Stratford, where by the aid of my friend, the vicar, and the permission of the mayor, I was allowed a complete rommage through all their papers. I examined, I am confident, not less than three thousand, many of them as old as the time of Henry the Sixth. Out of the whole mass I selected such as I thought might be useful to me, and have since carefully read and arranged them all under distinct heads. I had before laboured hard at the Rolls office, and in the examination of several registers, and found some new and curious notices; and within these few days I have been lucky enough to meet with a paper in the Record office in the Tower, that also contains some important intelligence. From all these different sources, if I can but manage the various information I have procured tolerably well, I hope to make at least a very curious life. In Rowe's[1] account of our great poet, there are, I believe, but ten or eleven distinct facts told; and I think I shall prove seven of them to be false, so little reliance is to be placed upon tradition. Two others are extremely doubtful, and the remaining two, which are indisputably true (the time of his birth and death), he had from the parish register. I had flattered myself with the hope of obtaining some of his hand-writing, but did not meet with a scrap of it. However, as the children say, 'I burned,' for I found in the archives of Stratford a letter to him, a very fine relic, in excellent preservation, about two inches long by one broad. I ought not to forget to tell you that I did a public service while I was there. His bust, you know, about forty years ago was painted all over with various colours by some players, under the notion of beautifying it. With Dr. Davenport's permission I brought it back to its original state, by painting it a good stone-colour, and then, having first erected a small scaffold, we drew him carefully from his niche and took a very good mould from his face, from which Nollekens has since made a mask and then a model; so that we shall now be able to judge whether this representation is entitled to any credit as a resemblance. It appears to have been executed by a very ordinary hand, but there are several little particulars in which it corresponds with the print in the first folio and the duke of Chandos' picture, particularly a very great distance between the end of the nose and the mouth. Some of these particulars incline me to think that it was done from a mask taken from his face after death. Mr. Steevens will not allow, in his late edition, that there was ever any picture of him; for which, as well as several other things, I mean to trim him as well as I can. In my edition I studied as much as possible to avoid entering into any invidious competition with him, and would not even tell the world how much the laborious collection which I made had improved the text, till I was found to do so by one of his literary scavengers, as I think bishop Lowth calls some of Warburton's underlings. But, in my new edition, I mean to throw down the gauntlet, not by the hints and hesitations of oblique depreciation, as he has on all occasions served me in his late book, but by a fair and direct attack. He shall find me what he has not spirit enough to be himself, an open and, I trust, an honourable adversary.

---

[1] James Caulfeild, second son of lord Charlemont, died in September 1793, in his seventeenth year.

---

[1] Nicholas Rowe, editor of Shakespeare, 7 vols., London : 1709–10.

The taking up such a despicable fellow as Ritson[1] by way of co-adjutor, a man for whom he had the most profound contempt (of which I have a testimony under his own hand), and who had published the most illiberal and scurrilous invectives against several persons whom he pretends to call his friends (our poor friend, the late Mr. Warton, bishop Percy, and myself), is such an aggravation of all the other paltry acts that he has employed, that I am resolved to give him no quarter. With respect to the quarto, as soon as I have finished the life, which I hope to do by Christmas, I mean to set down seriously to it. I am a little embarrassed by the person who has undertaken it, who insisted on engravings, which I did not wish to have, because, if they are not excellent, they will be a dead weight on my book. This person, a Mr. George Robinson, is unluckily, too, a determined republican, on which account alone I am sorry that I have employed him. In consequence of his political phrenzy, he at this moment is apprehensive of judgment being pronounced against him by the king's bench for selling Paine's pamphlet, and may probably be punished for his zeal in the 'good old cause,' as they called it in the last century, by six months imprisonment. I shall not have the smallest pity for him. To do any act whatever that may tend to forward the principles maintained by the diabolical ruffians of France is so highly criminal, that I hope the chief justice will inflict the most exemplary punishment on all the favourers of that vile system, whenever he can lay hold on them. I hope most sincerely that the editors of two seditious papers, which are published daily (the 'Morning Chronicle' and the 'English Chronicle'), who have the audacity publicly to support our enemies by every means in their power, will soon feel the vengeance of the law; an opportunity of laying hold of them has not yet occurred, but I make no doubt it will. If, however, Mr. Robinson does not enter on my work with spirit immediately after Christmas, I am determined to put it into other hands.

"I am glad to find you got your book safe. I was forced to send you a miserable copy of the 'London Prodigal,' but there was not the smallest chance of meeting with a better. Pray send me the titles of the tracts in your volume of Greene, as I do not know what they are; I mean the short titles. I may perhaps pick up a few more for you. Everything of that kind, however, in consequence of our frequent quotations in the notes on Shakspeare, is become inordinately dear; and his pieces are so scarce that out of about forty which he wrote I have been able in many years only to pick up about twenty-five, which I have bound in three volumes.

"There is not a word of news to-day, except (what you will see in the papers) that the execrable Orleans has been guillotined. It is manifest from the death-whoop lately sounded in the Jacobin club that the generous and amiable sister of the late king will in a few days be dragged to the block, and then they will have nothing left to do but to debauch the minds and bodies of the two children, which they are endeavouring, with the aid of cobbler Simon, to do as fast as they can. A French emissary is arrived to-day from Jersey, with some plan for assisting the unfortunate royalists in Poitou (for I will not call it La Vendée), and I am told Pitt has sent down to Burke (whom he sometimes consults on mere French matters), and that at last we are to do something in that quarter. The not having done it before seems extreme folly. With the finest fleet in the world, doing nothing but merely protecting the channel, we have not even offered a frigate to give any aid to the unfortunate . . .[1] who are now on a small island to which [they][2] escaped from Britanny, in daily expectation of being destroyed by the savages whom the [National][3] Convention, as they impudently call themselves, have let loose upon them."

---

[1] *See* vol. i., p. 454.

214.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1793, November 19, Dublin.—"Who but you could have prevailed on me to open my intercourse with our present administration? Yet, prompted by you, I could not err, and success has attended your patriotic wish. Immediately on the receipt of your official letter, I communicated its contents to lord Hobart, and, principally in consequence of your representation, a proclamation has issued requiring ships from the West Indies to perform quarantine. Thus have you kindly put it in my power to be in some degree instrumental in saving my country from the horrors of external malady, and would to heaven you could equally enable me to check the course of internal disorder. But no more of this; the subject is too melancholy for my depressed spirits. The principal aim of your literary society is undoubtedly excellent, and worthy of Belfast in her golden days, but if politics should interfere, and in the present agitated situation of my still beloved town it will be difficult to prevent such interference, I most sincerely join with you in thinking that the good purposes of the institution will be disappointed. The present cast of politics is a foe to letters, as will, I fear, too soon be exemplified in the fate of the incomparable Condorcet.[4] À propos, have you read the pamphlet signed 'Jasper Wilson.'[5] It appears to me one of the best that ever was written; the 'Calm Observer,'[6] too, is an excellent composition, but it is too long, and though its flowers be often exquisitely beautiful, it is perhaps too flowery. Of this last, however, I speak from a partial knowledge, as the print is too small for me to read it, and part of it only has been read to me. Indeed, my eyes are in a sad situation, and the present weather contributes still farther to weaken them. . . . The pamphlet signed 'Jasper Wilson' is said to be written by a Mr. Corry, of Liverpool, and the 'Calm Observer' by a Mr. Vaughan."

215.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1793, November 20, Belfast.—"I see with some satisfaction the proclamation for a general quarantine respecting ships from Philadelphia, yet it is altogether silent as to those from the West Indies, though this formidable infection has already reached Jamaica, Barbadoes, and, I believe, other islands. One main article of import from those parts is remarkable for imbibing and conveying infectious miasma, etc. I mean cotton wool. I have but one thing more to observe, and that is, unless care be taken to have quarantine more faithfully and strictly enforced than it has hitherto been on our coasts, but little security can be expected from it. Shameful negligence, with respect both to persons and goods, has been on former occasions most notorious."

---

[1], [2], [3] MS. torn.

[4] Author of treatise "Du Calcul integral," 1765, etc. He died in prison, as a Girondist, in 1794.

[5] "A letter, commercial and political, addressed to the right hon. William Pitt, in which the real interests of Britain in the present crisis are considered, and some observations are offered on the general state of Europe. By Jasper Wilson, esq." 8vo. Dublin: 1793.

[6] Letters under this signature appeared in the "Morning Chronicle," London, between 20 July 1792 and 25 June 1793. Portions were published at London in 1793, with the title of "The essence of the 'Calm Observer,' on the subjects of the concert of princes, the dismemberment of Poland, and the war with France."

216.—CHARLEMONT to MALONE.

1793, November 22, Dublin.—"With your ardour, talents, and indefatigable diligence, it is utterly impossible that you should fail of success, and we may now flatter ourselves that we shall shortly know all that ever can be known of that first of bards, whose writings alone would have rendered the poetic fame of his country immortal. All I dread is that your sight, with which mine has a sad fellow-feeling, will never hold out to the end of your pursuit, and the bare idea of your having examined three thousand antiquated papers, the greater part of which were consequently legible with the utmost difficulty, makes, I confess, my poor eyes ache. Your labour, however, has not been fruitless, and I am heartily glad of it; for, though I always wished you to succeed in every undertaking which was apparently dear to you, my perusal of the late illiberal attempt has increased those amicable desires a thousandfold, and I now most ardently wish that the merit of your next and last edition may be such as to silence even malice and envy. What you mention with regard to the plates does not, I own, at the first glance, meet with my entire approbation. A quarto edition from you ought not only to be complete, but in some degree magnificent, and the present mode of publication renders this pompous display still more necessary. Engravings will undoubtedly be expected, and, notwithstanding all that has been already done in that way, many new subjects may, I should imagine, yet be found at the least as good as those which have been hitherto given to the public. I have, moreover, been told by Mercier, an intelligent bookseller of this city, that some of the plates were already finished, and that they were extremely well executed. If this be so, they ought not surely to be lost; but of this matter you, who are an adept in the business of publication, must certainly be the best judge. What a pity that Lord Camden's idea was not timely put into execution! His scheme was to perpetuate the memory not only of the author, but of the capital actors, by giving their portraits in the scenes where they most excelled.

"Thank you for thinking of that hobby-horse, which I still ride with pleasure. The titles of my volume of Greene's works are as follow:—'The Spanish Masquerado,' 'Tullies' Love,' 'Never too late,' two parts; 'Quip for an upstart courtier,' 'Greene's Ghost,' 'Groat's worth of witte,' 'Greene's Epitaph,' 'Farewell to Follie,' 'Foure letters, and certaine sonnets.' So much for Greene; but there is another matter in which I will beg your assistance. John Forde's plays are favourites with me, and I am happy to possess, I believe, all of them that have been printed. In 'Love's Sacrifice,' however, there is an imperfection, which I would wish to be restored, if not in print, at least in writing. In the last act, a leaf after signature K 3, a leaf, or perhaps two, is wanting. The catch-word, immediately before the defect, is 'courtier,' a 'disgraced courtier,' and the next page in my copy begins with the word 'forbeare.' If these pages can be recovered from any imperfect copy, I would wish to insert them. If not, as you know the size, be so good as to get them fairly written for me. The title-page also is wanting, but that is of no great consequence.

"Our thoughts respecting the French exactly coincide. In their first efforts I exulted, while during a week or ten days they behaved like old Romans, but since that period they have been far worse than the most barbarous Gauls. The annals of time have produced nothing like them. We have read of one Caligula, one Nero; but a government of three hundred Neros never existed before. I have always said, long previous to their present horrors, that they were the most savage people in Europe, and have been laughed at for an assertion which has been proved too true. Perhaps, however, it is better that their proceedings should be thus diabolical; it may, it ought, I am sure, to prevent any idea of imitation. But though I have snatched half an hour from two days to write this scrawl, my eyes absolutely refuse to serve me any longer."

217.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

i.—1793, December 4, Dublin.—"It was physically impossible that the mad exertions of last election should not have left behind them a langour such as has been lately experienced, more especially as the object of contest is now of less importance from the parliament having but three years to live. Such must ever be the effect, among a thousand other bad ones, of expensive elections. The Antrim theatre will also most probably exhibit as dull a performance, but how can it be otherwise when the great masters will not deign to mount the stage for the small remnant of a season? Thus, at least, do I endeavour to account for the present appearances, which I would willingly ascribe to any other cause than to that disgraceful one of apathy. Why, alas, has Antrim lost her member? It is impossible not to love O'Neill, and therefore impossible not to lament his mistakes. His very errors spring from amiable qualities. . . Whoever attributes 'Jasper Wilson's' pamphlet to more than one writer must, in my opinion, be wholly mistaken. There is in it an integrity of style and manner which could never be the result of association. I still greatly prefer it to the 'Calm Observer', which is too long, too complex, and in some places not free from sophistry. The preface is indeed a masterpiece, but the work itself often languishes, and is in some degree liable to the strong objection of not compelling its reader to persevere in the perusal. It is not, however, the work of the noble lord; I know him well, and he is incapable of it. It may be, indeed, and I believe is, of his school."

217, ii.—1794, January 1, Dublin.—"You do me justice, in supposing that whatever contributes either to the emolument or pleasure of the town of Belfast, must always be pleasing to me. True it is that she has, in my opinion, been faulty, yet has she not been able, with all her errors, to efface from my heart those traces of affection which were therein so strongly engraven. Respecting her, I am in the disagreeable situation of the lover whose mistress has deceived him, who has discovered her frailty, yet still cannot help loving her. She has intrigued with others, neither has she always been wise or delicate in her choice, yet still my heart wishes and hopes that she may in time see her errors, and will, in spite of her misconduct, ever be open kindly to receive the 'Fair penitent,' for such, I am persuaded, her natural good sense and excellent qualities, though clouded now with prejudice and misrepresentation, will finally render her. The conduct, too, of her old friend, whom she once loved for principles congenial to her own, and which will with him ever remain unchanged, may perhaps in some degree contribute to reclaim her. Robert Stewart is really an able and most amiable young man, and would, I think, have been perfect if his politics had not been a little Camdenized; not but that I respect lord Camden in the highest degree, but perhaps the doctrine and example of an aged statesman, unnerved and dispirited by years and painful experience, may be apt too much to abate and damp the fire of a youthful disciple. Robert may possibly disapprove the principle on which 'Jasper' writes, but he cannot but admire his composition and his ingenuity. Should he have been guilty of any such crime in taste, you will have sufficiently punished his error by condemning him to the tedious perusal of the 'Calm Observer.' I cannot conceive the report you have heard concerning our much-lamented lord is well founded, but, on the contrary, will believe as long as I can that his honour will not change his manners. I have heard with pleasure that the earliest and first communication of his intentions was made to his independent friends in the county of Antrim, a conduct which induces me to hope, as I wish, that he may escape the infection of his present situation. By the way, it was here reported that Mr. Jones meant to rouse the county from its disgraceful apathy. He is, I believe, a good man, and would probably make an excellent member, but his declaration would, I should suppose, be now too late. Poor Sheridan![1] indeed, his loss has given me sincere concern. Though certainly injured by the sad situation of his health, yet, take him all in all, I shall find it very difficult to replace him as I could wish. Never, I am confident, lived a man of a better heart or more true and genuine honour, and between us the idem velle atque idem nolle was perfectly established. Where, then, is the like to be found? I have for some time past thought of nothing else, and have hitherto met only with disappointment. Meanwhile the time presses, and something must speedily be decided."

217, iii.—1794, January 2.—"It is decided. Richard Jephson[2] has long been known to me, and, upon the most accurate investigation, his creed exactly corresponds with mine. He is a young man of excellent heart, pleasing manners, high honour, and very considerable abilities, which not only his inclination, but his interest, as a tyro at the bar, will undoubtedly prompt him to exert. At all events, it is matter of hazard, but my chance, I think, is a good one, and certainly the bringing forward youthful talents, which might otherwise lie for ever concealed and useless to their country, is the only advantage that can result from the present absurd system. The new year is now begun; I am glad of it, for I was heartily sick of the old one. May it be marked with more pleasing events, both at home and abroad, than its disgustful predecessor. Let this be an epoch of returning reason, as the last has been of universal madness."

217, iv.—1794, January 23, Dublin.—"Illness, business, and an approaching session have till now prevented me from answering your last letter. The first of these still remains to torment me, and will render this a short and stupid letter. I am indeed very ill, but ought I to be otherwise, when everything seems out of order, and when epidemic malady seems to have taken possession of all animated nature? The session, too, which used to dissipate my mind by a variety of employment and not unpleasing agitation, is now become sollicitum mihi tœdium. Our party, however, keep well together, and seem to have incurred no other defalcations than that which we have long expected. Our friend indeed; alas, I am glad that he does not give the secretary a seat, but am more than sorry that he has plunged at once over head and ears by moving the address to such a lieutenant. Charlemont elects Richard Jephson, a young man of excellent talents, and, as far as my strictest investigation can fathom, of sound principles. How far any untried man may succeed is a matter of mere hazard, but the peculiar cast of his abilities, joined to much diligence and great ardour, gives him, I think, an excellent chance. It is, besides, my opinion that almost the only good effect which can be derived from the present absurd system of representation, is the possibility of bringing forward young men who may become useful to their country, but who, without this resource, would probably be condemned to waste their sweetness on the desert air. The time, too, of his trial will be but short, as three years only remain. Your friend's information respecting lord Spencer I cannot yet give credit to. His disposition was never inclined to office, and lord Mansfield, formerly Stormount, is a much more likely successor to lord Camden."

---

[1] Richard Sheridan died in September 1793.

[2] Called to the bar in 1790.

218.—CHARLES VALLANCEY[1] to J. C. WALKER.

1794, January 25, Cove.[2]—"Often do I reflect on the happy days passed in my study, on the history and antiquities of ancient nations, and as often wipe the silent tear for the loss of a most excellent library, now dispersed amongst hundreds, some of whom are probably arranging my marginal notes, to deck out a bastard they will adopt legitimate in future. As Peter Pindar says:—

'And then upon each old acquaintance think,
And with a sigh recall those Attic days,
When wit and wisdom poured the mingled blaze.'

"My newly acquired military honours fall far short in the balance. I feel myself shrunk from a steeple to an extinguisher. Here I sit, viewing at anchor one of the richest fleets ever sailed from England, hourly expecting to be attacked, when I can give them little or no assistance. To sixty cannon, dispersed in four distant batteries, I have one artillery officer and twelve gunners. But government have taken compassion on me, and this day two militia officers and sixty privates are to arrive, to be instructed in the gun exercise. Do you think I sleep sound? To the point.

"The inclosed contains an imperfect account of a desideratum in the natural history of this country I think the Academy[3] would be glad to pursue,—a complete skeleton of the meuse deer, in the possession of counsellor Rice, who probably is a member. I have written to Mr. Bonus for a more particular account.

"I have seen what Mr. Pennant has not seen,—the small white crane of Asia and Africa. It is a most beautiful bird, about the size of a turkey pullet of three months. In Asia it is called 'the paddy bird,' from its eating the green 'paddy' or rice,—its plumage milk white, its bill and legs yellow. This bird, one of a couple, was seen by a Mr. Daunt in a bog near Roberts' cove, half-way between this and Kinsale harbour. He shot one, and sent it to Mr. Daunt, apothecary, in Cork. It is about a month killed; the legs and beak begin to turn black. Dr. Longfield has asked it, to send to Mr. Pennant. I claim it for the Academy or College Museum; and if refused the whole bird, half of it cut longitudinally, and each half glued on a board, would satisfy both parties. If not the half, I claim the liberty of making a drawing. I am afraid I shall succeed in neither, unless Mr. Daunt, apothecary, is written to in the name of the Academy. Favour me with a line."

219.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1794, February 17, Mount Stewart.—"It grieves me to see our Irish courts of justice vying with those of Scotland, and I may add England, in point both of unfairness in their proceedings and severity of their judgments. I allude to the case[1] of Hamilton Rowan. I am free to declare that his offence at the time it was committed (if fairly proved) not only merited, but loudly called for, the strong arm of the law. It was a time, if not of danger, yet of alarm; and such unwarrantable attempts to disturb the peace and endanger the safety of society should have been instantly and vigourously checked, which, not being done, argued disgraceful timidity or weakness in administration. But now, after our being assured by the highest authority that, in consequence of the establishment of a militia and the spirited exertions of government, all tumult was at an end, and even the shadow of danger passed away, to come forward with this after-game of so heavy a sentence, in pursuance of the verdict of a tainted jury, grounded on the testimony of a suspicious witness, looks less like the rigour of justice, though even that is in general 'summa injuria,' than a spiteful and dastardly revenge,—such as was wreaked in days of yore on the heads of Russell and the immortal Sydney. The refusal, too, of a second trial on an application apparently so well founded, has an ugly aspect. Ill precedents are never forgot. The infamous lord Howard, with his perjuries on his head, and his pardon, which he was yet to earn, in his pocket, must be admitted as a good and sufficient witness on Sydney's trial, though so forcibly objected to, because his evidence had been received on that of lord Russell; and I suppose Lyster [2] will be a very competent one on that of our next victim, because he passed on Rowan's."

---

[1] Major-general and chief of the royal company of engineers in Ireland. He was author of several works, and edited "Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis," 1770–1804.

[2] Now Queenstown, Cork.

[3] Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

220.—MALONE to CHARLEMONT.—Edward Gibbon.

1794, February 20, London.—"I am in general so bad a correspondent, that I fear I might plead that ungracious and blameable prescription as an apology for having suffered your last kind letter to remain so long unanswered. But the truth is, these two months past I have been entirely engaged by a business in which I was very deeply interested, and the result of which I should have communicated to you among the very first of my friends, if, as I had every reason to hope, it had been a happy one, but as it has unfortunately ended only in vexation and disappointment, and I am sure you have troubles enough of your own, without being plagued with the history of mine, I shall say nothing more upon the subject. I heard from Richard Jephson in the beginning of last month, and I need not, I am sure, tell you how delighted I was to find that you had selected him as the representative for Charlemont. He has very excellent parts, and very generous and noble dispositions, so that I think he cannot fail to act in this situation with great credit to himself and exactly as you would wish one you loved to do. His poor dear father was the oldest friend I had; from our schooldays we lived together in uninterrupted and the most affectionate intimacy. No man ever possessed a warmer heart nor a sounder understanding. If it had pleased God to spare his life till this time, how delighted and grateful would he have been on this advancement of his son! I had many obligations to him (for he was always very partial to me), and one in particular which I shall never forget,—that of introducing me to you, in the room where you now probably are, twenty-six years ago. We are now, therefore, though we did not set out in life together, become old friends; a title which I would not exchange for any of those which the greater part of the world are so eagerly pursuing.

---

[1] In the king's bench, Dublin, 29 January 1794.

[2] John Lyster, first witness for the crown at the trial of Rowan in 1794.

"You probably have from others a more correct account of affairs here than any I can give you; however, I will endeavour to recollect what I can. Everything has, I think, a very gloomy aspect, not so much from any imbecility or ill-success on our part, as from the nature of the accursed and abominable doctrines which are disseminated through the world, and which are so flattering and seductive to the common people everywhere, that it is impossible that even the good sense of England can for ever stand against them. Even the recital of the enormities and savage atrocities of every kind practised in France has had already a mischievous effect, and blunted in a great measure some of our finest feelings. They are so numerous, and are now become so common, that we no longer shudder at them. The French, from the great secrecy which has been observed for some time past, are certainly meditating some grand stroke. They are so perfectly careless of the lives of the people, that it is highly probable they will endeavour to throw ten or twenty thousand men into this country, who, though they would be every man destroyed, even if they made good their landing, would yet do infinite mischief. Fox and his small band call all who hold this language 'alarmists,' for names, you know, on all such occasions, serve among the mob instead of long arguments: and so, says Burke, do the theives who mean to plunder a house exclaim against the watch-dogs, who make such a tremendous noise that honest folks cannot get their livelihood. By whatever name we may be called, the surest way to defeat whatever these madmen may attempt, is certainly to put the people in every county on their guard; for supposing no such attempt to be made, all that can be said is that some preparations and provisions for our security have been unnecessarily made. I am told that a bill is immediately to be brought in for doubling the militia. Cherbourg has lately been looked into, and there is there no great preparation going on; but at Havre and some other places they have got about two hundred small vessels. Sir Sidney Smith, a very spirited officer, who did such good service at Toulon, has proposed to the ministry to arm some gunboats and other vessels of a particular construction, of which he is to have the command; with these he hopes either to destroy all the vessels they have prepared, or, if he fails in that, greatly to incommode their debarkation, supposing they escape our fleet. He is son to the famous colonel Smith, who was so much talked of at the time of lord George Sackville's trial. But for him, not a single French ship would have been destroyed at Toulon. He had no regular employment there, being only a visitor, and had again and again solicited lord Hood to give him something to do, without effect. At length, when it was apprehended that the galley-slaves and some of the concealed republicans might distress the embarkation, sir Sidney undertook, if a few gunboats were given him, to keep them quiet. On this commission he left lord Hood's ship, and about half an hour afterwards got this note from him:—'Dear sir Sidney, burn all the French ships that you can: Yours, Hood.' This was his sole authority, and the vessels and men that were given him were perfectly inadequate to such a service, though he did wonders with them. He was in such danger by the fire-ships' blowing up in consequence of the Spaniards acting directly against orders, that he expected every moment to be killed by a burning beam falling on him; and in order to present the smallest mark and save his limbs, stood erect in his boat, while the sea was in a foam with the blazing bullets that were falling all around him. From all this you may perceive that lord Hood is not in very good odour here. From the time general O'Hara was taken, which, I think, was the 28th of November, it was known that Toulon was untenable; and why between that day and the 18th of December every

French ship at Toulon should not have been sent away to Gibraltar, or any other safe place, no very good reason, I believe, can be assigned. With respect to foreign movements, the French seem to be directing all their force to the siege of Valenciennes. We have had lately here a colonel Mack,[1] an Austrian engineer, who rose from a private, by most extraordinary parts, to the rank he now holds. He has been prince Coburg's adviser and director in everything. A council was held last Saturday at which he was present, and the next morning he set out on his return to the army. His opinion is that they ought, at all events, to march an immense body of horse straight to Paris. Everything that he has yet undertaken has succeeded, so that great dependence is placed upon him. Till the convention is routed, certainly nothing effectual can be done, and if once they could get to Paris, thousands, I have no doubt, would shake off the yoke they at present groan under, and many of the Parisians themselves hail the invaders as their best friends. Mack is rather a slight man, and wants one requisite for a hero, a good constitution; he has such a pain at the back of his head and neck that he cannot bear to stoop, but when he is erect on horseback he is free from pain.

"Our friend Burke has had a great loss lately—his only brother,[2] with whom he had lived in the greatest harmony from his youth. I saw him the day before yesterday. He is very much affected, and was still more so at first. He talked of retiring from all public business, and leaving even the trial of Hastings to the care of others. His brother's death was very sudden; he had supped with the family, and in a few hours after his return to his chambers at Lincoln's Inn was seized in the night with a fit of coughing, by which he was suffocated. He had translated about a month ago a pamphlet written by Mallet-Dupan, which has been much read and is very well worth reading. I suppose you have by this time got Brissot's address to his constituents, which was translated by another of the Burkes (William), with an admirable preface of forty pages by Edmund. Our club has lately lost two of its members—the bishop of Peterborough[3] and Gibbon. The latter was surely a very extraordinary man, and his loss will not be easily supplied. I think it will be our fate before we die to see all the celebrated men of England go off the stage. We have lost, within these few years, your old friend Hume, Robertson and Gibbon, Garrick, Johnson, and our dear sir Joshua Reynolds. Have we any reasonable ground to hope that the places of these favourites of nature can be filled up in half a century, even if we were entitled to look to so distant a period? Independent of his literary merit, as a companion Gibbon was uncommonly agreeable. He had an immense fund of anecdote and of erudition of various kinds, both ancient and modern; and had acquired such a facility and elegance of talk that I had always great pleasure in listening to him. The manner and voice, though they were peculiar, and I believe artificial at first, did not at all offend, for they had become so appropriated as to appear natural. His indolence and inattention, and ignorance about his own state, are scarce credible. He had for five-and-twenty years a hydrocele, and the swelling at length was so large that he quite straddled in his walk; yet he never sought for any advice or mentioned it to his most intimate friend, lord Sheffield[4]; and two or three days before he died very gravely asked lord Spencer and him whether they had perceived his malady. The answer could only be, 'Had we eyes?' He thought, he said, when he was at Althorp last Christmas the ladies looked a little oddly. The fact is that poor Gibbon, strange as it may seem, imagined himself rather well-looking, and his first motion in a mixt company of ladies and gentlemen was to the fireplace, against which he planted his back, and then, taking out his snuff-box, began to hold forth. In his late unhappy situation it was not easy for the ladies to find out where they could direct their eyes with safety, for in addition to the hydrocele it appeared after his death that he had a rupture, and it was perfectly a miracle how he had lived for some time past, his stomach being entirely out of its natural position . . . He found himself so easy the day before he died that he said to Mr. Crawford that he thought he had as good a chance for ten years of life as anyone. He left about 26,000*l.*—great part of it to distant relations with whom he had no connection, the rest to a young man at Lausanne, whom he had adopted. It is very extraordinary that he did not leave any memorial to lord Sheffield, with whom he had lived in uninterrupted friendship for thirty years, and whom he has made his executor. His admirable, well-chosen library, which is now at Lausanne, would have been a present that in such a situation might, I think, very naturally have occurred to him to make. It will, I believe, be brought to England and sold. He has left a most curious work that will be extremely interesting, of which I have [read] a small part. He calls it 'The history of my own mind'; it is, in fact, the history of his life.[1] He enters into all the minutiæ of his early years; gives an account of the books he read when he began this or the other study, etc., and contrives to make the minutest matters exceedingly interesting. Though he never wrote a foul copy of anything, he has left four different copies of a very large portion of his life, so much pains did he take about it, and so difficult he found it to execute it to his mind. His method of composition was to turn the subject thoroughly in his mind, and then he filled his paper without a single erasure. Of the first volume of his 'History' there were more copies than one; but he had at length acquired such a facility of style that he told lord Spencer the original copy of the last three volumes was that which went to the press. He has introduced a great many political characters into his life, or rather meant to introduce them, for lord Sheffield found among his papers a great number of cards closely written on both sides, filled with the characters of some of our contemporaries. He has almost promised us to put the whole together (for it is not quite finished) and to publish it, as the author certainly intended he should.

---

[1] Envoy to England.

[2] Richard Burke, recorder of Bristol, died in February 1794.

[3] John Hinchliffe, bishop 1769–1794.

[4] John Baker Holroyd, lord Sheffield, baron of Dunamore and baron Sheffield of Roscommon in the peerage of Ireland.

"I have scribbled away at such a rate—not à la mode de Gibbon, but in my own careless and erasing way—that I shall scarcely save the post, yet I have one or two important biblical matters to mention. You commissioned me some time ago to get you 'Fabricii Bibliotheca Græca.' I have met with one lately, and desired the bookseller to lay it by till I hear from you; but he will grumble if he keeps it more than eight or ten days, so be so good as to make R. J[ephson] write me a line immediately to say whether you wish to have this book or are already provided. It must be rebound. There is a very beautiful edition of Gramont's 'Memoirs,'[2] both in French and English, with seventy-two portraits of his heroes and heroines, just ready for publication, the portraits done with the greatest care and fidelity from original pictures by

---

[1] Published by lord Sheffield in the "Miscellaneous works" of Gibbon.

[2] "Mémoires du comte de Grammont, édition ornée de soixante douze portraits gravés d'après les tableaux originaux." Londres, 1793, quarto.

Mr. Harding, who has been engaged with my assistance in adorning Shakspeare[1] in a similar way. Of the French Grammont there are but four large paper copies, and one of them (which I believe will come to seven or eight pounds) I have secured for you. . . Do you prefer it in French to the English? Of the latter there are no copies on large paper. Your 'Love's Sacrifice'[2] shall not be forgot."

221.—BURROUGHS to CHARLEMONT.

1794, March 11, Calcutta.—"I cannot allow the last fleet of this season to sail for Europe without enjoying the happiness once more which I always feel in writing to you. My last letter by a foreign ship was so unmercifully long that you will startle at seeing the superscription of another in my handwriting, if its size does not promise it is shorter. For the present, therefore (after having written thrice before, since I received your invaluable letter of three sheets dated in June, 1792), I shall restrain my pen within moderate limits, and should indeed deny myself the indulgence of writing at all did I not know the unbounded goodness of your lordship to me, and hope that this will reach you when the labours of the session will be at an end, and your time in consequence be more your own.

"I continue in perfect health, and in quiet possession of my office and professional situation, now the first here, notwithstanding the departure of marquis Cornwallis. The directors, I have already told your lordship, confirmed my appointment as advocate-general, and sir John Shore, as far as his administration has already gone, is pleased to say I am necessary to it, and treats me with great attention. I may therefore venture to consider myself as secure of continuing in office as long as I wish to stay in India; and I have not the least reason to apprehend that my emoluments will, during that period, in any degree diminish. Already I have acquired a fortune which would put me and my family far above the power of our enemies, and enable me to live at home in the style of a gentleman; but impatient as I feel to leave this profitable, if not honourable, exile, I think it my duty to remain until I can say I am master of such an income as will at least equal that I once expected to have enjoyed in Ireland. And in the course of four or five years more, I may venture to hope that the funds will give me above two thousand pounds per annum. When I can annually expend that sum without touching any of my capital, I shall push off my bark from this golden coast and lay myself up in ordinary for life, unless some connections I have formed here should induce me to look to parliament—but all forensic brawling I am determined to forswear.

"If your lordship, the baron, and a few more who reside in Ireland, were to leave that country, I cannot say I ever should desire to visit it again. There are, however, attractions there, which it will be very difficult for me to resist; and yet the memory of past scenes impels me to sacrifice the secret longings after a native soil, and fix my residence in England. But let the tent be pitched where it will, how exquisite will be the happiness of throwing myself once more at your lordship's feet, and kissing once again the hand which so generously and effectually was stretched forth to save me from the ruin which surrounded me. .

"As to Ireland, our intelligence here is not yet certain as far as the close of your session in 1793. I find, however, that, according to the expectation I expressed in my last letter to your lordship, the Roman Catholics have acquired the elective franchise. It is a bold experiment, but could not, I suppose, be resisted without danger. How they will use it, we shall not be able for some years to judge, but I cannot help hoping that their political principles are not so slavish and so adverse to true British liberty as they were a century ago. If that be the case, the nation may benefit by the measure. These are consolatory hopes, at least, and possibly not wholly unfounded; modern events having, in several instances, proved that Popery is almost everywhere upset, and that those who still profess it do not now retain the nonsense of divine right and passive obedience in politics. The change in Ireland, however, has been convulsive, instead of gradual; and I cannot help thinking that all Grattan's political measures are of the same description. Deep speculations in government are always dangerous. The machine everywhere is complicated by which considerable nations of civilized men are ruled; and when one great moving power is suddenly substituted for another, the whole may be thrown into disorder, and its operations be directed to its own ultimate destruction. . .

---

[1] Malone's edition, issued in eleven volumes at London in 1790, and republished at Dublin in 1794.

[2] Tragedy by John Forde, 1633.

"But I forgot my promise of writing a short letter only, and have not yet given your lordship any intelligence from hence. The truth is, we have little to give, so peaceful is our condition, and so steady and unruffled the course of our government among the native powers.

"The events of the late war have made us the arbiters of all the east, and given the stability to our power that is felt and acknowledged everywhere. These provinces are in a progressive state of rapid improvement, and not a cloud obscures our prospects. Lord Macartney's embassy at China has not, I believe, from some late accounts sent me from Canton, attained any very important end, though he was received with great honours and real civility. The Chinese, however, are as little likely, I should think, to cede an island to Great Britain (which his lordship has been instructed modestly to solicit) as we should be to give them the Isle of Wight, or Jersey, if they were to ask such a return for their toys. They have refused even to let an English minister reside at their court; but they have given real cause to believe that complaints hereafter will have access to the emperor. Your lordship will probably see a very entertaining narrative of the embassy in the public prints; but from my intelligence (and it is not bad) I am convinced you cannot hear, with truth, of any objects having been accomplished worth a tenth part of the trinkets which lord Macartney carried to the good old monarch of that astonishing country.

"Notwithstanding the importance of our Indian territories (and they are now indeed inestimable to Great Britain), your lordship will be amazed to hear that, ever since the French war began, we have been left at sea to the protection of one rotten frigate only. The French, from the Mauritius, have a multitude of privateers traversing these oceans, and, though not above the rank of pirates and banditti, they have in triumph, and I may say unmolested, spread terror over the whole commerce of Great Britain in India, and to China; have effected an almost total stagnation of trade; captured many valuable prizes, and an Indiaman among them; and insulted our coasts with absolute impunity hitherto, though one line-of-battle ship and three or four frigates would destroy them all. How Dundas will meet his adversaries in debate on this important point, I cannot guess. But of this I am certain, that the defenceless state of our commerce here is criminal to a very high degree, and considering the immense fleets at home, and the paltry opposition of the French navy there, is without apology. Lord Cornwallis (who sailed in October last for Europe) was extremely uneasy on this subject, even then; and still we are not only without aid, but without intelligence also (interesting as the times are), for above eight months, on which we can rely. Some late reports say that your worthy secretary, Hobart, is to be governor of Madras, and possibly, in due time, may come and reign over us here. If he does, I shall the sooner leave the country."

"In these perilous times, I take the precaution of having my letter copied by a Hindoo clerk (who writes an excellent hand, but does not understand two lines in ten pages), in order that I may send a duplicate of it by another ship."

222.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1794, April 4, Ballyatwood.—"Have you seen 'Belfast Politics,' and have you forgiven me for taking the liberty of permitting the editor to inscribe the best half of the volume to your lordship,[1] as well as the other to your humble servant? [2] I hope you have. It was much too flattering to my vanity to be thus publicly linked, 'cheek by jowl,' as I may say, to your excellency, for my easy virtue to decline the honour, had it been in my power, as in truth it was not; for I knew not a syllable of the matter till the book was published. It was taking a most unwarrantable liberty with your lordship, however free the publisher might make with such an insignificant satellite (not of the 'Georgium sidus') as myself.

"I was delighted with the 'coup d'essai' of your Jephson, and the more as I knew it would give your lordship much satisfaction. Indeed, it was the only thing which afforded me pleasure, in the rapid course of the late wonderful sessions. Our parliament is very properly become a mere committee of ways and means; for, thank God, we have no longer any grievances to be redressed, and can with most philosophic 'sang froid,' most stoical apathy, see the people gagged, and that useless bill of rights torn to pieces like wet paper. Our constitution, as your lordship has more than once observed, has a spring of resuscitation within itself, and to that spring it should be left to choose its own time and season for acting. Fitzgibbon has wisely put it out of the power of the people here to stimulate its energy, and we ought to believe, what we have repeatedly been told, by Pitt, Langrishe, and other immaculate youths, that no time is proper for reform. Peace and prosperity must not be ruffled, nor war and adversity rendered worse, by the attempt,—that would be confusion worse confounded. One comfort is, that, notwithstanding this feeble outcry of the few,—as if the royal prerogative was daily extending and stretching itself out—candour must acknowledge that the king—God bless him!—seems to have given up the exercise of two of the most dignified and important energies of it: he is humbly content to be no longer considered as the fountain of honour and of mercy.

'I can't for my blood get it out of my noddle,
  Cries Tom, having taken a cup,
That the fountain of honour is chang'd to a puddle,
  And the fountain of mercy dried up.'

In the course of a disputation lately at Mount Stewart with a noble lord and a neighbouring baronet, the constitution was on all hands allowed to be super-excellent; but it was contended that it was not fair or honest to set it forth under the fallacious decoration of its being a happy and well-balanced combination of the three simple forms. What need had a thing so intrinsically beautiful of any meretricious disguise? Why not truly and candidly praise it as a most blessed mixture of monarchy and aristocracy, or, more truly still, as a masked monarchy? And in this, after some vain struggles, we were all forced to acquiesce."

---

[1] *See* p. 235.

[2] As follows: "To Alexander Henry Haliday, M.D., a lover of liberty and of letters, uniting wit, chaste as brilliant, with the virtues of the patriot, friend, and beloved physician."

223.—HENRY JOY to CHARLEMONT.

i.—1794, April 12, Belfast.—"Our friend, Dr. Haliday, called on me lately, and mentioned your lordship's desire to have a copy of 'Belfast Politics,'[1] which accordingly will be delivered to yourself in a few days. You may remember the anxious state of mind in which I wrote your lordship, near the close of 1792, hoping to receive some hints to enable Dr. Bruce[2] and me to prepare a vindication of the admirable principles of our constitution. Never was a work (if work it can be called) entered upon with purer motives, to serve the cause of good government and order, and to aid in restraining the irregularities of public opinion. The first number of our hasty and very imperfect series of papers, entitled 'Thoughts on the British Constitution,' appeared in the 'Belfast News Letter,' in December 1792, and accordingly, as we found that the opinions of the day required certain points to be insisted on, we went on publishing, from time to time, in the same channel, till the series at length reached its twentieth number, which was only inserted in November last, and completed our design. In the interim, Dr. Bruce, from his own pen, gave those excellent strictures on the test of certain of the societies of 'United Irishmen,' which I have heard that your lordship read with approbation, and expressed a wish that they should be collected. That wish I communicated to my kinsman and most particular friend, Bruce, and we determined on a collection both of his strictures and our joint papers on the constitution. We agreed in the propriety of dedicating the last to your lordship,[3] and kept another portion of our book to inscribe to your friend Dr. Haliday.[4] The general idea of the thoughts was to excite a veneration of the constitution in the breasts of the multitude, too likely to be misled by specious misrepresentations to its prejudice. Having once determined on the collection, we conceived the propriety of adding an extensive preface, in which we could insist in strong terms on the part taken by the minority of our townsmen, with whom, in opposing the majority, we had strenuously co-operated, both in speaking and writing, and in confutation of the sentiments of which a great portion of the thoughts on the constitution and the strictures had been drawn up.

"As the minds of the majority had had time to cool and to reflect on past errors, it was suggested to me that it would answer a good end to insert, as a corollary to the rest, an account of the general proceedings of the town at the period in question, and against which the strictures, thoughts, and preface were chiefly levelled. It was alleged that it would impress more forcibly the impropriety of several public measures on the minds of those who had been active in promoting them. At the same time, it would convince moderate men where they had erred, in not stepping out in time to oppose proceedings which they disapproved as much as others at a distance, instead of which they had indolently remained in their houses. We clearly saw that the insertion of such an account of the resolutions might do good, but could not harm; that there were but two descriptions of persons to be affected by them, viz., those who had uniformly disapproved of them, and those that had approved. The former would be strengthened and confirmed by the various arguments collected in the book against the resolutions; the latter might be shaken in their former erroneous opinions, but could not be made more tenacious of them.

---

[1] "Belfast politics, or a collection of the debates, resolutions and other proceedings of that town, in the years 1792 and 1793. With strictures on the test of certain of the societies of United Irishmen: also thoughts on the British constitution. Belfast: Printed by H. Joy and Co., 1794."

[2] William Bruce, D.D., minister of the first congregation of Presbyterians, Belfast.

[3] This dedication was as follows: "To James, earl of Charlemont, the assertor of the rights of Ireland, and general of its Volunteer army, a friend of the just prerogatives of the crown, an ornament of the peerage and patron of a parliamentary reform, these essays are inscribed with the diffidence suited to their imperfections and the respect due to his lordship's virtues and literary attainments."

[4] *See* p. 234.

"The resolutions of a club styled 'Jacobins'[1] I threw out, because I highly reprobated the very name, and they were under prosecution. Instantly on the appearance of the book, the old majority cried out against it, as calculated to blacken their conduct, though in fact it was only to state facts, and freely to point out their improprieties, as the best mode of guarding against similar follies in future. Added to this, one of themselves brought down a vague and, I conceive, foolish report from Dublin, that the book was disapproved of by government.

"My intention being only to serve the cause of truth, and shew my strong attachment to the form of our government, the sale was suspended when a very trifling number was sold (about eighty); and till I should be determined by circumstances, either to dispose of the impression or not, I did not send your lordship a copy. The preface and thoughts are written in such a free style as becomes a Briton or an Irishman who venerates the constitution, and wishes to see it perpetuated and cautiously improved. Had they been composed in a tame style, they would not have been read, nor could their contents make a useful impression at a critical moment. My paper reminds me that I am too far trespassing on your lordship's valuable time, in this narrative, explaining the cause of what your lordship might otherwise have considered as an ungrateful neglect. The address of the 'Thoughts on the British constitution' to your lordship went warm from the heart, else it should not have stood in the page. .

"For the reasons enumerated in this letter, as the sale is not at present going on, I must request that your lordship will confine the volume to your own perusal if it shall be honoured with that mark of your regard."

223, ii.—1794, April 16, Belfast—"Your lordship's letter reached me last night, since which I hope the book has been delivered to your lordship. I am happy to think that it neither has, nor is likely to produce any answers, and am therefore convinced that it is calculated to answer its purpose, viz., to keep down but not rekindle subjects of controversy.

"Your lordship's intention of perusing our labours, calculated to serve the purposes of order and good government, I am happy at; indeed, I know few things which could hurt me more than the idea of having any hand in anything, by word or deed, which would not deserve and receive your lordship's warmest countenance. Your compliments to doctor Haliday and doctor Bruce have been delivered.

---

[1] The proprietors of the "Northern Star" newspaper, Belfast, were prosecuted by the Government in 1794 for having, in 1792, published an address to the public from the "Irish Jacobins" of Belfast.

"When your lordship's eyes and convenience will admit, please to turn over to pages 180, 208, 236, 238, 248, 203, and 206, where you will see some of our opinions on public matters displayed. When your lordship has had time to peruse our sketches in favour of the British constitution, and in opposition to the test of the 'United Societies of Irishmen,' perhaps your lordship will honor me with a short letter."

223, iii.—1794, April 17, Belfast.—"The enclosed extraordinary production, signed by Hébert,[1] the head of the last party that suffered in France, which was sent me from London, may afford your lordship a moment's amusement.

"I believe I neglected to mention in my letter of last night, that though I do not see the slightest probability of the book being considered in an offensive point of view, it may be prudent, at least for a time, not to speak of its being published, nor of the report that it would be taken notice of. .

"Your lordship has probably read the three wonderful pamphlets of Mallet Dupan, Brissot's address to his constituents, and Camille Desmoulins; in the last there is an extraordinary piece of intelligence, if true, that Rabaut St. Etienne was in Ireland preaching French opinions within these two years. I cannot credit it. If it should happen that your lordship has not met with these books, I can assure your lordship that they throw great light on the present state of parties and politics in France."

224.—MALONE to CHARLEMONT.

i.—1794, May 27, London.—"When I look at the date of your last letter, I take great shame to myself. We are all lamenting the shortness of life, and that every year robs us of some of our dearest friends. With this sentiment strongly impressed on the mind, is it not strange that we should ever give those whom we entirely and sincerely love and esteem the smallest ground to charge us with neglect or inattention? You see I am completely dissatisfied with myself for this long and unaccountable silence, and that is at least one step to amendment. I have not, however, neglected any of your commissions. Very soon after the receipt of your letter I called on lord Aylesbury, and received from him the first number of the Antiquities of the Via Appia, and payed him for it two guineas. I have had this long time (and quite forgot to mention it when you were last in London) some of the prints published by the Antiquarian Society, which belong to you, and which are so extremely large that they would not lie in the box which I sent you two or three years ago. I mean to roll them round a roller (in which mode printsellers generally convey their goods) and send them immediately, with the late Roman antiquities, in a case to Liverpool, and will add any other books you may wish to have. Mr. Richard Payne Knight (the author of that extraordinary book[1] which you had some years since from the Society of Dilettanti) has published lately a poem on landscape,[2] in which he has endeavoured to bear off a wreath from the brows of 'Capability' Brown, and in the opinion of some has succeeded. This, if you have it not already, I will add, and the new French Grammont. As for the foreign new edition of Fabricius which you mention, I am afraid we shall neither of us live to see it. It is to be so much amplified that it will make near thirty volumes, and of these not more than three are printed. I wish I could give you any satisfactory account of my Shakspeare, but it is at present in a very quiescent state. The bookseller, Robinson, was so frightened by the war and the consequent want of money, that he has given it up. I am resolved, however, to persevere in some shape or other, and to hurl back some of the darts which Steevens has so liberally thrown at me. I could not, however, engage in so great a scheme on my own account without injuring, or at least endangering, my private fortune. What I at present, therefore, have in contemplation is, to print all my own dissertations, history of the stage, etc., together with a new life of Shakspeare, in two volumes in quarto, as a specimen of a new projected edition without any plates, and then, if I live, to publish two volumes a year till the whole is completed. I have already prepared the first half of the life, which is the most difficult part of the whole, and should before this time have completed it, but that when I had brought him to the threshold of the London stage, a fancy struck me to take a short view of the prevailing manners, customs, etc. at that time, and of the state of poetry and poets just when he came to the metropolis. I have read twenty or thirty small tracts written near the time for this purpose, and the hunt after all the little modes of life was very entertaining. But I have shrunk from the labour of digesting my materials and putting them into form. Shortly, however, I hope to resume my work. For these three months past, indeed, I have been almost entirely taken up with passing Robert Jephson's poem, entitled 'Roman Portraits,'[3] through the press; but that labour is nearly at an end, for I hope to publish it in about three weeks. I think it will gain him a great deal of credit. I believe I told you formerly that I have got some curious materials for a new life of Dryden, which I mean to prefix to a collection of all his critical prose works, which I intend to publish in two volumes. So here is work, and consequently amusement, enough cut out. But the great work of all yet remains, and, what is worse, I have not the smallest prospect towards it. You were perfectly right in your conjecture that the allusion of my former letter was to a woman, but I have not the smallest imputation to charge her with; on the contrary, she is the only woman from whom I ever had one kind word. Nothing could be more unfortunate; she was everything that could be wished, suitable in years to such an old fellow as myself (and to be that, and still very desirable, is a rare union), cheerful, sensible, companionable and engaging. But, alas! she had unfortunately some years ago entered into an engagement, which is, I believe, to be fulfilled this very week, and from which she could not disentangle herself, though the person to whom she had plighted her troth had not acted in such a manner as to secure her esteem. It is almost needless to say that, on account of this last circumstance, all this is for your private ear.

---

[1] Jacques René Hébert, member of the municipality of Paris, executed in March 1794. He was editor of "Le veritable père Duchesne," of which No. 348, consisting of eight pages, was enclosed in the above letter. The first page is headed with a coarse vignette of a man with long pipe in mouth, pistols in belt, and axe in right hand over an ecclesiastic, who kneels with clasped hands uplifted; below, "memento mori"; under which is the following:—"Je suis le véritable père Duchesne. . . . . La grande colère du père Duchesne en apprenant une nouvelle conspiration des philippotins pour armer tous les ci-devant procureurs, avocats, huissiers et clercs du haut et bas Maine, contre les Jacobins et la Montagne. Grand serment prêté par ces cartouches de ne pas souffrir qu'un seul chapon du pays de la chicane entre dans le gardemanger des sansculottes Parisiens, jusqu'à ce que le brevet des petites maisons qui a été délivré à philippotin ait été changé contre un certificat de raison et de probité." At end:—"On s'abonne pour cette feuille, dont il paroit quatre numeros par décade, à raison de cinquante sous par mois franc de port pour tous les départemens. Le bureau de l'abonnement est rue neuve de l'Egalité, Cour de Forges de Bonne Nouvelle. Les lettres non affranchies ne seront pas reçues.—Hébert."

---

[1] Account of remains of worship at Isernia, Naples. London: 1786.

[2] *See* p. 263.

[3] Published in one volume quarto, London, 1794, with portrait of the author, and engravings by Bartolozzi and others.

"There has been such a rapid succession of important events lately that each drives the other from the mind: 'unda supervenit undam.' However, I will try to recollect what I can, I mean of such little matters as do not get into the papers.

"One of the most striking circumstances of the momentous war in which we are engaged is its being tolerably well conducted (as far as generalship goes, not fighting) by the Paris cut-throats. The fact is, the whole corps of artillery of the late king have stuck steadily by them, being all of them low men and consequently good republicans. Out of these is formed their committee of war, consisting of about twelve or sixteen, four of whom are always sitting, and have couriers in constant readiness to dispatch to the armies. They have before them all the plans of defence and attack which were possessed by the old government, drawn by the first engineers of France, Vauban, etc. These they accurately examine and fight the battle over the table, leaving the generals whom they set up and knock down at pleasure scarcely any discretionary power. Several of the prisoners taken in the late actions did not know their general's (Pichegru's) name; they said they heard they had got a new one lately, but they knew no more. He was a common serjeant of artillery. No great movement, therefore, will ever spring from their army being attached to their general. They are, however, all firm and hearty in the cause, that is, in the cause of plunder, rapine, and equality. It is agreed on all hands that their new troops 'of requisition' (to use their own jargon) are good for nothing, and never stand; the troops of the former, that is, the old line, do tolerably well; till, therefore, all those are destroyed, we shall not be able to make a great impression; but they are falling daily, and there is good ground for supposing the French have lost between the beginning of April and this day not less than fifty thousand men and one hundred pieces of cannon."

224, ii.—[1794,] Wednesday, May 28.—"I had written thus far yesterday, when I was obliged to lay down my pen to go to our club,[1] where we had Charles Fox in the chair, Windham, bishop Douglas,[2] and half a dozen more. We are now so distracted by party there, in consequence of Windham and Burke, and I might add the whole nation, being on one side, and Fox and his little phalanx on the other, that we in general keep as clear of politics as we can, and did so yesterday. However, we had a little talk about the duke of York. No general was ever engaged in such difficult enterprizes that was not the subject of much abuse, and he has had these six months past from various causes an abundant share. The opposition, of course, when there is the least disaster, are clamorous against him, because it coincides with their general clamour against the war. But they have been greatly supported by some of the fine gentlemen of St. James's Street, who, having gone into the army merely for pastime, as soon as the war came on most shamefully sold out, and now endeavour to screen themselves from disgrace by saying that they were driven out by the duke's imperious and unpleasing manners. Fox, who, with all his various measures both to himself and the public that he is pursuing, is, it must be owned, very candid, said that he had made it his business on every charge that had been brought against the duke of York to sift the matter to the bottom, and in every single instance had found him right and the charge or story wholly unfounded. He had a letter from his brother, general Fox, dated between the two late actions, and he told us (from it) that the duke of York, before the unsuccessful action, had strongly remonstrated with the emperor against it, and particularly against the part assigned to him in it. But afterwards receiving orders, he thought it his duty to obey, and there was no failure whatsoever in his column. The plan was general Mack's, and was, as some of his are said to be, too fine-spun, and without sufficient allowance for unavoidable contingencies, for the time was so nicely calculated that it was almost impossible six distinct columns, widely dispersed, should be able all to act in such complete unison to the moment prefixed. One of them, it seems, had ten or twelve miles to march and two villages to take in their way; and if these should employ an hour or two more than was calculated, all would fail. However, in the late action general Mack has come off very triumphantly, with respect to the plan, disposition, etc., and we have all still great reliance on his military skill. In the unfortunate preceding action the duke of York got into Tournay, after twenty hair-breadth 'scapes, with only sixteen troopers, and after he and prince William of Gloucester had waded through a swamp, the latter up to his neck.

---

[1] The "Literary Club."

[2] John Douglas, bishop of Salisbury, author of the "Criterion," etc.

"The specie of which they are now possessed at Paris is astonishing, but the account may be very easily credited when we consider that they have had the plunder of all the churches, the sale of all the noblemen's houses, effects and estates, and the immense multitudes of rich persons whom they have put to death only on account of their riches; and when, in addition to this, we consider that by the help of the guillotine they compel the whole nation to take their inexhaustible assignats at par, and that to be possessed of a single louis in cash is a capital crime. A member of the convention who found his head was to be off in a day or two, has got away and is now with the emperor. He says that they have actually twenty-eight millions sterling in money now in the treasury, that from the returns to the convention it appears that seven-ninths of the whole property of the kingdom is in their hands, and that there are not less than four hundred and fifty thousand persons in prison in different parts of France. How many have been murdered by them or destroyed by us in war since the beginning it is very difficult to estimate, but I believe a million is the most moderate computation. Their refined cruelty, with respect to the children of all those whom they murder, goes beyond anything Nero or Domitian thought of. After having seized all the property of the father, they take care to disperse his young family in various and very distant parts of the kingdom, putting them to low trades so that no vestige or memory whatsoever may remain of what they were entitled to, from whom they sprung, or what they have been robbed of. If their power should last two or three years more, there probably will not be a single person living in the country who ever saw the old court, or had the education of a gentleman. In the midst of all these horrors, poor Malesherbes, the generous defender of the king, and whose only crime was his defending him by their own permission, and the virtuous, amiable, disinterested and heroic Elizabeth, have passed away and lost their heads without making any impression on us. Indeed, we are not in this respect in fault: we 'have supped full with horrors'; nothing can touch us further. Should they lay a regular train of gunpowder under any of their towns and blow up a hundred thousand persons at once, it would now create no surprize. It is, however, some consolation that the most wicked among them (if indeed there is any gradation) are daily falling by each other's hands. Some of their reverses equal anything that history has recorded in a long series of ages. It appears, from a private letter from general Montesquieu, who saved his head by getting away in time to Switzerland, that the present duke of Orleans, who is about twenty, and who you remember figured at the battle of Jemappes, is at this moment usher to a French school in Switzerland, at a small salary, instead of enjoying the three hundred thousand pounds a year which his father's abominable crimes deservedly deprived him of.

"I have written this at an early hour, and must now prepare to go and hear Burke make his great review of all the Hastings business. He is to begin summing up to-day. We expect much, and he is not likely to disappoint us. He has lately written a most able report on the whole proceeding, full of sound law and strong argument. I mean to send it to Richard Jephson, being in his line; and it will well repay you the perusal.

"I thought to have finished on the last sheet, but am compelled to break in upon a thirteenth page, though I have now only time to bid you farewell."

225.—Charlemont to Malone.

1794, June 4, Dublin.—"There's not a jew in christendom that would not be delighted to have you in his debt, since, though he might be some time out of his money, he would, however, be certain at length to be repaid with cent. per cent. interest. Such a payment was your last letter, every part of which is valuable, though that portion which I most esteem is the paragraph which so clearly evinces your confidence in me, a confidence, be assured, that shall never be abused. The turn of the business was very unlucky, and vexes me, because I am sure it must have vexed you. The connexion also, as you state it, was admirably calculated to make you happy, but, thank fate, such is your temper, and such your resources, that you may be happy without it. Upon the whole, therefore, I am sorry for you, but pity the lady, who seems to have acted rather with strict propriety than with prudence, and is on that account to be admired and commiserated.

"Knight's 'Landscape'[1] I have read, and greatly approve of it. I am happy at length to have seen a modern poem perfectly free from that fashionable verbiage by which our poetry has for some time past been so sadly infected—words and not thoughts seem of late to have been supposed to constitute the essence of poetry, while the paltry idea, well nigh overlaid by the pompous encumbrance of bombast expression, is difficult to be found, and, when discovered, appears to have been not worth the seeking. The taste also of this new gardener pleases me much, principally, I suppose, because in most particulars it nearly coincides with my own. Brown was undoubtedly a reformer, but, like most reformers, has, in my opinion, carried his system a great deal too far.

"Sorry I am that your Shakspeare, like everything else good and desirable, has felt the bad effects of this accursed war. Your plan, however, for publication appears to me the best that prudence could suggest, only I cannot help, in an edition so magnificent, regretting the prints, but for charity's sake let the letter be calculated for worn-out eyes. The 'Life' will, I am confident, be curious, and highly acceptable to the public; but pray give Steevens no quarter.

"I am happy to hear that Jephson's 'Portraits'[2] are likely to afford him some credit, as he is certainly in want of it from the loss he has lately sustained by his last unfortunate publication.

---

[1] *See* p. 263.

[2] *See* p. 238.

"If a new edition be wanting of Dryden's critical prose works, I know of nothing better worth republishing. The matter is, for the most part, excellent, and the manner incomparable throughout. There cannot be a better antidote against our modern innovations in style than his mode of composition, perspicuous, graceful, elegant, harmonious, and easy. His life will also be very acceptable, as nothing of the kind worth reading has hitherto been written.

"Your political news is, as usual, highly interesting and entertaining, and particularly your very probable account of the manner in which those devils incarnate conduct their war. No man can detest the French more than I do, and some late transactions in England, which, if necessary, they, and be cursed to them, have rendered so, make me hate them ten times more. The late suspension,[1] I must confess, goes to my heart. But of this I shall only say that, if it shall appear by the consequences that fifty thousand persons deserve to be hanged, the minister merits applause. If otherwise, what does he deserve? I am not in the least surprised that much obloquy should be thrown out against the duke of York, though he does not appear to me to have in any degree merited it; and I am, if possible, still less surprised at the amiable candour of Charles Fox. No man was ever possessed of a better heart, and, though I am thoroughly persuaded that he has carried his principles much too far, yet am I equally sure that he has ever acted upon principle. In the heat of debate it is scarcely possible not to transgress,—witness that excellent minded man Windham, who, if the papers are to be credited, declared his wish that the Scotch criminal laws were in force throughout England.

"I should conceive that in your ex-deputy there is no more truth than in an ex-jesuit. Eight and twenty millions sterling in specie! Two-ninths only of the whole property of the kingdom in the hands of the nation! These are indeed wonderful, but the most wonderful wonder of all is, that there are not less than four hundred and fifty thousand persons in prison in different parts of France! Why, all the prisons of Europe would scarcely contain the number, unless, like Milton's devils, they were to be reduced to the size of pigmies.

"The fate of poor Malesherbes is dreadful and atrocious, but that of Elizabeth no manly heart can endure to think on; mine recoils at the bare idea, neither could any course of horrors so far blunt my feelings as to render them less sensible to such unmanly atrocity!

"The sad reverse you mention respecting the amiable and brave duke of Orleans did certainly take place, but it is, as I hear from good authority, now at an end, Montesquieu having generously taken that unhappy prince into his family. Yet perhaps to a high-minded man this state of dependence may be even worse than any situation which enabled him to gain his own independent livelihood. But my eyes will not suffer me to write any more. Indeed, I know not when I have written so much. I am really ill in the extreme, and have been so for a long time past."

226.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1794, June 19, Belfast.—"I did indeed rejoice very sincerely in our late naval victory. The consequences of a defeat might have been dreadful, or even of a drawn battle. My joy would have been complete had the action been less bloody, or could I consider it as by any means decisive, or (as your lordship does) likely to lead to peace. But this dreadful internecine war is become one of downright passion, or more properly speaking of rage; and I see no likelihood of its ending till each guest steals away, one after another from the bloody banquet, 'ut conviva satur,' or lies down to sleep like a surfeited glutton. In one point of view there is something awful and alarming in the late engagement. Certainly no French fleet, in the channel at least, has fought with such ardour and perseverance, for upwards of a century; and this probably owing to their navy having got rid of an encumbering noblesse, to whom, in the old system, commands were confined. I suspect, indeed, their admiral has behaved ill, and that his head will pay forfeit. I was particularly pleased with the modesty and candour of lord Howe's letter. I feel a kind of interest in that brave man. I remember him here, as long ago as 1745, when he brought in his sloop, the 'Baltimore,' of sixteen guns, sorely shattered, having presumptuously engaged a French frigate of thirty-two, which afterwards landed the Pretender in Scotland. His lordship took post[1] in this harbour. That, I suppose was his first gallant action, and I hope this is to be his last; he would now retire with great glory, and he should remember the 'solve senescentem.' My lord Enniskillen, who saw him very lately at Bath, tells me he had every mark of decrepitude and decadence about him; whenever he appeared there he was grossly insulted by an ignorant and brutal mob, which seemed to depress his spirits. How different his reception at Portsmouth, and how different will his treatment be at Bath, should he return to it.

---

[1] Of the Habeas corpus Act, in England, May 1794.

"How does that Washington,[2] after rising above everyone else, rise above himself? I allude to the late instance of wisdom and firmness combined in his suspending the non-importation bill and giving time to Britain to redeem her errors and repair her injustice. If it proves but a suspension, the fault will lie at Mr. Pitt's door, provided it can find room; but I hope jay will go back dove. This poor country is most deeply interested in the fate of the negociation."

227.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1794, June 23, Dublin.—The French fleet undoubtedly fought well, but not surely from having got rid of their nobility, a set of men, who, though no favourites of mine, were brave, spirited, and animated with a point of honour which is now replaced by a spirit of enthusiasm; the true cause of their having made so much resistance was, I believe, their great superiority, much more than was at first conceived, in strength and number, a superiority which, in the channel at least, they never enjoyed before. If anything could add to my joy for so important a victory[3] it would be the deserved credit which lord Howe has thereby obtained, whose conduct, as well as his courage, have scarcely been paralleled. I have intimately known his whole family, male and female, for many many years, and to have known them is in other words to say that I have loved and highly respected them, yet was this the man whom a parcel of ignorant, lazy lubbers dared to impeach by the fireside. Washington is indeed a man whose lustre would be alone sufficient to irradiate the darkest age. If Mr. Pitt does not take advantage of the time allowed him he will certainly be answerable for all the consequences, but I really hope these matters will be amicably adjusted. Conolly,[4] with whom you wish to be acquainted, is a man of excellent heart, and a good share of whimsical parts; he has, however, great oddities, and his conversation is not always equal to his talents; he has one quality which will, with you, I am confident weigh much to his advantage, he loves me, I really believe, with great sincerity. Lady Louisa[1] is a paragon of excellence. You give me great pleasure by telling me that Brownlow is better; I wish, however, he had not ventured to change the air which has agreed with him, and especially for that of Lurgan, the cold and damp of which will, I doubt, be greatly detrimental to his convalescence. Mobs are in general by no means pleasant, but that of London to the mob of Paris is an assembly of polite philosophers. I have a curious article of intelligence in a letter of excellent authority from London. Among the other wonders of this wonderful war there is none more surprising than that, in their perpetual change of generals, every new man among the French seems to act as well as his predecessor; the fact is that at the revolution the corps of artillery, certainly the best corps in France, adhered to the revolutionists. From among these have been selected sixteen, who form the council of war, and four of these are continually sitting day and night. They have before them all the maps of the various theatres of war, maps drawn by their former great engineers so perfectly correct that they see at a glance every spot of the country; over these they fight their battles, and couriers, constantly in waiting, convey their orders hourly to the generals, who have thus no latitude allowed them; in some of the late actions the prisoners taken by us did not know their general's name, but only said that, as they heard, he was newly appointed.[2] By these means all commanders are alike, and none is enabled to make a powerful party in his army."

---

[1] Rank of post captain.
[2] George Washington, president of the United States.
[3] On 1st June 1794.
[4] Right Hon. Thomas Conolly, M.P. for Londonderry county.

228.—Rev. Edward Hudson to Charlemont.

i.—1794, July 8, Lisburn.—"Though my wrist is still weak, I believe I shall be able to scrawl a few lines to your lordship, which I am very anxious to do in the present dismal state of our affairs abroad. The manner in which the late disastrous accounts have been received by a majority here completely convinces me that they have a rooted enmity to the established order of things. The 'Northern Star' gentry printed a paper on a day out of course and dispersed it amongst their friends that they might have the earliest opportunity of feasting on the calamities of their country. The famous Doctor Reynolds,[3] flying from Dublin, took the route of Belfast, where in two hours 200*l.* were subscribed to carry him beyond the reach of the laws. Yet, not long since, a man who should have known better said to me, 'I believe we have quelled the Presbyterians pretty well.'

'Thus, when small humours gather to a gout,
The doctor fancies he has driven them out.'

"What a state is that country in, where four-fifths of the inhabitants wish a dissolution of its government. Such I am firmly persuaded is the state of this island; and, should the ministry persist in the war with as ill success as has hitherto attended it, it is to be feared some favourable opportunity may present itself to these evil spirits, and an opportunity is all they want. The primate[4] has preserved a profound silence; he is certainly a strange man."

---

[1] Conolly.

[2] *See* p. 239.

[3] James Reynolds, M.D., president of lodges of Freemasons in Tyrone, 1793.

[4] Richard Robinson, Protestant primate of Ireland, died at Clifton, near Bristol, in October 1794.

228, ii.—1794, July 11, Lisburn.—"I have just got home after being confined for some time past in Jonesborough by the gout, which attacked me very violently indeed, but has abated of its severity, though I am still far from well. The day before I left Dublin I heard something further of the affair I mentioned to your lordship. Jackson[1] certainly produced such a letter in presence of Rowan,[2] Tone,[3] and the famous Dr. Reynolds. Mr. Knox,[4] the commissioner, went to Mr. Secretary Hamilton,[5] on behalf of Crawford, and asked for an investigation of the business, but, I believe, received no satisfactory answer. Crawford seems very indignant on the occasion, as may well be supposed, and is very liberal of invectives against administration, with whom he will have it that Jackson acts in concert. I hope the latter will be hanged to undeceive him. An account of an action between the fleets is anxiously expected here by all parties, though I believe their wishes are far from being in unison. Nothing can be more preposterous and unnatural than the sentiments of some amongst us. They have patriotism for ever in their mouths, and yet cannot conceal their joy at every disastrous event that occurs. Ask their reason—they hate the administration. I wish there may not be something worse at bottom. I once loved them, and still think there was a time when by a little good management they might have been made our bulwark. The opportunity was let slip by those wise men who governed us and who knew as little of the real sentiments of those people as I do of those of the Japanese." . .

228, iii.—1794, July —.—"Some thousands of the enclosed paper have been circulated here and in Down and Louth. It appears to me the wickedest of all I have seen. On the 14th of July there was a meeting here and in Belfast too, to commemorate the French revolution; but I have the pleasure to find they were both very inconsiderable."

[Enclosure.]

"'Friends and fellow-countrymen,—You have been often told that politics is a subject upon which you should never think; that to the rich and great men of the country you should give up your judgment in the business of government; and that to your own occupations alone you should turn your minds. But you should carefully enquire who gives this advice. Is it disinterested men, or men who wish your welfare? No; it is men in power; it is men who profit by your ignorance and inattention, who wish to keep you in darkness that they may the more easily fleece you of your property and deprive you of your rights; men, who hesitate not to say, that you do not deserve the light that shines because you are poor. But is there any sensible, honest man will say that the poor man is not as useful in society as the rich? Will he not assert that the poor are the support of society? Who makes the rich? The answer is obvious,—it is the industrious poor. What makes the shuttle fly, and the plough cleave the furrow? The industrious poor. In whose hands are all the useful arts, the very arts, the improvement of which enables the rich to make their money, and to display their pride and wickedness? Are they in the hands of the rich? No. They must then be in the hands of the industrious poor. . . . Finally, if you are not convinced that there is common sense and truth in the above do not listen to it; but if you are, why not think of politics? Think seriously; think of your rulers; think of republics; think of kings; think of the murderous wars they are carrying on; think of the money they are robbing you of to keep you in slavery and ignorance; think how courtiers remain in safety and profligacy at home; think of what hardships the poor suffer abroad, on account of the wickedness of their rulers; think of the present aspiring disposition of the people of Europe; and when you have considered all these things you may be convinced that the day of emancipation is not far distant; and if you are men, if you are Christians, be united, be prepared, and be determined to do yourselves justice.—One of the people. Newry, June, 1794.' "

---

[1] Rev. William Jackson, died in the dock at Dublin in 1795.

[2] Archibald Hamilton Rowan.

[3] Theobald Wolfe Tone.

[4] Hon. George Knox, commissioner of revenue in Ireland.

[5] Sackville Hamilton, under secretary, civil department, Ireland.

228, iv.—1794, August 3, Jonesborough.—" The change in the natives here is truly astonishing. Formerly a newspaper would have been a phenomenon amongst them. At present, they may vie with the northerns in their thirst after politics. He who can read has generally a large audience about the door of his cabin, whilst he is endeavouring to enlighten his countrymen. Their general sentiments seem to be the same with those of the others, though their hatred of a Presbyterian seems as rooted as ever. In fact, the lower class on each side hates the other cordially in spite of the endeavours of their leaders. I am sorry so see the usual torpor (I might say despondence) possess the well disposed everywhere. Yet there are numbers who would gladly contribute to the public service in any way that might be pointed out. I am satisfied that in my immediate neighbourhood there are many hundreds ready to shed their blood or spend their fortunes in support of the present order of things."

229.—EARL FITZWILLIAM[1] to CHARLEMONT.

1794, August 23, London.—" Though it may be presumptuous to suppose that his majesty will do me the great honour of appointing me to the government of Ireland when my name shall be mentioned to him on his return from Weymouth, and before it has been so, it may perhaps appear indecorous to be myself the suggester of the possibility of such an event taking place; yet, knowing the rumour of it will be buzzed about, I cannot let it reach your lordship merely as rumour, but (trusting to not being quoted) announce to you my expectation of very soon appearing before you in that responsible character. Critical as the affairs of all Europe are, I may say of all civilised society, and therefore difficult as those of Ireland must be in the present melancholy period, I should undertake the arduous task of their management with alacrity and confidence if I could flatter myself that I should have none to meet and to deal with but persons with characters resembling your lordship's. I know well the purity of your intentions, the wisdom and uprightness of your conduct. But all men are not of that description; many a corrupt heart, many a perverse understanding is to be found. Against such there must be a contest, and the contest must be carried on by the aid and assistance of those who are their contrasts in point of character—by such men as your lordship. I am now then soliciting your aid and assistance—not the promise of unconditional support, but only, that if upon trial, the government I attempt to establish shall appear to your excellent discernment of a nature fit for the preservation of the pith and spirit of a British constitution, in that case I solicit the weighty support you are able to give; and if, in the event, I obtain it, I shall esteem it as an undoubted proof that I have not forgotten the principles of him[2] whom you loved, whom I revered."

---

[1] William Wentworth, earl Fitzwilliam, appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland in December 1794.

[2] Marquis of Rockingham.

230.—CHARLEMONT to EARL FITZWILLIAM.

1794, August 25.—"My dear lord,—for so, be your station what it may, I must ever address the nephew and representative of my beloved marquis [of Rockingham], suffer me to return you my most sincere acknowledgments for the high honour you have conferred on me, by your most kind, condescending and satisfactory letter, the contents of which cannot fail of being in the highest degree pleasing to me, both in a public and in a private view.

"The affairs of all civilized society are, indeed, as you well observe, in a most critical situation, and this country, though it has not hitherto experienced those horrors by which the great part of Europe is desolated, cannot but feel enough of the effects of distant convulsion, to render its government more difficult than it had been in periods less outrageous. These difficulties have, however, I am persuaded, occurred principally from foolish and fatal mismanagement, and I have every reason to flatter myself that, under your lordship's administration, they may speedily disappear. The contempt, only tempered with hatred, which the people have too generally entertained for their rulers, and consequently for parliamentary majorities, has, undoubtedly, injured, in their opinion, both government and parliament; yet may a wise, good and respectable administration still go far in giving to their minds a new and beneficial turn. Restored to hope by a change of men and measures, they will, I should trust, forget those discontents, for which they have had but too much reason, and unanimity of sentiment, the chief happiness of every state, may once more prevail. To be able to contribute, in however trivial a degree, to an end so truly desirable, must necessarily be the highest gratification to one the whole boast of whose life has ever been an ardent and disinterested love of his country; and so far unquestionably my duty will happily coincide with my inclination in affording your lordship all the little assistance in my power. Yet, since, however firm my confidence may be in your lordship's character and dear connexion, absolute security is a political vice. I must conclude by saying that this promise is, as you so kindly, considerately and nobly desired it should be, still conditional, at the same time beseeching your lordship to be assured that, if any untoward and perfectly unexpected accident should prevent me from complying with this, my warmest wish, I should esteem it among the greatest misfortunes of my life.

"Your lordship will kindly excuse any inadvertency in this letter, which I have written with much pain and difficulty, being not yet recovered from the effects of a confinement to my couch for ten long weeks, occasioned by an accident in riding, which had well nigh been fatal to me."

231.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

[1794, August —.]—"At length we are assured that the sun of Fitzwilliam's righteousness is to arise on our foggy atmosphere, but, of course, 'shorn of its beams.' Almighty Pitt, it is said, has brought this 'fidus Achates' with his 'pius Æneas,' Portland, into complete trammels. 'How are the mighty fallen!' No matter, we shall get rid of Westmorland. That is one arrow of the bunch snapped, and that is the way in the long run to demolish the whole. After all, I am sorry for this compromise. Well as I love Ireland, I should have been well pleased if she had missed of this single change, however in itself desirable, on condition that the honourable ill-treated transfugals had returned to their forsaken camp, but, forbid it honour and forbid it pride, like Macbeth, they think it easier to go all lengths than 'revocare gradum.' Well, I had as lief be dead Kosciusko, as the best living wight among them.

"It is with great concern I hear that Cope[1] is likely to turn out a formidable opponent to our friend Brownlow. My authority, indeed, is not very good ; I hope your lordship can give me on better more agreeable tidings, for I am very solicitous, your lordship knows, for Brownlow's success, on more than one account. The business must rest on the weight of landlords, for there is no longer zeal to warm and spur on the people ; at least such is the case in these two counties. Disappointment, real or imagined, in the result of their late strenuous and successful efforts has induced an apathy that is not good. I hope this is not the case in a neighbouring one. The truth is, the general mass considers the representation as so unequal and corrupt, and despair so utterly of any reform proceeding from such a body, that they think it of little moment who is sent into the house [of commons.] In the meantime, Fitzgibbon hath so completely gagged the public mouth, that they look on with folded arms, in sullen enforced silence, trusting to the chapter of accidents (and a very eventful one that is) for any favourable change. I hope our new viceroy will blow up the gunpowder bill, and restore the people the use of their tongues. If he doth not, we shall still think that Westmorland[2] is pro-consul.

"Our amiable friend, Robert,[3] set out ten days ago, in compliance with the minister's circular letter. I took the liberty, at our last conference, of suggesting to him the delicacy and difficulty of his situation. This, with his usual candour, he took in very good part; but it will have no effect. He is Pitt-ized with a vengeance, which he candidly owns. He turned the tables on me, wanting to proselyte me, which was surely not worth his pains. He sent me an epistle afterwards, of four quarto pages in a small pica type, with Mornington's[4] speech—to confirm me in the new faith—which I shall not read, till I can have, at the same time on my table, 'Who was the aggressor?'

"At present, I am in much more danger of becoming a proselyte to Quakerism, from the frequent conversations I have with certain sensible 'Friends,' and the good books they either give or lend me. Indeed, I do not know that it would be worse for the world if we were Quakers."

232.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1794, September 20, Dublin.—"The war is undoubtedly most detestable, yet cannot I discover any consolatory prospects of a permanent peace. If, for example, a treaty had been entered into with Robespierre, what would now have been the consequence? It would have been made a part of that abominable minister's crimes, and, after some sessions on our side, would infallibly have been broken.

"It may indeed be said, and, I believe, with truth, that our present involved situation is owing to abominable misconduct in the commencement. But what of that, we are involved and how shall we extricate ourselves? And why will you not allow me to look forward with some pleasing expectation even to the confined and narrow circle of our own internal politics? Your intelligence respecting the stipulation of the duke of Portland is possibly in all its parts not well founded; but, suppose it were, we well know the pliancy of ministers, and may not a good master render even bad servants, if not serviceable, at least less hurtful. But, in spite of your croaking, I will hope still better, for, alas, what have we but hope to live upon? I have lived too long, and seen too much, to be unreasonably sanguine even in my idea of characters. Station has corrupted even the best men, and changes almost incredible have taken place in the most established characters. Yet ought we not to dread that miracles will be wrought for our destruction, and sooner shall the ermine root with the swine than lord Fitzwilliam tread in the nasty mire of his predecessors. So at least I will think till I am, as I trust I never shall be, convinced of the contrary." ✓

---

[1] William Camden Cope, unsuccessful candidate for representation of county of Armagh in opposition to William Brownlow, of Lurgan, whose father, William Brownlow, had been M.P. for Lurgan during about forty years.

[2] John Fane, earl of Westmorland, appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland in January 1790.

[3] Robert Stewart, subsequently viscount Castlereagh and marquis of Londonderry.

[4] "Substance of Lord Mornington's speech in the house of commons on a motion for an address to his majesty." Dublin : 1794.

233.—RICHARD JEPHSON to CHARLEMONT.

1794, September 29, Cork.—"Though I am at present in the very centre of reports, yet recollecting the character that Cork news has always borne, I can hardly call myself in the centre of intelligence. All mouths here are full of the impending changes, and happy is the man that either has or can pretend to have, with any colour of probability, authentic information upon the subject. On the supposition that the chancellor is not to be removed, Mr. Egan [1] will make the fortunes of two or three people, for he is ready to take a sum of money, ever so small, on condition of paying any sum, ever so great, if the present chancellor hold the seals till the end of the year. As I do not pretend to pry into secrets, my curiosity would be fully gratified by receiving from your lordship any Dublin newspapers containing the commonest reports of the day, such as the intended repeal of the convention bill; the promotion of the chief baron [2] to the seals; of Wolfe [3] to the provostship, etc., with an accrediting mark upon such paragraphs as deserve to be considered as authentic. In the midst of this political bustle, the country is as quiet as its best friends could wish it to be. There is no talk of either rioters or White-boys, and a great likelihood of the Cork assizes ending, as the Limerick has done, without a single execution.

"The election of Limerick,[4] after all that was expected from it, ended curiously enough. I was in the court-house, at the time the riot happened, which put an end to it; and certainly witnessed a scene as completely French in every respect as I can well conceive. I was warned, as I went in, that something extraordinary was to happen, and for some time I perceived a smothered fury appear in the looks of both parties, when suddenly a cry was raised of 'Down with the soldiers.' The doors were attempted to be shut, and in an instant a sword or a bludgeon leaped from the side of every one of Mr. Smith's friends. The soldiers levelled their muskets at the galleries where the people were, and some of Mr. Smith's friends attacked them with drawn swords. While I was preparing myself to see either a hard-fought battle or a shocking massacre, the business ended in the court-house being cleared in less than a minute of all the mob and a great many of sir Harry's voters. Previous to the election, the squibs and publications were innumerable; and, as the wit happened to take a very indecent turn, the delicacy of the Limerick ladies has suffered considerably, the Limerick gentlemen making no kind of scruple of singing all the election ballads in the most mixed companies and going fearlessly through thick and thin."

---

[1] John Egan, M.P. for borough of Tallagh.

[2] Barry Yelverton, subsequently viscount Avonmore.

[3] Arthur Wolfe, attorney general, Ireland.

[4] To fill the vacancy in the representation caused by the accession of the previous member, Edmond Henry Pery, to the peerage, as lord Glentworth. The candidates were H. Harstonge, Thomas Maunsell, and Charles Vereker, of whom the last was elected.

234.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1794, October 18, Dublin.—"Our unaccountable uncertainty respecting lord Fitzwilliam still remains. The seven packets which arrived all together, brought me an authentic letter, dated however so early as the fifth of this month, at that time no impediment had occurred, and our new lieutenant had determined to take his departure for Ireland at the latter end of the month, on the other hand the Castle [of Dublin] positively assures us that his present excellency will most certainly bless us with his auspicious presence during another session; much, indeed, may have happen'd since the fifth, but then the same positive assertion was given out when it could not possibly have been true."

235.—MARLAY, Bishop of Clonfert, to CHARLEMONT.

1794, October 18, Clonfert House.—"This moment I received your letter, for which many thanks. I know from an experience of fifty years, that I possess the warmest wishes of your heart. I might say more than fifty years, if I did not affect to be young, and am not married.

"I do not know what will be done with respect to the primacy.[1] Who gives away that promotion I cannot guess. I shall tell you all I know, which I would have informed you of before, but I waited to find the success of my application. When the archbishop of Tuam [2] died, I wrote to all my friends in England, to interest them to promote me to that see. All answered most kindly, except the duke of Portland, who did not write to me, though they say he is my friend. To the prince I wrote, yet was doubtful of the propriety of doing so. He immediately, with the warmest zeal, applied to Mr. Pitt; said 'that a favour conferred on the bishop of Clonfert, he would consider as a favour conferred on him.' He also made Mr. Dundas write to lord Westmoreland; he also sent to Douglas,[3] to beg he would be active for me. He sent the kindest message from Brighton, which Hamilton and Skeffington were desired to write to me. He ordered lord Clermont [4] to write to me, and tell that he (the prince) hoped to carry his point. The last winter I was in London, I saw the prince very often, and he honoured me very much by his favour and attention; and now you see how very kind he has been to me. Nothing has been done yet in consequence of this goodness; but last week an express came to me from the lord lieutenant, asking, if I would accept of Cloyne,[5] in case it immediately became vacant. He (lord Westmorland) enclosed the valuation of that see made by the present bishop. The valuation is four thousand three hundred a year. I answered, that, though highly obliged, I could not at this time accept of this favour, unless my friends advised or desired me to accept it. Lord Westmorland's plan is (I am told) to recommend Beresford [6] to the primacy, and Cloyne [5] to Tuam, and to send me to Cloyne. Whether lord Westmorland's recommendation will take place, or not, I cannot guess. It is supposed lord Fitzwilliam will make the promotions. What will be done for me, what the prince will now do, or if he can do anything, I cannot tell. If I remain on the bog of Clonfert, I shall be contented. Clonfert is a very comfortable place, and the see very much increased since I have got rid of a knavish agent. You see how I stand; to you I think aloud; do not mention what I tell you, except to your own family in secrecy, for many reasons too long to relate. You ought to know whatever concerns me."

---

[1] Vacant by death of Richard Robinson, in October 1794.

[2] Joseph Deane Bourke, died in 1782.

[3] *See* p. 239.

[4] William Henry Fortescue, first earl.

[5] Richard Howard, bishop of Cloyne, died in 1794, and in June of that year the see was conferred on William Bennet.

[6] Hon. William Beresford, bishop of Ossory, translated to Tuam in October 1794.

236.—Charlemont to Malone.

1794, October 29, Dublin.—"Whither is madness hurrying you respecting America? A war with her would be the summit and completion of ruin. England would thereby be more than ever endangered, and the country would be undone both in point of commerce, and perhaps even of internal tranquility. But your ministers, or rather minister, seems neither to care for, think of, nor indeed to know Ireland. His own grand acquisition, the new magnificent kingdom of Corsica, claims more of his attention. Else why all this confusion respecting our viceroy? Why this impolitic delay of measures which will finally, with a bad grace, be acquiesced in? Whence the wish of teazing us into a fever by the continuance of our present detested administration? Lord Westmoreland and his co-adjutors are said to have kept the country quiet. The contrary is true. Discontent has followed their measures, and we are the cause of tranquillity! What has opposition done? From a true and cautious regard to the general interests of the empire, and for the sake of internal peace, they have abstained from thwarting men they condemned, and measures which could not meet their approbation. Nay, even I myself—sometimes even vanity may be a virtue—have risked my popularity, and perhaps even forfeited a portion of it, by supporting an administration I not without reason disliked, and by my continual and not unsuccessful endeavours to check the spreading of political contagion, and to quiet the minds of the people; and by so doing have contributed more to the public peace than the vicegerent, and all his ministers, and all their laws. But perish popularity, when it is made use of otherwise than for the good of the people by whom it is conferred!"

237.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1794, November 5, Dublin.—Very soon now our unaccountable uncertainty respecting a change in Irish administration must be cleared up. I will not yet venture to guess at the event, but this I will say that, happen what will, we have the high satisfaction to be certain that our friends have acted to the extent of our wishes, with honour, honesty, and spirit. If the people do not allow them their due credit, the people will be much to blame.

238.—Malone to Charlemont.

1794, November 7, London.—"My summer has passed away much in the usual way, with, I think, but one excursion for three weeks to Brightelmstone on a visit to Mr. Hamilton,[1] who is a mere wreck of what he was. Notwithstanding the paralytic stroke he had some years ago, his understanding is just as acute as ever it was; but he seems to be wasting by a gradual decay. While the long days continued, I could amuse myself perfectly well, and worked very hard on the life of Shakspeare. After all, I have written but half of it, though the materials are collected for the whole. The scheme of giving an account of the manners of the time has delayed me much, and, after all, I have not fairly grappled with it, having done nothing in it yet but collect and make abstracts from various quarters. In this, as on several other subjects, I have always found the pursuit pleasanter than being 'in at the death.' In collecting materials to any particular point, one's ardour and researches are daily rewarded by some new discovery; but the arranging and putting them into proper form is, if not a dull, at least an anxious and laborious business. I do not know whether I told you that I have overturned, on very satisfactory evidence, almost every tale that we have been taught to believe concerning this extraordinary man,—the deer-stealing story among the rest.

---

[1] *See* vol. i., p. 442.

"I do not wonder that these disastrous times should give you a great deal of anxiety. The world, as you say, is indeed become frantic; and what is worse, England, on which the fate of all the civilized part of Europe seems to depend, has been almost shaken to its base by the accursed machinations of those who wish to import French madness and licentiousness among us. It seems to be fated that this beautiful and inestimable constitution should be again destroyed by Presbyterians and Scotchmen. Almost all our prime traitors are of that description. The mask of religion, too, it seems, is again to be employed; for these fellows, as you will see in Hardy's[1] trial, are determined to set up the 'tabernacle of righteousness,' instead of the filthy tabernacles, which under the name of king, lords and commons, are the present seat of government. Martin, whose trial is to come, is a low Scotch attorney, and during the last session sent to all the members the most impudent libels, or rather the most atrocious appeals to the people, calling on them to overturn and annihilate the present constitution. But the arch traitor of all is Horne Tooke, a renegade priest, a venal hireling, an atheist, and a coward. Of every one of these characters there are decisive proofs. Yet I am afraid he is so cunning that he will escape the fate he so well deserves. As Hardy's trial took up eight days, I suppose his, which is to come on next Monday se'nnight, will employ sixteen—I mean if he should be allowed to speak himself. But his counsel will, if they are wise, muzzle him; otherwise he may probably hang himself.[2] Erskine's late speech was just what I expected, a flimsy declamation, without an atom of law in it: that of his co-adjutor (Gibbs) appears to have been a nervous legal speech, and to have made as much of the cause as it was capable.

"As to the American business, of which you seem to be apprehensive, I believe there is no ground whatsoever for any alarm. They are here very desirous to keep well with them: and I understand every difference has been accommodated.

"It would be quite idle for me to pretend to give you any information on Irish business, who, without doubt, know from others the real state of things. I see Windham very frequently; but one in the secret is the last person from whom any intelligence can be gained. I take it for granted that the duke of Portland and lord Fitzwilliam would not attempt (as the common story has supposed them to do) to divest those persons of their offices who have filled them ably, though nothing can be more reasonable than that all confidence and influence should now be transferred to those who are so much better entitled to both. But according to the account of the remnant of opposition, (who are enraged at that most honourable and amiable man, the duke of Portland, and take every opportunity of depreciating him), the hitch is, that it is required to abolish certain places, which Pitt will not consent to: and the same account says, that the matter is now finally settled between the contending parties, on the principle of a 'uti possidetis'; and that lord Fitzwilliam does not go. But I most sincerely hope this is not the case. I was not acquainted with the late marquis of Rockingham; but, as far as I could judge from dining with lord Fitzwilliam twice, he appeared to me much to resemble the character I have heard of him. Such a man therefore, as chief governor would be a great public benefit, and would be particularly acceptable after such an insignificant trifler as the present.[1] I need not, I am sure, tell you that there are other reasons why I heartily wish he may still go. The provostship,[2] I find, is not yet given away; and after the very manly address of the fellows, which I read yesterday, I think it will be impossible for them to give it to bishop Bennet.[3] Burke, even in the midst of his grief for his son, wrote to Mr. Windham to disclaim his ever having entertained a thought of such an office, and to conjure him to represent to lord Fitzwilliam of how much consequence it was to the kingdom that it should not be made a political place, but given in its due course to one of the fellows: and so I have good reason to believe it will be, if lord Fitzwilliam should have the appointment.

---

[1] Thomas Hardy, tried at Old Bailey, 1794.

[2] Tooke was tried and acquitted in 1794.

"Poor Burke is as much afflicted as ever, or rather more so; he takes it into his head that he has killed his son by not attending in time to his complaint. There is, however, I think, a vigour in his mind that will enable him to rouse himself, and to take some part yet in the momentous affairs that now agitate the world. He certainly, however, will not come into the house of commons again. I wish they would place him in the house of peers; and I think it is not improbable. There have been many peers made without property, for public services, real or imaginary. Of this sort are all our naval and military and diplomatic peers, lord Rodney, lord Malmesbury, lord Auckland, etc. And why not lord Beaconsfield? At all events, there will be some further favour conferred by parliament, in addition to the king's grant of 1,200*l*. a year.

"But to return once more to private history, in which you are so good as to take an interest. My matrimonial hopes are not quite extinct, but hang on the strangest thread imaginable. I think between this and Christmas the matter must be determined, one way or the other, and much of the comfort of my little remnant of life (for comfort is all I look for now) will depend upon that determination.

"As long as there is daylight, I never want employment; but my eyes are as weak as yours, and I can do nothing by candle-light, or if I attempt it, I always suffer by it. The loss of our dear sir Joshua Reynolds is irreparable to me. In the winter I used generally once or twice a week to dine with him, and in the evenings dropped in whenever I was disengaged. We shall never, I fear, again have such a society assembled as he used constantly to bring together. I have been going on very slowly with his works, and am almost come to an end. I hope to be able to have them ready for publication by the first of the new year. I have printed all the 'Discourses,' with some additions and improvements, and his journey to Flanders, which fills about 120 pages. I think you will be pleased with it, though in many places it is little more than a 'catalogue raisonnée,' but always sensible, natural, and judicious. I am at present on Mason's translation of Du Fresnoy, and long to get through it; the Latin of the original is so crabbed and unclassical, that it is painful to look at it, and to sound it would, I am sure, break one's teeth. Sir Joshua's notes follow; and the rest will be soon dispatched.

---

[1] Earl of Westmorland.
[2] Of Trinity College, Dublin.
[3] William Bennet. *See* p. 250.

"I have lately, by the favour of the duke of Newcastle, got an invaluable treasure, Spence's[1] Anecdotes,[2] which contain many curious particulars of Pope, Dryden, and other of our poets. I expect to draw much from them for a life of the latter, which I meditate, not in competition with Johnson's admirable account of him and his works, but as a supplement to it. He had these anecdotes, but he did not take half so much out of them as he might have done. So here is another 'remora' to Shakspeare, for the making these extracts will take some time; but then they will furnish several elucidations for an edition of Pope, which I meditate some time or other; and also some editorial matter to Aubrey's[3] lives of the poets, which I transcribed at Oxford three years ago, and which I will print when I have time. So here, you see, is business enough laid out, and that is the grand secret of life.

"I suppose you sometimes see Richard Jephson. I am so miserable a correspondent that I have no right to complain; but pray tell him that I wrote him a long letter, I think in July, and a short one just as I was setting out for Brighthelmstone, in the middle of September, and that I long to know what he is doing; whether he has been on circuit, and how he has succeeded."

239.—CHARLEMONT to MALONE.

1794, November 13, Dublin.—"Few, indeed, are the correspondents whom I could sincerely thank for the transmission of three written sheets, yet among those few you are undoubtedly one; and for this clear reason, that your letters are always entertaining, and, consequently, acceptable in proportion as they are long. Neither is it in any degree necessary, to render them amusing, that they should be furnished with extraneous matter, since an account of yourself, of your thoughts, and of your opinions, must ever be the history of that which is to me most interesting. Thus do I read with exceeding delight your discoveries concerning Shakspear, not only because I wish to know every circumstance relating to that wonderful man, but because I see in these discoveries a plenteous source of present amusement, and of future credit to one whose pleasure and whose literary fame I most ardently desire. Your political sentiments are also highly satisfactory to me, and the more so, since, however we may differ in some superficial points, fundamentally I am confident we think alike. Surely the trials, as far as they have gone, have been madly imprudent on the part of administration. An acquittal is a victory, and should never have been hazarded; neither do I think that the jury were in any degree to blame, as, from what I have read of the trial, it does not, I confess, appear to me that the proofs amounted to conviction. That much mischief was done, and much more intended, must be clear to every one; and yet, from want of proof, the jury could not, in my opinion, have acted otherwise, and anything is better than a strained verdict. On the other hand, the party, which I most sincerely join with you in execrating, will gain strength and spirits by the failure, and even to the mass of the people the danger of such proceedings will appear less great. Such will, I fear, be the effects of the precipitancy of administration,—yet, thank fate, not of that part of it which I must ever love and esteem, since the present trials were, I believe, set on foot long before the coalition. I do not love the word! Respecting our Irish business, I cannot help fearing the worst. In the present state of this country, a disappointment might probably be attended with very disagreeable consequences. Our friends, I fear, are too honest not to have been the dupes of cunning. With regard to a change in office, you are well enough acquainted with my sentiments to be assured that I have little personal concern therein; yet this I must say, that changes might be made with great official advantage, and that, as in Ireland consultation always follows office, it would be utterly impossible to form a new cabinet without some such alterations, since how could any honest man be induced to consult with those whose political tenets are the reverse of his own, and whose conduct he has, in every instance, reprobated? Was there ever yet in England a change of administration which was not attended by some change in office? At all events, new measures must be pursued, and certain concessions must be made before it will be possible for gentlemen to take any part in a new administration, either with honesty or with honour; and never, in any country, were new ministers more necessary.

---

[1] Rev. Joseph Spence, author of "Polymetis," London, 1747, etc.

[2] Published at London, in 1820, under the following title: "Observations, anecdotes and characters of books and men: arranged with notes by the late Edmund Malone."

[3] "Lives of eminent men," by John Aubrey, from MSS. in the Ashmolean museum, Oxford, were published at London in 1813.

"A thousand thanks for the kindly, confidential manner in which you mention your private history. Sorry, however, I am that so much of your happiness, for I reject the cold word comfort, seems to depend upon a strange and slender thread. Between this and Christmas the matter will be decided, and that the decision may be such as you wish, is my most sincere and ardent desire.

"The conduct of Burke, whom from my heart I pity, respecting our university, is worthy of himself. Should lord F[itzwilliam] come over, I well know that this very important matter will be settled as it ought to be; and, indeed, I should hope that, after what has passed, even your manœuvering minister would be ashamed, if that be possible, to give his sanction to so execrable, so destructive a job as that which was proposed on this side of the water.

"I am glad to find that our ever-lamented sir Joshua's works are in such forwardness. I have read his journey to Flanders, which he lent me in manuscript, and like it extremely—it is the best 'voyage pittoresque' now extant.

"I would certainly desire that the 'Grammont' should be magnificently bound in London, and wish that some safe and expeditious way could be devised of transmitting to me such books as you so kindly procure for me. Is Liverpool the surest route? or might not small parcels be at once sent to Holyhead? . . . Jephson owns his idleness, and has, I believe, by this time written to you. He is indeed a most excellent fellow."

240.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1794, November 22, Dublin.—"I have just now certain intelligence that matters are at length decided in England, and that lord Fitzwilliam will certainly be our lieutenant. The precise terms I do not know, but believe that they will be highly advantageous."

241.—JAMES STEWART[1] to CHARLEMONT.

1794, November 27, Killymoon.—"It was very kind in you to give me so early the pleasing intelligence of lord Fitzwilliam's appointment, an event which, for the sake of our country, I most sincerely rejoice at. I earnestly wish that he may meet with such support from honest and independent men as to make his government easy and agreeable to himself, and enable him to carry his good intentions (for such I am persuaded he has) towards Ireland into execution, in defiance of the opposition which may be expected from displaced and disappointed men. . . . I am very anxious for Horne Tooke. He was an old and intimate acquaintance of mine in France and Italy. I never met a more pleasing, agreeable companion; but we did not converse much in those days on politics."

---

[1] M.P. for county of Tyrone.

242.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1794, November 28, Dublin.—"The precise terms on which the accommodation has taken place are not yet known to me, but I am thoroughly confident that lord Fitzwilliam would not accept, nor our friends engage themselves, without such concessions as will be honourable and profitable to the country he is sent to govern; and you will, I doubt not, find that our negotiators have acted throughout with honour, spirit, and integrity, particularly the Ponsonbys, who will, I believe, be found to have risqued a situation of all others to them the most desirable, rather than consent to any compromise by which their country was not essentially served. If such shall be found to be their conduct, public gratitude is most certainly their due, of which, if they are deprived, the people will be to blame and unworthy of their service; but, alas, what, in this country at least, is public gratitude—a sudden emotion which scarcely ever outlasts the benefit, and is sunk into its contrary by the influence of the first popular whim. Yet surely the people act against their own interest in suffering patriotism to be its own reward, since, though in my opinion no guerdon can be greater than the blessing of self-approbation, this sentiment will not, I fear, be found universal. Sorry indeed I am that our dear friend Robert [Stewart] should have made himself liable to ministerial requisition, and still more that he should be so completley Pittized. Both his head and his heart were formed for better things. The speech he has sent you is curious and well worth the perusal, but is better as a pamphlet than as a speech; it is a good recapitulation of French enormities. . . .

"From various circumstances, I cannot help thinking that some negotiation for universal peace is on foot; heaven grant that it may be good and honourable! Some pretend to say that it will be preceded by the resignation of Pitt; of this I know nothing, but am confident that neither you nor I would be sorry for the event."

243.—Thomas Percy, Bishop of Dromore, to Rev. E. Hudson.

1794, December 22, Dromore House.—"If you can comply with the request I am going to make, you will exceedingly oblige me. It is this: Apprehending a quarrel between the Papists and Dissenters on our last market day, I, at the desire of the principal inhabitants of Dromore, applied for a small party of soldiers (30 with their officers), which were sent us from Newry and kept the peace inviolate. And though we are pretty confident all will be equally quiet next Saturday, yet, as I promised the officers that I would procure them the sanction of a magistrate in case of any riot, I have taken this liberty to request the favour of you to spend that day at my house, and to bring a copy of the riot act with you (otherwise I will try to get it for you). I flatter myself there will not be any occasion to read it, but to perform my promise to the officers

I would have it ready. You see how much I presume on your obliging disposition, and at the same time I conceive that you are in the commission of the peace (or can legally act in such an exigence) for this county. May I beg the favour of an answer by to-morrow's post, as if I cannot have your assistance I must apply elsewhere. We have hopes that the bishop of Norwich[1] will be primate[2]; he is my intimate friend, and if so, I shall renew the application you desired of me."

244.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

i.—1795, January 10, Dublin.—"The wished for change has at length taken place, which in one respect at least must be highly serviceable, as it has rid us of the worst of all possible lieutenants. Neither do my sanguine hopes stop here, since I cannot avoid flattering myself that we have now gotten a chief governor who comes over with the best intentions, and the strongest desire of doing us all the good in his power. Already we have had a foretaste, an earnest of his administration, regardless of ministerial convenience, and of that darling of all vicious governments, court influence. He has restored the university[3] to its rights, and has replaced it in that situation by which alone its national importance can be secured, and he has placed at the head of the church a prelate,[4] not from recommendation, but from character, and whose unassuming virtue, conduct, principles, and erudition have alone recommended him to that high office. In both these appointments public utility alone has been considered. Murray[5] could possibly have had no protection but his own intrinsic merit, and as being the means of rescuing the college from the foreign usurpation of statesmen and lawyers, and Newcome had no English patron but Charles Fox. From such commencement it would be uncharitable and even foolish not to indulge the most sanguine hopes, both with respect to him and to his principal advisers. And here I cannot avoid repeating what I have often inculcated, that much public gratitude is due, and ought, both in propriety and policy, to be paid to the Ponsonbys, who have hitherto acted a manly, consistent, and truly disinterested part. Thank you for what I am sure you put into the Belfast paper; it was well conceived, excellently executed, and must, I doubt not, have been highly useful. . .

244, ii.—1795, January 31, Dublin.—"Though not above half a year older, I am ten years weaker than I was. This change has happened, too, at a time in all respects to me the most inconvenient, when, on the one hand, the present very alarming situation of affairs may very possibly render necessary for me exertions which I may be no longer able to make, while, on the other, the only hopeful administration I have ever yet seen strongly invites me to join all my efforts in behalf of that which I verily believe to be their principal object, the public weal. I may be mistaken, and my sanguine hopes may be deceived, but I really think we have at length gotten a chief governor whose warmest wish is to do us all the good he can, and whose powers, if not equal to all we would wish, will most certainly enable him to be of the greatest service to this hitherto illtreated country. The commencements of his administration, whether in appointments or in dismissions, have undoubtedly been such as to render it uncharitable in us not to hope that its progress will be salutary, and indeed it would be foolish not to indulge ourselves in that pleasure of hoping to which we have been so long strangers. Under these impressions, you will easily judge that I read with much concern the paragraph in your paper respecting the address of the Protestant Dissenters. That the Dublin clergy have been very indiscreet in not communicating with their brethren, both lay and clerical, in the north, I have little doubt, yet I could have wished that such indiscretion had not been taken notice of in the present crisis; and after an answer as that given by our present lieutenant, I had also hoped that, as our friend Bruce was present at framing the address, and was himself the person who delivered it, jealousies might have been at least suspended, but in this I fear I have judged erroneously, since possibly this very circumstance may have contributed not a little to the event. Sure I am, however, that a conduct in the present juncture so very injudicious cannot have been approved by the sensible majority of your town; but indeed you are all of you too much afraid of that bugbear, disunion."

---

[1] Charles Manners Sutton, translated to Canterbury in 1805.

[2] Of Ireland. *See* p. 250.

[3] Trinity College, Dublin.

[4] William Newcome, D.D., appointed archbishop of Armagh in January 1795.

[5] Richard Murray, vice-provost of Trinity College, Dublin, appointed provost in 1795.

245.—BENJAMIN BOUSFIELD [1] to CHARLEMONT.

1795, March 2, Lakelands.—"I intrude for a moment on your lordship's leisure to inform you that, on a requisition signed by a most respectable number of citizens, the sheriffs have called a meeting for Wednesday next, on which day I expect the most spirited resolutions will be entered into, expressive of our deep concern for the recall of lord Fitzwilliam, and of the public indignation at that council which induced the adoption of a measure at this moment perilous in the extreme; and to which I fear the public will not submit without some convulsion, or the total alienation of our affection and attachment to our sister kingdom, which will effectually operate to prepare for the French an easy access to this country. This language is strong, but it is founded on the general expression of the people of every rank in this city. May we be preserved from these impending calamities by the continuance of lord Fitzwilliam among us."

246.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

i.—[1795, March 9.]—"You do, I confess, surprize me by saying that you have had some satisfactory letters upon the occasion. Intimate as I am with the persons most immediately concerned, I should indeed be puzzled to give you any satisfactory explanation of this dark affair. Suffice it to say that, viewing the transaction in its best light, the minister, whom we most detest because he hates us, has completely duped him whom we thought our best friend, and has drawn him into his nefarious measures in spite of the most solemn assurances from our supposed friend of co-operation and protection. The matter is not yet, however, definitively settled, tho' I greatly fear that a packet or two will confirm it against us. Meanwhile the country is all alive, perhaps too violently so for our internal quiet. Addresses to our chief governor from different counties and cities are daily presented, and some have even gone so far as to petition the throne against his removal by delegates sent to England. Belfast has hitherto been but too active; will it now be supine? If otherwise, I would wish to inculcate my old maxim, firmness with moderation; let not virulent party interfere, if that be possible, and you cannot but act rightly. In the midst, however, of this painful anxiety, of this 'mala res, spes multo asperior,' there is yet one circumstance which cannot to me be displeasing. The matter concerning which you so feelingly wrote in one of your last letters will probably be moderated; the circumstances into which we have, I fear, been very unadvisedly brought, require no doubt that more should be done, but not, I hope, everything. . . .

---

[1] Author of a tract in 8vo., dated from Lakelands [near Cork], 1791, entitled, "Observations on the Right Hon. Edmund Burke's pamphlet on the subject of the French Revolution." *See* vol. i. p. 431.

"I am happy to find that the patience of you and of your friends is at length worn out, and that you are now determined to pounce upon those foes, who only exist by your forbearance. How greatly would such a part long since taken have added to the credit and public utility of Belfast? I am happy to find that you have sent up an address, which has greatly pleased the lord lieutenant."

246, ii.—1795, April 2, Dublin.—"If you had not already seen the 'Letters to lord Carlisle'[1] I should have sent you copies of them, as it would have been painful to me to suppose that the man whom I love and esteem was not fully vindicated in your opinion, and vindicated I am sure he must be by the slightest perusal of their astonishing contents. The character of their excellent writer is amply sufficient to authenticate the facts, however wonderful, and, even exclusive of his best evidence, and of that air of truth which pervades the whole composition, I have many reasons to be confident that nothing therein is in any degree misrepresented or even miscoloured. I greatly approve your idea of Botany Bay, and wish that whenever, as must ultimately be the case, swindling shall meet its reward, transportation to that well-adapted place may be the punishment inflicted. The departure of earl Fitzwilliam was, as it ought to have been, solemn and mournful, but perfectly harmless. Never did I see so well regulated a mob, if mob it could be called, which principally consisted of decent and well-dressed people. The man who first yoked himself to the earl's carriage is, I am told, worth forty thousand pounds. The day before yesterday his successor arrived, and his arrival was, they tell me, marked with no small degree of riot; the clangor of trumpets could scarcely drown the hissings of the people; many windows were broken, several, very foolishly, in the custom-house, where a man is said to have been killed by a shot from within. The chancellor[2] was pursued, it is said, by a parcel of blackguard boys, and, putting his head out of the window to order his coachman to drive on, some little David hit this Goliah on the forehead with a stone. The hurt is of no consequence, but the vulgar tale is that his surgeon assured him that, if the stone had been bigger, better directed, and thrown with more force, he might have been seriously wounded. A patch is, however, a badge of honour at court. The speaker's windows were broken, and here some of the rioters were taken, and the remainder speedily dispersed by a party of cavalry. All this, however, tho' not surprizing, is extremely disagreeable, but I trust will be attended by no serious consequences. I really pity poor lady Londonderry; her delicate feelings must undoubtedly be sadly hurt even by the promotion of her brother[3] at so unlucky and critical a period. I have formerly known lord Camden a little, and shall not probably be better acquainted with him during the course of his administration. Our friend Robert [Stewart], whom I have not yet seen, is come over with him, and I am sorry for it. Your Antrim folk have never yet learned to join and to allay the 'fortiter' with 'leniter,' and consequently their proceedings will always be nugatory. The excellent bishop of Down speaks of my health according to the friendly warmth of his kind wishes.

---

[1] Two letters, published at Dublin in 1795, "from a venerated nobleman who recently retired from this country . . explaining the causes of that event."

[2] Fitzgibbon.

[3] Earl Camden, appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland in March 1795.

"A proclamation has issued, in which the primate's coach is said to have been attacked; it was indeed attacked, but by mistake, and the mob, finding their error, instantly apologized. I hear of no houses assaulted but the speaker's and the custom-house, and, I believe, the chancellor's. For all this I am really sorry, especially as it happened on the occasion of the justices delivering up the sword to the new lieutenant.[1] Mobs, moreover, are bad things, and ought to be discouraged by every well-wisher to the public weal."

246, iii. — 1795, April 27, Dublin.—"The Catholic bill has been brought in, which is indeed a sweeper; it will be debated on this day se'nnight, and will, for the present, be negatived. They talk, however, of a swinging minority which will probably insure the future success of this measure, or at least of something like it.

"Jackson[2] has been found guilty upon the fullest evidence. A gentleman who attended the trial assures me that there was twenty times more proof of real guilt brought forward in this cause than in all the London prosecutions put together; one juryman was, however, refractory, and was only brought to agree by a stipulation that the criminal should be recommended to mercy. The judge asked whether any doubts of the guilt remained on the minds of the jury, and was answered in the negative."

246, iv.—1795, May 21, Dublin.—"The Fitzwilliam controversy is by no means finally closed, as the house of commons is still to take its share, and most probably more than its share, as the speakers there are less tender than the more polished peers. I have seen a letter which gives the following account of the oration pronounced by our much too old acquaintance W. Nothing could equal the futility of his matter but the perfect vulgarity of his manner; one thing, moreover, was curious in his speech, that he therein prided himself in having done that which his friends in this country impudently denied, namely, in having sent from hence for foreign service a far greater proportion of troops than the law allowed. His character on this head was here in effect given up, as, after much abuse, the debate was ended by a question of adjournment. Sorry I am that your town and you are so pestered by red-coats, yet, in the present emergency, they are, I fear, a necessary evil; had the late administration continued, they would, perhaps, have been still more numerous, as defence was, as it ought to have been, the great leading principle. As I do not use to take up affections lightly, so am I very slow in changing them, neither is my opinion of the prince greatly altered by the late occurrences. That he was addicted to extravagance I always knew, but looked upon it as a fault far over-balanced by the many excellences of which he was possessed. The extent of his debts is, to be sure, enormous, and the time in which they have been brought to light makes them appear doubly so, but then we must consider how far that very rank, which, to a liberal mind, induced and in some degree palliated the crime of expense, made him liable to perpetual cheating, and consequently increased those expenses which, to one of less exalted station, might have been incurred without ruin. I know an instance: the prince, who was, as he ought to have been, fond of encouraging manufacturers, visited a carpet maker, who had lately discovered a new and beautiful fabric in that line. Pleased with the beauty and ingenuity of the discovery, he bespoke a carpet, and was charged for it ten times as much as an ordinary gentleman might have purchased it for. Yet do I not pretend to excuse his extravagance; I only mean, as far as I am able, to account for it, and am, at all events, convinced that they who brought it into public view are far more blameable than he, . . . Much good has been done in this session, as all lord Fitzwilliam's measures, those I mean which were begun in his time, have been put into execution, one only excepted, of which you know my opinion. The important treasury, that is to say responsibility, bill, has been perfectly carried, a good police bill has passed, and an election bill, which will, I hope, be of service, by simplifying the laws and lessening expense."

---

[1] On 31 March 1795.

[2] Rev. William Jackson. *See* "History of the City of Dublin," 1854, i. p. 137.

247.—WILLIAM MELMOTH [1] to CHARLEMONT.

1795, June 1, Bath.—"I wish it were in my power to express as strongly as I feel those sentiments which your lordship's letter has imprest upon me; but I can only request your acceptance of my warmest thanks, and appeal to your justice to be assured that no man can set a higher value than I do on the honour of your approbation, or is more ambitious to obtain it. I consider as among the most desirable incidents of my life that I have formerly often enjoyed the pleasure and advantage of lord Charlemont's conversation; and I never retired from his company without having occasion to think of that friend of Horace whom he represents as 'ad unguem factus homo.' My very advanced period of life will not suffer me to indulge a hope that I shall ever enjoy that gratification again, nor, indeed, can I even allow myself to wish it, because I am persuaded that nothing but indisposition can induce you to revisit these waters. You will never cease, however, to be present to my memory so long as I shall retain any recollection of those persons whom I most love and esteem."

248.—DUKE OF LEINSTER to CHARLEMONT.

1795, July 7, Carton.—"I beg leave to return you my most sincere thanks for the honor you have done me by trusting your proxy in my hands; you may be assured that I shall not make an improper use of it. I could have wished that you could have postponed your journey till these propositions had been decided one way or another. I understand they do not mean to let us see the propositions, but to frame their bills and pass them if they can. I own, the more I look into this business, the more I see the necessity of postponing them. I think an address to prorogue the parliament strikes me at present as the best mode of getting rid of them. I have not mentioned this to anyone as yet, but have thoughts of doing it to Mr. Forbes."

249.—CHARLEMONT to MALONE.

1795, July 18, Marino.—"I had seen in the papers, which, by the way, my eyes will scarcely permit me to read, some account of the wonderful Shaksperian discovery, and even before your arguments convinced me of the forgery, gave very little credit to it. It promised too much to keep its word, and I am only sorry that Mr. Steevens is not the proprietor of the manuscripts. The line you transcribe as part of one of the sonnets would alone be sufficient to prove the absurdity of the forger.

---

[1] Translator of letters of Pliny, etc.

"I have safely received the 'Grammont,' the 'Via Appia,' and the antiquarian prints, not from Robert Jephson, but from Archer, the bookseller. The 'Grammont' is, indeed, a very fine book, though, like all Mr. Edwards'[1] 'petits maîtres,' exorbitantly dear. The engravings are rather unequal, and an account of the originals, from whence they were taken, is wanting, though certainly such account would have been highly satisfactory. By the prices paid at the last sale, I find that the rage for old books rather increases than diminishes. But England, notwithstanding all its misfortunes, is full of money, which will ever produce a luxury in taste, as in everything else. Books for reading I look upon as the necessaries of life, and all beyond is luxury, though certainly of the most pardonable kind. I am glad, however, that you have now a sufficiency of old Shakspears to make up another volume for me, and will, when I visit my library, for I write now from Marino, give you, annexed to this letter, as accurate a description as I am able of my first volume. But why was not 'Titus Andronicus' put among the 'pseudos,' and 'Pericles' among the genuine productions of our bard? In the former I could never find a trace of Shakspear's manner, while the latter is, in many parts, fully irradiated by his peculiar splendour. Will it be easy to insert the complete 'London Prodigal' in my book, instead of the very deficient copy which now makes a part of it? On this occasion I must desire your directions. Though I have received the books, I have as yet heard nothing of your draft, which shall, however, when it comes, be duly honoured.

"Heaven grant that our new enterprize upon France may be attended with success, though for my own part I cannot help fearing that the wretched emigrants are gone to a butchery. Why, at least, has not the expedition been attended with a manifesto declaratory of a free and limited monarchical constitution? France may possibly of itself rush again into despotism, but neither will, nor ought, ever to receive it by compulsion. And surely no true British subject ought ever to desire that it should. Genuine liberty increases by participation, and I heartily detest monopolists. Like the light of the sun, it should be common to all, and no man would have the less, though the whole world enjoyed it. In truth, I do not well conceive on what our ministers ground their hopes. Had the discontented been assisted at an early period, when their force was entire, and when the French armies were everywhere occupied by an apparently irresistible crowd of confederated assailants, much might indeed have been expected; but now, when by a murderous and unsuccessful war La Vendée is well nigh depopulated, when the confederation has lost some of its members, and is likely to lose more; and when consequently the republicans will be enabled to assault the refractory province with a multitude of troops, now grown veterans, which will be useless and unopposed elsewhere, what is to be expected but the utter extirpation of the remaining inhabitants, and of those few wretches whom we have sent, too late, to their assistance? For I cannot but deprecate any more English aid, and especially under the command of the excellent lord Moira, who, though from his talents the most likely to succeed, yet is his safety too precious to be hazarded on so desperate an enterprize. Such are, I must confess, my fears, and yet as my wishes still continue ardent against a people whom every feeling mind must for ever detest, I will not allow myself wholly to despair.

---

[1] A London publisher.

"Of these treatises on gardening which you mention I have only seen Knight's[1] poem, and like it exceedingly, not only on account of its taste, which, except in some few instances, where as usual, system runs mad, entirely coincides with my own, but more especially as a poetic composition, which, contrary to the present usage, keeps so far below the sky as not to be involved in those clouds of sublimity by which the greater part of our modern poetry is, to me at least, rendered almost unintelligible. My first wish is, I must confess, to understand what I read, and that too without being compelled to spend much time and trouble in labouring to develop and disentangle from the bewildering heap of high-flown expression, a thought, which, when found, seldom appears to have been worth the seeking. Price's[2] book I have not seen, and should wish to have it, and Repton's[3] too, if the price were not so enormous; for really books are now getting fast beyond my reach.

"I am happy to find that you are now employed in revising and enlarging your history of the stage, and still more so in your having been able to discover so much new matter. The subject is certainly curious, and, as yet unexhausted; but, at all events, amusement is now absolutely necessary to you, and the investigation in which you are engaged is of all others the most likely to interest you.

'Otia si tollas, periere Cupidinis arcus;
Contemptæque jacent, et sine luce, faces.'

"How easy it is to make out a long letter from London, and how difficult from this secluded island, fruitful in everything but occurrences? What can I send you from hence, but tiresome accounts of riots and country commotions. The disturbances among us, of which you have undoubtedly heard a great deal more than the truth, are, however, it must be confessed, bad enough. In the north, where the people do think, and consequently may think wrong, there are, I fear, some few tainted with the republican malady. But why? From the long course of miserable misconduct in Government. These, however, are perfectly quiet, and will remain so, unless occasion should be given for the assertion of their mischievous principle. In the south and west, the wretched inhabitants only feel, and certain it is that they have enough to exasperate their feelings; and, as it is the nature of real sufferings to incline men more to active commotion than of contemplative and imaginary evils, in those quarters, and in some parts of Leinster, the real disturbances prevail. That evil-minded men, taking advantage of this too well founded discontent, have laboured to increase it by every kind of false suggestion, I have little doubt; but then they had to work upon a miserable set of beings, who had just sense enough to know that any change must with them be for the better. As an example of their wretchedness, I will only add that, though the price of every necessary is within these twenty years past increased fourfold, that of labour remains in some counties as it was fifty years ago. The landed gentleman feels not the increased price of provisions, for his estate, be it ever so small, has kept an equal pace with the rise of commodities. The manufacturer sells the fruits of his ingenuity proportionably dearer; the cultivator enjoys a proportional rise upon his corn; the grazier upon his cattle; while, in some counties of the west, the miserable pittance of fourpence a day, ill paid, and diminished by a thousand artifices, still remains the total fund for the feeding and clothing a father, a mother, and a numerous family. Under these circumstances, united to sordid ignorance, and more than semi-barbarous manners, is it surprizing that a people should be riotous, and ripe for any change? They have been told that the French would relieve them, and even though they had sense enough to know the improbability of the fact, can we be surprized that they should wish to hazard the experiment? I have said that they were barbarous. Such indeed they are, and savage acts of cruelty have been perpetrated by them only to be equalled in French story; and such as might incline us to join with Pinkerton[1] in his idea of the Celts, if misery and oppression and ignorance did not better account for their misconduct. Should we not, however, have endeavoured to relieve, to instruct, and to civilize this uncultivated class of human creatures before we received them into the bosom of our constitution? Such has been, and is, my creed, but the wise ones have thought otherwise; and now these same wise ones, after having rendered the refusal of farther privileges, by many deemed consequent of the former grant, hazardous, and perhaps not perfectly just, change their mind, and that, too, not with a view to public emolument, in which case even their inconsistency might be pardonable and indeed laudable, but evidently with the dark design of discrediting the most honourable administration that England ever sent, or Ireland saw, —not, in a word, for politic reasons, but for despicable cabinet intrigue.

---

[1] "The Landscape, a didactic poem, in three books." By Richard Payne Knight, London, 1794.

[2] Essay on the picturesque by Uvedale Price, London, 1794.

[3] "Sketches and hints on landscape gardening, collected from designs and observations now in the possession of the different noblemen and gentlemen for whose use they were originally made." By Humphrey Repton. London, 1794, folio.

"If you should chance to hear any certain news from the French continent, inform me of it, though but by a few lines; for though my hopes are by no means sanguine, I am, however, extremely interested in the success of this apparently ill-timed and desperate expedition. I do indeed hate the French,—nay, so sincerely do I detest them that I would wish even Mr. Pitt to succeed against them:

'—— gens unica mundi est
De qua Cæsareis possim gaudere triumphis.'

"My Shakspear's old quartos are inserted in a margin. The size of the volume is bare nine inches and a half high by something more than seven and a half broad. The book is bound in red morocco, with a single bead of gold on the side. The back is flat, and divided by beads. In the second square is the title: 'Shakspear's old quartos.' In the third: 'I.;' and, in the fifth, the titles of the plays therein contained. Inside the cover is a narrow border of gilding, and the outside of the leaves is yellow. Forty is the last number of my small quartos, so that the three now to be sent are to begin with 41. Send them as soon as you can, for I am too old to wait."

250.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1795, July 26, Marino.—"Lord Camden appears to me, as he does to you, a plain, unaffected, good-humoured man, of pleasing conversation and conciliatory address, and though in understanding he be not exactly his father's[2] son or his sister's brother, yet does he not seem to be in any way deficient. I indeed have seen but very little of him, and even that little has proceeded entirely from his goodness. I will mention to you precisely the progress and state of our intercourse, desiring, at the same time, that whatever I say on this subject may be kept wholly to yourself.

---

[1] John Pinkerton, author of "An enquiry into the history of Scotland"; London, 1789, etc.

[2] Charles Pratt, first earl Camden, lord chancellor of England, died in 1794.

Soon after his arrival, some of his friends told me that he wished much to see me as an old acquaintance, and more particularly as a person for whom he knew that his father had the highest regard. I begged that he might be assured that, if he had come over in a private station, I should, both from my regard to him, and from my esteem and affection for his father, have most certainly been the first to have waited on him, but that, as lord lieutenant, with much concern I found it to be utterly out of my power, beseeching him, however, to believe that this want of due respect by no means applied to lord Camden, but merely to the successor of lord Fitzwilliam. Shortly after, lady Charlemont, whose more frequent intercourse with the world rendered her introduction more necessary, went to the castle, was most cordially received, and told by his excellency that, since he could not otherwise see me, he would himself call on me, to which she laughingly replied that etiquette and sir Boyle [1] would never permit it. These threats were, however, speedily put into execution—the session closed, and sitting one morning in my library, I was surprised by the appearance of my lord lieutenant, who ushered his visit in the properest manner imaginable by saying that he should have called much sooner if he had not chosen to wait till the rising of parliament had put an end to politics. I thanked him for the unmerited honour, and the next day returned his visit at the park, where I did not find him at home, and since that time, except in some cordial meetings on horseback, I have not seen him. The lady Camden, in visiting lady Charlemont, has honoured me also in my library. Thus is your question respecting my going to the castle amply answered. My conduct may very possibly have been erroneous, while his has certainly been kind and proper, yet I trust that you will think that I have erred on the right side, especially when you consider that our present chief governor, instead of a viceroy, is in effect no other than a vice-Pitt. How far, however, this distance will be kept up must depend on circumstances, but in the meanwhile I must reiterate my request that this whole business may remain secret between us, as I should not chuse either to boast of my own prudery, nor of the unmerited honour conferred on me."

251.—Richard Jephson to Charlemont.

1795, October 9, Loughgall.[2]—"As I happen to find myself (very contrary to my expectations when I had last the pleasure of seeing your lordship) in the centre of the northern disturbances, it occurs to me that your lordship may be glad to hear some accounts of the state of the country from a person on the spot. I find that the old quarrel between the 'Peep-of-day boys' and the 'Defenders' has come to an alarming height indeed, and though there is at present a temporary suspension of hostilities, yet the gentlemen of the country, as far as I can collect from their conversation, live in daily expectation of a renewal of the same commotions. In the meanwhile, the outrages that have past have left some of their worst effects behind them—a deadly and irreconcilable rancour in the minds of the lower people, and such a dread of violence as induces a great many of the better sort of people to desert their houses. It is impossible for the Protestant gentry to keep up the farce of impartiality between the parties, or to disavow the absolute necessity of giving a considerable degree of support to the Protestant party, who, from the activity of the two Copes, have got the name of the

---

[1] Sir Boyle Roche, M.P., gentleman usher and master of ceremonies at Dublin Castle.

[2] In county of Armagh.

'Orange boys.' Indeed, the preservation of the country from the most dreadful consequences is by some attributed to a very seasonable victory gained by a small number of these people over four hundred of the 'Defenders,' whom they met returning from a part of Mr. Cope's estate loaded with plunder of all sorts and kinds. In this battle sixteen of the 'Defenders' were killed. A piece of generalship of Verner's has been much admired, in preventing the arrival of a reinforcement of four hundred men from the county of Tyrone, by sinking the ferry-boat and all the other boats on the water between the two counties. I do not hear that any of the gentry have met with any mischief, and my brother William told me he rode through three hundred well armed 'Orange boys,' in the middle of the night, who wished him safe home and did him no kind of injury. I cannot say whether the 'Defenders' would have been so civil. However, it is certain that the former party have been guilty of some barbarous instances of cruelty and revenge, such, for instance, as dragging a man back for two miles to the spot where he had committed some offence and there deliberately shooting him; another, of shooting a man in a potatoe-field, and denouncing such threats of vengeance against anyone who should attempt to bury him, that several gentlemen who were out with the magistrates and heard the shot fired, and almost saw the transaction, were afraid to go to him. However, I do not believe that the designs of either party have at present any deeper foundation than private enmity, or are in any degree directed against the government. There is a party of soldiers stationed at Loughgall.[1] My brother has four of them billeted on his house during a temporary absence, but relies much more on his friends the 'Peep-of-day boys'; for, upon an alarm the other night that a party of 'Defenders' were in arms, he enquired among his neighbours, who told him not to be alarmed, for that they were thoroughly prepared for them and did not care if there should be eight hundred of them. I am at present at the house of Mr. Bisset at Loughgall, which has hitherto been the scene of action. He is building a very pretty church, which is now at a stand (though almost finished) for want of subscriptions. When he mentioned to me that your lordship's had not come in, I ventured to say to him that I am sure it must have been by some mistake, for that I had heard your lordship say that you always made it a practice to subscribe to and forward all places of worship, and that you probably knew nothing of this church in particular."

252.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1795, October 24, Dublin.—Bodily disease and bodily pain must always affect the mind, and more especially a mind already sore from various causes, but particularly from an incessant and painful contemplation of the melancholy and alarming state to which is now reduced that country which has ever been so dear to my heart, and that too not only from the wretched mismanagement of others, but in a great [degree] from her own fault. To you I need not say how ardently I have ever loved my country; in consequence of that love I have courted her, I have even married and taken her for life, and she is now turned out a shrew, tormenting herself and all her nearest connexions."

253.—MALONE to CHARLEMONT.

1795, December 29, London.—"Never do I open any of your letters without equal pleasure and admiration, admiration at your great punctuality, agreeably to a rule which I know you long since laid down to answer letters very soon after you receive them. Though in general so remiss, I for once fully intended to profit by so good an example by thanking you for your last letter before I left London in the end of July, when I was suddenly called away to meet my brother[1] and his family at Cheltenham. There, however, day crept away after day in the usual 'operose' employments of a water-drinking place, without allowing me leisure to do what yet I had constantly in contemplation. After spending two months there I went to Worcester, where for four days I was immersed in musty wills of above two hundred years date, many of which had not been opened in all that period; and I really believe I caught from thence some disorder which might have proved dangerous had I not on going from thence to Oxford, and finding myself much out of order, taken James's powder, which I happened to have with me, and which in a few days quite set me up again. There I remained for eleven weeks, transcribing some manuscript lives of the poets, and other celebrated persons of the last century, written by Mr. Aubrey in 1680, which I mean immediately to put to the press. This employed the whole of my time from the hour of breakfast till it was dark, that is, near six hours every day; and the manuscript being in many places very obscure and ill written, both my eyes and hands were so weary that I was perfectly unequal to writing letters. When I came to town about three weeks ago, I resolved to give myself a little respite in order to restore my eyes, which were a good deal affected, and to abstain from both writing and reading, yet every day had it in contemplation to send you at least a few lines; and that, indeed, is all I can do at present, for a reason which, I am sure, you will allow to be a substantial one. The Shakspeare[2] papers, of which I gave you an account, were published last Thursday; and the perusal of them has fully confirmed what I always thought, that they are direct and palpable forgeries. As soon as I had gone through them, and made minutes of all the vulnerable places, I determined to draw up all my objections in form, and to address them to you in the way of letter. This I advertised yesterday, and am at this moment surrounded with dictionaries, etc., and writing to you on this subject in due form. I feel a great pleasure, and I trust in your usual goodness and kindness to me that you will not be displeased at the thought of our thus going down to posterity together. The means of detecting this most impudent imposture are so obvious, that the very same objections must immediatly strike all those who are conversant with the language and handwriting of the age of Elizabeth. I am therefore afraid of being anticipated by others, and shall hurry on the publication with all possible speed. I hope to have finished the manuscript by Thursday night (I am now writing on Tuesday), to get to press on Friday, and to publish my letter on the 8th of January. I did intend to have sent you a written copy as soon as it is finished, but as that will create some delay I am sure you will excuse it, and instead of that, as soon as all the sheets are worked off at the press, I will transmit a copy to you (before publication) through Mr. Lees,[3] of the post office. I mean to have a fac-simile of lord Southampton's handwriting engraved, which I think may be done within the time. They have had the impudence to print a letter as his without a single trace of resemblance. The fact is, they had no archetype, and did not know there was any existing. The editor, a Mr. Ireland, a broken Spitalfields weaver, aided by his son, an attorney's clerk, are without doubt the inventors, though to avoid being pelted in the newspapers by such men, I shall leave that matter in uncertainty, and merely confine myself to prove the forgery, let it come from where it may. These people live in habits of intimacy with the lower fellows who conduct newspapers, and have a paragraph at me and you to-day in the 'True Briton.' They cannot imagine why I address you, of all men, and have added some stuff about Irish volunteers. By-the-by, I never was more surprized than in finding your lordship's name among the subscribers to this book. I have been forced to buy it (though no subscriber) in order to confute it. But I must now go to my work and talk to you in another way. Your book from lord Aylesbury is safe here, and shall go to you by the first opportunity. I will answer the particulars of your last letter hereafter."

---

[1] *See* p. 265.

---

[1] Richard Malone, created baron Sunderlin in 1785.

[2] "Miscellaneous papers and legal instruments, under the hand and seal of William Shakespeare, including the tragedy of King Lear and a small fragment of Hamlet, from the original MSS." By Samuel Ireland.

[3] John Lees, controller of the Post Office, Dublin.

254.—CHARLEMONT to LORD FRANCIS WILLIAM CAULFEILD.[1]

1795.—"For some time past I have wished and intended a serious conversation with you, but having duly considered that, in discourse, argument is too apt to produce altercation, and consequent heat, than which there is no greater enemy to conviction, I have chosen, in spite of my eyes, thus to set down upon paper the few hints that follow, and this I have the rather done, because, whereas the effects of converse are evanescent, 'litera scripta manet,' and may, if thought worthy, be an object of reflection and reconsideration. That all the cares and crosses of my life, which have not been few, are, in my estimation, far overpaid by the possession of a son of your disposition and talents, is a truth which I am bold to assert, because I feel its certainty; but in proportion as our treasure is valuable and dear to us, our fears of its loss or impairment will naturally increase, and this at once brings me to the real subject of my present letter, namely, that I have beheld with the utmost anxiety the frightful dissipation in which you have been lately involved. That the temper of the times is more in fault than you are, I will readily acknowledge. Man is an imitative animal, and by nature averse from singularity. But imitation ought to be limited by reason, and that which is intrinsically bad should never be copied. The brute creation is guided by instinct. A sheep or a crow will run or fly with their respective flocks, and in this they cannot err, because they act as impelled by that propensity which has been given to them as their infallible guide by their all-wise Creator. But man is here placed in a situation far different and far more honourable. As a being responsible for his actions, justice required that irresistible instinct should be denied him, but in its stead he is endowed with a much nobler faculty, and while his will is left free, the Almighty has given him reason to direct him in the paths he ought to pursue. With much concern I heard you not long since assert that where a company was inclined to drink, you could not avoid filling your glass. But see, my dearest Frank, where this spirit of compliance and imitation would lead you! So, if your companions were inclined, at the risk of murder, to beat the watch, a false shame would involve you in the disgraceful riot; or so, which is, if possible, still worse, if your associates chose to game deeply, the same dread of singularity would prevent your flying from utter ruin!

---

[1] Eldest son of the earl of Charlemont. He was born 3 January 1775, and succeeded his father in the earldom in 1799.

"The present course of what is miscalled amusement is undoubtedly of a nature the most fatal both to mind and to body of any that has ever yet debased the human understanding, and the fashionable hours are carefully contrived to prevent the possibility of all rational occupation. You are now precisely at the age of real improvement. The school and college courses, even when most successfully gone through, are in effect no more than preparations for real knowledge. As well might the child who has learned to read be supposed wise, as the boy who has taken his degree with applause should be accounted knowing, since in both cases that only is acquired by which the man may be enabled to improve himself. But as you have lately lived, how is such improvement practicable? Upon this, however, I need not dwell, as your own good sense will at once point out the impossibility. Far be it from me to lay myself before you as a model. I have, like others. been foolish. I have, like others, been faulty. But as in my youth I have never been contemptible, and am now respected in my age, some circumstances of my life may perhaps not be wholly unworthy your observation. Through an unlucky choice of tutors, my early education was sadly deficient, and at the age of fourteen I had attained that summit of philosophy to know that I knew nothing. Here, however, I may claim some little merit, since, ashamed of my ignorance, I now determined, by the sacrifice of every amusement, to recover, as far as was possible, my lost time, and a year's laborious and almost incessant study, though it did not place me where I ought to have been in the ranks of literature, put me, however, in a situation from whence it was possible to proceed. I was then sent abroad, where I spent a great deal too much time, but habit had given me a taste for books, and though not with Murphy,[1] I read much and usefully. In this course I still proceeded, never denying myself the recreations incident to my youth, nor abstracting myself from the full flow of company, yet never suffering these necessary amusements entirely to withdraw me from my determined system of rational acquirement. By these means I imperceptibly obtained a tolerable knowledge of everything really useful, and fortified my mind in some degree at least against the future assaults of a foolish and vicious world. In consequence of this, if I have not lived irreproachably, I have not, however, been either useless to my country or dishonourable to myself or to my family. Though erroneous and imprudent, I have been enabled to withstand criminal seduction of every kind. With David Hume for my early friend, I have preserved my religion unperverted. With Jack St. Leger for my early companion, I have kept my principles of morality unchanged. What in either case would have become of me if I had been the victim of imitation and false shame? I have also laid up for myself a fund of rational amusement independent of all external pleasure, without which, believe me, man must be miserable. The time will come when happiness must be sought in ourselves. But I have dwelt too long upon myself, though assuredly it is not the egotism of vanity. My weak eyes also warn me to conclude, and compel me to send you this crude and imperfect sketch, this mere incorrect outline of my sentiments. I cannot, however, finish without assuring you that, notwithstanding the little defects which alarm me, and which may very probably appear greatly magnified through the medium of my tender fears, my love for you is founded upon the most perfect esteem. Merit is never to be met with without some alloy, but in you the pure metal greatly preponderates. Your late conduct in Armagh was grateful to my soul; it was all a fond father could have wished. You made me proud, and I glory in that pride. Your present mode of life is alarming to my feelings, but then it must be allowed to be natural. Nature, however, may in many instances be distorted by fashion and by habit, in which case religion, morality, and prudence all join in commanding us to strive against her propensities. Adieu, my dearest boy. Do not be tired of reading that which my eyes alone have made me tired of writing; let your own excellent sense fill up the many deficiencies of this hasty scrawl, and receive it with that partiality which is due to whatever comes from your truest friend.

---

[1] Rev. Edward Murphy, *see* vol. i., p. 45.

"I now send you this letter because the time of dissipation is, I trust, nearly at an end, and I would rather alter your future than your present conduct."

255, i.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1795, December 31, Belfast.—"The promotion of my friend, dean Hamilton,[1] to the vacant see gives me real pleasure (though it sends him far from me), and does real honor to lord Camden. Literature and science, good morals and piety, have served the new bishop in place of friends, as they did our new primate. The new dean [2] is not indebted to these old-fashioned solicitors for his promotion, nor to his excellency's personal regard, but it is merely the fruit of an old family friendship, et aussi, the honorable dean, I am told, feels more resentment for his not being the bishop than gratitude for the great increase of revenue."

255, ii.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1796, January 4, Dublin.—"I still struggle on through increasing years, bad weather, and horrid times, and according to the precept inculcated by a very wise though very vulgar proverb, endeavour to make the best of a bad market. Hamilton's promotion is indeed a very pleasing incident, and does much honour to lord Camden. If such wonderful precedents as this and the primacy should chance to be imitated, even the bench of bishops would, O strange! become respectable. Armagh, however, though Lifford be a good sort of man, will certainly not greatly profit by the change. Yet even in this our viceroy is scarcely to be blamed, since undoubtedly the friendship of the father most naturally entailed an obligation of this sort on the son."

256.—CHARLEMONT to MALONE.

1796, January 7, Dublin.—"Your letter has, no doubt, been long expected, but how abundantly has it made up for its delay by announcing to me the speedy receipt of one which will not only afford me present pleasure, but confer a lasting honour on my name! I am now sorry that I was a subscriber, but indeed I subscribe whenever I am desired, and did so now at the request of a friend, who brought me from London a finely printed proposal. Had I, however, previously seen an extract which, I know not how, got into our Belfast paper, I should certainly have lent neither my name nor money to a publication which, from that specimen alone, appeared to me a palpable forgery, though still it must be confessed that even here there were one or two passages which could scarcely be supposed the production of an attorney and broken Spitalfields weaver. Yet these could only be deemed 'lucky hits,' as the complexion of the whole was evidently spurious. Your essay will probably give rise to a controversy, by which you will be amused, as your success cannot be doubtful. Already I find it has been begun, and return my thanks to the 'True Briton,' who has united our names, though it be in abuse.

---

[1] Hugh Hamilton, dean of Armagh, author of Latin treatise on conic sections, printed at Dublin in 1758, and at London in 1773.

[2] James Hewitt, son of viscount Lifford, chancellor of Ireland.

"Six hours a day in transcribing from obscure manuscripts! How, in the name of wonder, do your eyes hold out? Mine, though not thus harrassed, are in a wretched state, and I am at this instant sadly reminded of their defect, since they will scarcely permit me to write these few lines even to you. Increasing years, ill health, and abominable times, are more than enough to depress my spirits, yet in conversing with you I feel myself revive."

257.—Charlemont to Malone.

1796, March 21, Dublin.—"With much impatience, I now remain in daily expectation of your detection,[1] though indeed, since I have had the misfortune of receiving Mr. Ireland's magnificent and ostentatious deceit,[2] I have little need of any farther conviction than what the editor himself has kindly afforded me. Neither, even though it were possible for me to believe in the authenticity of the manuscripts, should I consider them in any other light than as matters of great curiosity, since the principal piece contained in the book, I mean the 'Lear,' appears to me so wretched a copy that nothing valuable could possibly be gleaned from it, nor can I suppose that Shakspear, or anyone else, could ever have written a first rough copy, for such, if genuine, it must be, in a manner so perfectly slovenly and erroneous. What the 'Vortigern' may be I know not, but, if the extract I saw be a true one, I will venture to assert that, whatever merit it may possess, our great bard has no claim to it. But my miserably weak eyes admonish me not to throw away their small ability upon such wretched trifles. Yes, I have read Burke's letter, and have read it with concern; from whence you may readily conclude that I do not judge of it as you appear to do. The writing is excellent, as his must always be; neither can he ever fail highly to entertain his reader; but the matter is not, in my opinion, by any means equal to the manner, neither is the performance such as I would wish to proceed from one whom, with all his imperfections, I truly love. By the way, this letter has brought me into a difficulty from which I must be extricated by you. An intimate acquaintance and partial friend of mine has written an answer to it, which, without giving me the slightest notice, he has very imprudently addressed to me, and, though he has not affixed my name, there are some circumstances which may very possibly make me known for the person with whom he has chosen to correspond. The pamphlet is rather abusive, and as such, I should be miserable to think that my friend Burke could for a moment suppose that, previous to its publication, I had known anything of it, or of its address. Very possibly our friend may never see it, in which case I would wish you to be perfectly silent on the subject; but if, by any accident, he should, and discover me to be the 'noble lord' alluded to, I must beg of you to clear up this very disagreeable business, and to assure him of my perfect innocence. . .

---

[1] Addressed to the earl of Charlemont and published at London in 1796, with the following title:—"Enquiry into the authenticity of several miscellaneous papers and legal instruments attributed to Shakspeare, queen Elizabeth, and Henry earl of Southampton. Illustrated by facsimiles of the genuine handwriting of Shakspeare, never before exhibited, and other authentic documents."

Malone referred as follows to the matter mentioned in the letter at p. 270 of the present Report:—"As my noble friend's name appears in the list of subscribers, prefixed to the 'Miscellaneous Papers, etc.' here examined, I am authorized by him to say that he subscribed to that work at the request of a gentleman who furnished him with a splendid prospectus of it, which he carried from hence to Ireland; and that if lord Charlemont had known as much of it as he now does, he would not have given either his name or his money to the publication."

[2] *See* page 267.

"Hayley I never admired. His plays are detestable, and his 'Triumphs of temper'[1] abominably dull; yet his Life of Milton[2] appears to me an excellent piece of biography. I fancy that you have already put a spoke in Ireland's wheel of fortune, as the representation of 'Vortigern' seems to [have been][3] susp[ende]d."

258.—RICHARD LOVELL EDGEWORTH to CHARLEMONT.

1796, April 30, Edgeworthstown.—"I propose to visit my son at Edinburgh next week, and I should be particularly glad to gratify doctor Hutton with a specimen of the Wicklow rock, in which veins of gold are said to be found. The smallest, but with such a vein, would, I am informed, be an invaluable present to the doctor. If your lordship could procure me such a specimen from Kirwan,[4] or any other philosopher, I will bring him back any Scottish specimen he may want. . The magistrates of this county,[5] I mean such as now reside, were all, except myself, eager to have this county proclaimed to be in a state of insurrection; but as government well knew that the county is quiet, they prudently refused to gratify these gentlemen with such enormous power as they longed for. Not one of these men has fortune, knowledge, birth, or education. Is there any other county in Ireland where there is not more than one gentleman of two or three thousand pounds per annum resident during the whole year?"

259.—WILLIAM WENMAN SEWARD[6] to CHARLEMONT.

1796, April, [Dublin,] 86, Bride Street.—"Permit me to lay before your lordship the inclosed prospectus of a work, which has been sanctioned with the approbation of several distinguished personages in this kingdom; amongst whom I have the pleasure to mention the lord chancellor, his grace the duke of Leinster, the right honorable colonel Conyngham, etc. Should it appear deserving your lordship's attention, your countenance as subscriber would confer a particular obligation; but much more so, the honour of being permitted to place your lordship's name at the head of a dedication, as one of its respectable patrons."

260.—CHARLEMONT to WILLIAM NEWCOME, Archbishop of Armagh.

1796, May 14.—"Permit me most sincerely to thank your grace not only for the high honour, but for the signal benefit conferred on me by the acceptable present of your late publication,[7] of which to speak as largely as I think might be deemed presumptuous in me, as well as improper in a letter to you. Yet one remark upon this, and all your other performances, I cannot avoid making, that, besides their intrinsic merit, they hold out to that right reverend bench, which is honoured by having your grace at its head, an object for imitation in the course of study."

---

[1] London: 1781.

[2] London: 1796.

[3] MS. torn.

[4] Richard Kirwan. *See* p. 145.

[5] Longford.

[6] Compiler of "Topographia Hibeanica." Dublin: 1795.

[7] "An attempt towards revising our English translation of the Greek Scriptures." Dublin: 1796.

261.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1796, May 16, Dublin.—"Pitt's tragedy is, I trust, near its close, and our last news from Italy, bad as it is, gives us at least the consolation of hoping that when things are at their worst they must mend. That our friend Burke should have chosen to play a principal part in this horrid drama, is indeed provoking; alas, what is human nature, when prejudice can harden the best of hearts and pervert the most brilliant talents! His attack upon the duke of Bedford is a perfect portrait of its author's mind—great brilliancy, strong prejudice, and no judgment. It is difficult to say how matters will end. A peace must be, and yet I cannot think with patience on a dishonourable one." . . .

262.—REV. EDWARD HUDSON to CHARLEMONT.

1796, May 29, Portglenone, Ballymena.—"A few days previous to a fair which was lately held in the town of Antrim, a report was circulated that a number of 'Orangemen' (from the moon, I suppose) were to be there in order to fall upon the C[atholic]s. However absurd and improbable such reports are, in the present state of things here they have spread a panic amongst that description of people which we who love union have not been able to dispel, though I assure you no pains have been spared for that purpose. The fear of false brethren has induced a change in the ceremony of initiation, which is now performed 'coram uno tantum.' The late successes of the French have affected the inhabitants of this country very much; they say they are afraid the emperor will make a separate peace; that Spain will declare against us, and that an invasion may take place. I hope their fears are groundless, though I confess I have a very indifferent opinion of our public prospects."

263.—MARLAY,[1] Bishop of Waterford, to CHARLEMONT.

1796, June 7, London.—"I am much pained to find the rage against the prince of W[ales] is increased. The princess, on account of the supposed ill treatment which she receives from the prince, is become the greatest favourite with people of all ranks, the great vulgar and the small. When she enters the opera-house, she is received with bursts of applause. The prince is gone to the country, to avoid insult, and yesterday remained there, and would not venture to attend the birthday. Lady Jersey is the cause of all this bustle,—she ought to resign her office, and retire; she will not. The prince ought to dismiss her; he will not. The court at the queen's house ought privately to order lady Jersey to resign, and remove from London; no such thing is done. The prince has no good advisers; if he has, he does not attend to them. Why can he not shew respect and attention, and appear to have affection, though he has none? In his situation hypocrisy would be a sort of virtue; it would make him popular, the princess happy, and save his favourite from much shame and great danger. My love for the prince, and my gratitude to him, make me say too much on this subject. He at this moment has scarce a friend who can venture to defend him. Lord Orford is better; he kindly remembers you. The wit of the club is lost in its grandeur; splendor and wit seldom meet. Lord Macartney is in good spirits and health; looks thin and old; his English peerage pleases him. I believe he must go governor to the Cape. Painful pre-eminence!"

---

[1] *See* vol. i., p. 450. Marlay was translated from see of Clonfert in March 1795.

264.—J. C. WALKER to CHARLEMONT.

1796, June 25, Enniskerry, near Bray.—"I received a few days since, from a friend in London, the analysis of Petrarch's sonnets which accompanies these lines. To me the idea appears new; and if it should appear ingenious to your lordship, I shall beg of my friend to permit me to lay his little book before the Academy,[1] with such observations on the sonnet of Petrarch as may have occurred to him while he was analyzing it. It is, I find, generally supposed that Petrarch was the inventor of the sonnet. But that species of poetry was, I believe, invented before his time. I think we are indebted for it to Guido d'Arezzo, who flourished about the year 1250. My friend seems to think that the sonnet owes its name to the unison of sounds between the two first stanzas, and that therefore such an unison is an essential in its composition.

"It was matter of deep regret to me that I was prevented, during the whole of the last winter, from attending the meetings of the Academy, but my illness was tedious and severe. . . . In granting me a seat in the committee of antiquities, the Academy conferred an unmerited honour on me. I have not the vanity to think that I shall, in return, be able to contribute to the increase of their literary stores; but I shall venture to promise that no exertions on my part shall be wanting to prevail on others better qualified to contribute. Your lordship, I suppose, has seen Mr. Hayley's 'Life of Milton.' If you should not happen to possess a copy of the 'Adamo et Eva,' which I lent him, and which he mentions, I shall have great pleasure in showing your lordship my copy as soon as Mr. Hayley shall return it. .

"Just as I was closing this letter, my friend and neighbour, Mr. Hardy,[2] sent me the duc de Nivernais' 'Essai sur la vie de M. Barthélemy.' If your lordship has not already read it, permit me to recommend it to your perusal. It is a little stream of eloquence, pure and pathetic, and, when we consider the age of the author,[3] we must allow it to be a wonderful production."

265.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1796, June 26, Belfast.—"The demon of discord, not content with his great quarry, the world, has condescended to pounce on that comparatively diminutive game, Carlton House, and, I fear, the wounds he has inflicted will be as difficult to skin over (healed they can never be) in the one case as in the other. Pitt will prove unequal to either case, though it can only be palliative and unsound. Perhaps you can adduce something in vindication of his royal highness, whom I feel unwilling to give up, on the score of some of his early traits, and as he had of old conciliated your good opinion. But strange stories are in circulation, and I have still stranger from correspondents. As for the old queen of diamonds, it matters not; but one must be anxious about the heir apparent, though I shall never see him on the throne. Never was a family less fitted for such difficult and dangerous times. Had that family been the reverse, such an awful crisis had not now existed. I know not how it is, but a sad fate seems to follow those who desert Fox—witness the prince, duke of Portland, Burke, Windham, and your favourite, Fitzwilliam, whose last speech in the house, his 'bellum internecinum,' would not have disgraced Marat or Robespierre.

---

[1] Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

[2] Francis Hardy, M.P. for Mullingar.

[3] Born in 1716.

"I mentioned to your lordship long ago the apathy with respect to elections which was pervading these two counties. In fact, nothing but the power of landlords and their agents can goad the people on to register their votes, and they trot on sullenly to the courts, grunting, as Burke says they should, like a herd of swine; while many men of spirit and property, through a disgust of the present structure of parliament, a despair of an orderly reform, and consequently of the constitution and commonwealth, are, by not registering, voluntarily disfranchising themselves. I combat this dereliction of their duty 'à l'outrance,' but to no purpose. The lower ranks are almost universally in a sulky, discontented mood. Outrages are daily or nightly committing; reform is no longer their cry; religion merely the pretence; revolution—for the sake of plunder and something worse—the real object. A worthy gentleman, well acquainted with the county of Down, told me, two days ago, he had a list of fifty-seven houses 'wrecked' (that's their phrase) by the 'Orange boys' since the assizes in that county, and ten in the county of Armagh—wrecked in the cruellest manner—unroofed, doors, windows, and furniture destroyed, webs cut out of the loom, and with the yarn, etc., carried off or burned, the wretched inhabitants of course obliged to fly (under threats, too, of being murdered, if they do not), many to the south and west of Ireland, where they may eventually do some good by diffusing manufactures; thousands to America. Our friend, A. Johnston, who lately returned from Derry, saw many fine American ships lying there, and was assured that they would carry off five thousand passengers, a large proportion of these proscribed Catholics."

266.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1796, July 2, Dublin.—"My spirit, as well as my body, is sick of many griefs, among which that royal transaction you mention most assuredly produces one of the principal. Entirely to exculpate his royal highness I will not pretend, as by such vain endeavour I might possibly hazard that which is most dear to me, your good opinion; yet of one fact I must assure you, that nine-tenths of the reports in circulation are absolutely unfounded, and that the very quarter from which we could hope to gather true intelligence is so tainted with party spleen that nothing derived from it can in any degree be depended upon. Of all the men I ever knew, the prince appeared to me the best fitted for matrimony with the woman of his choice, but certainly the least suited to that kind of enforced and blind connexion to which royal personages are usually condemned; this indeed I have heard him say, and give as a reason why he did not wish to marry. Take a private gentleman, and marry him by compulsion to a woman he had never seen, and what would you expect from such a marriage? The prince of Wales is more of a private gentleman, in all the good parts of that character, than any prince in Europe; he should, however, most undoubtedly have duly considered his own station and the strange temper of the times. He has done so, and, through the mediation of his father and brother and, I believe, of our incomparable lord Moira, perfect family peace is restored, and, even though the connexion should not be accompanied with happiness, it will be, I am confident, for the future with propriety and decency. Your country folk with their apathy vex and provoke me, but still more your men of spirit and property, who, because they have not obtained what they wished, relinquish the duties of citizens. Let them also consider that, by the present reform creed, alarming obstacles are raised to the object of their desire, since an orderly reform, which sooner or later would have taken place, from the madness of the fancies in vogue, will daily become less and less practicable. Your accounts from the county of Down are in the highest degree distressing, but as for what you hear from Armagh, I hope and trust there must be some mistake. Immediately after the assizes some few outrages were, I believe, committed, but they were speedily checked, and since that time tranquillity is so perfectly restored, that many of the fugitives have returned, have repaired their houses, and dwell in them quietly and undisturbed; such at least is my intelligence, and I believe it to be true. The situation of some parts in Antrim is indeed truly alarming, and there I greatly dread that your ideas with regard to the real nature of popular sentiments may be but too surely verified."

267.—MALONE to CHARLEMONT.

1796, July 29, London.—"I made a little excursion to Beaconsfield and Taplow, from which I am just returned. Poor Burke is but in an indifferent state of health, and is, I believe, at this time at Bath, at least he talked of going there a day or two after I left him. His disorder is supposed an unsettled or flying gout. Though heavily oppressed and broken by the death of his son, he is at times as cheerful and pleasant as ever; and was very much so most of the time I was with him, when he was free from pain. His 'Regicide Peace'[1] will, I believe, not appear.

"The papers have given you sufficient accounts of the end of the Shakspeare controversy. My antagonists, after putting out many most audacious and senseless advertisments, have given up the cause so far that they have not published a syllable in the regular form of answer; but still, with their old effrontery, they have not confessed the forgery. In one of the articles of the 'British Critic,' Mr. Nares[2] tells us we are to have shortly 'An Apology' for the believers in the authenticity of the manuscripts; but I doubt much whether it will appear. I cannot think that I was too copious in accumulating proofs of the forgery, for my business was to make a book that would live; and if I had omitted any proof, Steevens, or some other kind friend, would have immediately pointed it out, and shewn how very superficial and short-sighted I was.

"The damnation of the play[3] coming so very quick after the publication of the 'Inquiry,' was a great prejudice to the sale. If I could have got it out ten days sooner every copy would have been sold; as it is, a small parcel remains on hand. But I could not make more speed; for the last four or five days I worked almost from morning to night, and continued the whole day at the printing-house.

---

[1] Burke's letters entitled "Thoughts on the prospect of a regicide peace" appeared in 1796.

[2] Robert Nares, compiler of English "Glossary," etc.

[3] "Vortigern."

"It is almost unnecessary to tell you that I did what I could for the gentleman who brought a letter from you about a month ago. I advised him not to venture on the publication of the Hoby papers,[1] which would not be safe without a subscription, but rather to deposit them in the Museum [British]. He seems a very modest and sensible man.

"You will, I am sure, be sorry to hear that poor lord Orford has had lately a fit or two, which, from the account I have had, I suspect to be of the paralytic kind; but he has recovered his speech, and came yesterday from Strawberry Hill to town for advice. I have not heard to-day how he is.

"Lord Macartney is once more returned to us, and will, I believe, go as governor to the Cape, though rather against his will. But after having obtained an English peerage, he does not think it would be handsome to refuse. He is, however, in a very poor state of health, and ought rather to have every quiet enjoyment than go on any new adventures. The account of his embassy [2] will, he tells me, be ready for publication by Christmas.

"I have twenty things on the anvil, and know not which to sit down to first; but I think it will be the life of Shakspeare, which I wish to finish, lest by any fatality I should be prevented from completing it. After that is done, I have Aubrey to print, and Dryden's prose, with a few curious original letters of his; and dear sir Joshua's works shall certainly appear before Christmas. I am new in town, I think, for the summer, and shall not stir from my library except for health-sake. . . .

"Have the 'Pursuits of Literature' reached you? a new satirical poem, in three parts, and a fourth to follow next winter. He is a perfect 'Drawcansir,' and spares no one. Among the rest, he falls on your humble servant for the Shakspeare vindication and other offences. It is supposed to be written by one Gyffard,[3] a clergyman."

268.—CHARLEMONT to MALONE.

1796, August 7, Dublin.—"Poor Burke! I never indeed expected that he would get the better of his loss, and am happy to find that he can at times forget it. There was a man whose spirit seemed to be almost independent of body, and yet even he is weighed down by bodily infirmities! Yet his mind, too, must suffer greatly from the present torrent of French successes, and I hear with pleasure that his 'Regicide Peace' is suppressed, since no publication could assuredly be worse timed. I rejoice to hear that you have so many things on the anvil. Every one of them is a resource against ennui—of all human maladies the worst, since all other diseases affect the mind through the body, while this pest of our nature seems to originate in the soul. Your life of Shakspear will, I am confident, be curious, and, as that more immediately belongs to you, I think you are in the right to give it the preference. Of Aubrey I know nothing, but am really impatient for Dryden's Prose, as I regard his style as one of the first in our language, and wish that it had been more read and imitated than it has been. As to my dear sir Joshua's works, I more than long for them, not only on account of their intrinsic merit, but because I was, and am, in spite of fate, his friend.

---

[1] These documents, in two folio volumes, extend from 1539 to 1550. They were laid before the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, on 17 December, 1796, and particulars in relation to them appeared in the sixth volume of the "Transactions" of that Institution in 1797, with the following title:—"An account of some manuscript papers which belonged to sir Philip Hoby, knight, who filled several important offices in the reign of king Edward the sixth, and which are at present the property of William Hare, esquire, one of the representatives in parliament for the city of Cork, by the reverend Mr. Hincks, of Cork," communicated by the President [of the Royal Irish Academy].

[2] To China. Published in two volumes, quarto. London: 1797.

[3] The author is believed to have been Thomas James Mathias. He wrote the "Political Dramatist," 1795; "Odes," 1798; and published an edition of the works of Thomas Gray in 1814.

"The death of lord Orford, which from your account I cannot but fear, will greatly grieve me. As an old and kind friend I must sincerely lament him, and as a literary character must deplore a loss to the world which will scarcely be retrievable, since such an union of the scholar and the gentleman will with difficulty be found.

"Why must lord Macartney, spite of ill health and increasing years, be for ever, like Cain, sentenced to be a wanderer? After all his peregrinations through Europe, Asia, and America, why must he be condemned perhaps to leave his bones in Africa among the Hottentots? Indeed, his English peerage [1] is, in my opinion, purchased dearly. I had hoped that his Chinese work would have been published long since.

"Thank you for your reception of my recommendation, of the kindness of which I had indeed no doubt. You are certainly right in advising my friend not to publish on his own account, but what will he get by depositing the papers in the Museum? Pray, do you know anything of Jephson? He left us with an intention of going to England, and since his departure I have heard nothing from him or of him. As you do not mention his name I can scarcely suppose him in London, and what is become of him I cannot conceive. . . .

"My eyes being a little reposed, and not liking to leave so much blank paper, I again take up the pen to inform you that a periodical paper, entitled the 'Flapper,' is now publishing here. It comes out twice a week, has proceeded to No. 50, and is, I believe, likely to continue, as it is well supported. The papers [2] are some of them excellent, many very tolerable, and none bad. This I mention as I know it will be pleasing to you, as it was a scandal to our country never till now to have produced a publication of this kind.

"That the forgers and their abettors should remain uneasy under their depression, I am not at all surprised; but the best of it is, that you have so completely overwhelmed them, that you never will be obliged to answer their nonsense, and for this reason I feel myself happy that you were more copious than the subject at the first glance appeared to deserve. An apology for the believers may be welcome to them, as indeed they want it; but such a pamphlet, from its title, must necessarily give up all claim to the authenticity of the manuscripts."

269.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1796, August 7, Belfast.—"On Friday there is to be a general assembly of the Down nobility and gentry at Newtownards, at the requisition of the most noble marquis, for the purpose of effectuating this new measure of a yeomanry cavalry. What the particular plan is I know not, but apprehend it will be found not easily practicable, or a very secure mode of either quieting or defending the country. . Just come from a sensible gentleman who arrived at midnight from London. Parliament, you know, is to meet on the 27th. Mr. Burke wrote to Fox a few weeks ago, expressing his hope that their political differences had not extinguished their mutual friendship, and soliciting a conference on a subject of the last moment. Fox replied that he was to go from St. Ann's the next day to the duke of Norfolk in London, and would be glad to see Burke at his grace's house. Burke brought Powis with him, and after some conversation on the present crisis, told his old friend that he had to offer him the secretaryship for foreign affairs, with such emoluments as he should prescribe, the under-secretary's place to Sheridan, with an appointment of 2,000*l.* per annum, the choice of the war, or pay-master's, office to Grey, Ireland to Bedford, with the whole patronage thereof. Fox smiled, and wondered how such a proposal could be made, as Burke and his new friends must know that in, as out of place, he must give the most decided and vigorous opposition to the system which had so long prevailed. Powis attempted to sooth him. Fox was not to consider himself as belonging to himself; his great abilities belonged to the public, who had at this awful season a right to their utmost exertions. Fox replied that he was afraid he would keep some worthy gentlemen waiting for their dinner at St. Ann's, and wished them a 'good morning.' This my friend had from Coke, of Norfolk, at the duke of Suffolk's table. Another conference was afterwards requested by Portland and Loughborough. What passed between them and Fox, my friend knew not; but says Fox, who was never in better looks and health, is growing into great favour with his old revilers and persecutors. .

---

[1] Conferred on him 1796.

[2] Some of the essays were contributed anonymously by William Smith, subsequently baron of the exchequer in Ireland.

"The 'Orange boys' parade in great numbers in the vicinage of Lisburn; a clergyman of the marquis of Hertford harangues them, after the service is over, from the pulpit, exhorting them to firmness and perseverance (their object is the banishment or extermination of the Catholics), tendering them the oath of allegiance, and promising them, it is said, arms from Government. . Lord Castlereagh called on me yesterday; he seems most completely alarmed—which is, indeed, the general state of people's minds."

270.—Thomas Dix Hincks to Charlemont.—Sir Philip Hoby.

1796, August 11, Cork.—"The honour your lordship did me by permitting me to show you the manuscript papers in my possession, and the important service you rendered me by giving me an introduction to Mr. Malone, require that I should return your lordship my sincere thanks. Mr. Malone behaved with that polite attention which I was led to expect from so flattering an introduction, and, independently of the value of his opinion, I was highly gratified by seeing the editor and vindicator of Shakespeare. Mr. Malone did not entertain a doubt respecting the authenticity of sir Philip Hoby's papers,[1] but he seemed to think that a sufficient number of persons would not purchase them, when published, to render it a safe undertaking. A plan was afterwards suggested to me by Dr. Beaufort, with whom I believe your lordship is acquainted, namely, to publish an account of the whole, and copies of the papers relating to Henry VIII., with notes, and to intimate that should a sufficient number of persons desire it, the whole collection will be made public. By this method I shall avoid running any risk. In the meantime I shall peruse immediately the whole collection, and draw up an account of it, and of the reasons for believing it to be authentic, in compliance with the request which Mr. Knox made, I believe, at your lordship's suggestion. Mr. Astle, to whom the bishop of Limerick introduced me, not only confirmed the authenticity of the letters, but informed me that after a diligent search in the paper office, none of Sir Philip Hoby's letters could be found, which greatly increases the value of the copies in my possession. The trouble of reading these lines has been brought upon your lordship by the great readiness you showed to assist a person before unknown to you, and by the affability of your manners. I trust, therefore, you will excuse it."

---

[1] *See* page 279.

271.—CHARLEMONT[1] to MALONE.

1797, August 19, Dublin.—"The edition[2] of Sir Joshua's works is worthy of their incomparable author, and the account of the life, etc., is worthy of the editor. Among the old plays there are some which I had before, but that is inevitable, and of no consequence. A propos, I have picked up here an old play, which, as it is not in the numerous collection you have procured for me, I suppose to be a scarce one. It is entitled, 'A chaste maid in Cheapside, by Thomas Middleton, gent.,' 1630.[3] 'Love in ruins' is undoubtedly founded on the same story which produced lord Orford's excellent tragedy,[4] and yet I do not believe that my old friend ever saw it, since, had he seen it, he would probably have adopted the far less indelicate expedient for producing the horrid catastrophe. The crime of Berengaria takes its rise from mere mistake, while that of the Countess immediatly flows from all the horrors of inordinate lust. Mr. Walpole tells us that he had taken his subject from a story related of Tillotson and a female penitent, though the same story was afterwards discovered in one of the queen of Navarre's novels; and why should we not believe him? For my own part, I am a bitter enemy to the practice of subtracting from the originality of great authors, by bringing forward the wretched performance of obsolete writers who have formerly disgraced the subjects to which they have done honour. Thus the divine 'Paradise Lost' is by some supposed to have been taken from the miserable bombast of Andreini,[5] when plain sense assures us that the beginning of Genesis alone was amply sufficient to have dictated his theme to Milton. However my collection must necessarily suffer by it, I cannot but rejoice that the prices given for old books are now more enormous than ever, as a redundancy of money in private hands, after all our expenses, is thereby indicated. Here, indeed, the case is very different, and no man, a few rich harpies only excepted, has wherewithall even to supply his common and necessary mode of living; for which most excellent reason I must, however unwillingly, beg of you, for the present, to suspend your kind endeavours to increase my collection, to which abstinence from the favourite food of my mind you may be assured that my poverty and not my will consents. Borrowing is utterly impracticable either here or in England. Some time since, my son[6] having set up for the county of Armagh, which, by the way, he has carried at a very small expense, I wanted a trifling sum, and wrote to a very particular friend, a banker in London, who, with all his kind pains, could not procure it.

---

[1] The original of this letter is bound up with the papers of 1796 in the collection.

[2] In two volumes, quarto, edited by Malone.

[3] "A pleasant conceited comedy, never before printed: as it hath been often acted at the Swan on the banke-side by the lady Elizabeth her servants."

[4] "The mysterious mother," 1768.

[5] Giambattista Andreini, native of Florence, author of drama entitled "Adamo," on the fall of man, printed in 1613, 1617, 1641, and 1685.

[6] Francis Caulfeild.

"Your list of deaths is indeed a sad one. Poor Burke,[1] one of my oldest and best acquaintances and friends! I knew him intimately, long before he was a politician, and when, without a crown in his pocket, he was a happy man. I knew him intimately at his first introduction into the political world, when also he was as happy as the adoration of his friends, and a perfect rectitude of conduct, could make him. I have also known him intimately when he was not quite so happy. His heart was excellent. His abilities were supernatural; and a deficiency in prudence and political wisdom alone could have kept him within the rank of mortals!"

"Lord Orford,[2] to whose kindness and friendship I have been early and long obliged, was undoubtedly the most pleasing companion I ever knew, and has, I fear, also made a chasm in society which it will be difficult to fill up. I say difficult, but not impossible, for believe me, unless our decline has already proceeded as far as may be feared, the world will go on as it hitherto has done, and every age will produce its worthies.

"Mason,[3] thank fate, I only knew by his writings, which are alone sufficient to insure the regret of every man who pretends to the smallest degree of taste; and as for Dr. Warren,[4] death owed him a grudge for the numerous victims rescued from his dart, and at length revenged himself by that fatal blow on the stomach.

"How I have been able to write so much I know not, and can only account for my increased ability from the pleasure I take in writing to you. I must, however, shortly leave you, yet not before I have said a very few words respecting your politics. Indeed, you are too gloomy, and, as everyone must in times like these be somewhat prejudiced, your criterion is by no means a certain one. Where public misfortunes have been foreseen and foretold, the prophet, however sorry for the event, will always feel and shew some satisfaction at the completion of his prophecy. You must besides consider that, in the opinion of those to whom you allude, a continuation of the measures which they have uniformly opposed is fraught with certain destruction, and, as nothing can secure a change of measures but a change of ministers, they have, perhaps, a right to rejoice in whatever may bring about an event which, according to their judgment, can alone save the empire from utter ruin, and, indeed, the miseries entailed upon us by the conduct of the present administration are such as even supposing it only unfortunate, must make every impartial man wish for a change. I am, it is most true, a constitutional royalist. I glory in the appellation, and never can depart from its principle—but then observe that qualifying epithet is with me of the highest importance. As for the 'detestable system planned in Germany some twenty years since,' I really know nothing about it, but can only say that I believe you are somewhat mistaken in your chronology, as twenty years have not passed since the conference at Pilnitz.[5] But no more of politics. I do not much like writing to you on a subject where, though in the main I am sure we think alike, we do not entirely agree; and indeed, if you were witness to what is daily passing in this island, you would not be much surprised at the disagreement. Few, however, must ever be our subjects of controversy, since our hearts are in unison respecting all fundamentals."

---

[1] Died on 9 July 1797.

[2] Died on 2 March 1797.

[3] William Mason, died in 1797.

[4] *See* page 188.

[5] In August 1791.

272.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1796, August 23, Dublin.—"Our dear friend Robert,[1] who, with wonder I speak it, is not the worse for being a lord, has just now left me, having shewn me a paper, which I am sorry to say the good men of Belfast have hitherto declined signing. This, I confess, not only vexes, but surprises me, as, from the perfectly innocent manner in which it is drawn up, I cannot conceive how any good man can refuse the sanction of his name. You know of old my ardent affection for your town, and many of my former letters have expressed my strong desire that some mode should be devised of descriminating between the good and bad of its inhabitants, and of consequently shewing how greatly the former preponderate, as well as how injurious it is to throw a general blame upon a great and most respectable community merely because by far the minority of its members are blameworthy. But if it was formerly my opinion that such a disavowal would have been desirable and proper, I cannot help thinking that it is now become absolutely necessary, and, under this impression, however ill able, I now write to beseech you seriously to consider the point in question, and, if upon reflection you shall agree with me, to request that you would exert in favour of a plan which appears to me indispensable, that influence which among honest men ought to be, and, I trust, is unbounded."

273.—WILLIAM MELMOTH[2] to CHARLEMONT.

1796, August 26, Bath.—"The very flattering reception with which you were pleased to honour the memoirs,[3] of which I ventured to request your acceptance, would render the author vain indeed, if he had so little profited by accumulated years as to have still remaining in him a single spark of that weakness unextinguished; but old as he is, he has not outlived the ambition of endeavouring at least to be thought not altogether unworthy of your lordship's approbation. The tribute of affection and admiration which I have attempted to pay to a most justly revered parent may be suspected, perhaps, of partiality; but although several years are elapsed since his death, his memory still lives in the courts of Westminster Hall, and there are competent witnesses now existing of unquestionable integrity who will bear testimony that the picture I have exhibited is a true and faithful resemblance of the excellent original. It is from this firm persuasion that I presumed to request a place for it in your library, both as a proof of your esteem for an exemplary character, and of mine for your lordship's, to which no man looks up with more sincere respect and affection."

274.—CHARLEMONT to EARL CAMDEN, lord lieutenant of Ireland.

1796, September 9, Marino.—"My present residence in the country has prevented my receiving your excellency's letter till last night, which must plead my excuse for not having answered it sooner. Respecting the plan of county infantry, I shall not fail to act according to your final determination, with such reservations as I have already mentioned, as far as my situation and the very precarious state of my health will permit, and, as I am every day in town from two to five o'clock, shall be ready to wait on your excellency whenever you shall please to command my attendance."

---

[1] Robert Stewart became viscount Castlereagh in 1797, on the promotion of his father to the earldom of Londonderry.

[2] *See* page 261.

[3] Of William Melmoth, senior.

275.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

1796, September 12, Dublin.—"What, do the good people of your town consider it is a matter of very little moment to be confounded in the mass of those whose principles they must detest? Is the present situation of this country, and more especially of your neighbourhood, such as to render an avowal of amity to the constitution a matter of very little moment? As for the arguments, if such they may be called, made use of by those who wished to refuse their signature, they are really too futile to deserve an answer, as you yourself, I am confident, must have perceived when you disgraced your ink by transcribing them. But the paper, you may say, was not publicly brought forward. Ought it to have been produced in public till it was known that it would not have been generally scouted? Surely no. That the spirit of discontent has struck its roots deep indeed I am, alas, well aware, but is it merely a spirit of discontent? I also am discontented. No man detests more heartily than I do the present administration and its measures, yet should not that detestation prevent me from endeavouring to save my country from destruction even while swayed by Mr. Pitt? Would I refuse to bear a hand in stopping a leak in the sinking vessel because I hated the commander? But the spirit that has gone abroad is, I fear, of a far worse nature, and proceeds from the machinations of a set of wretches who wish for confusion because by that alone they can hope to thrive; they wish for a restoration of chaos, not from the hope, though that would be sufficiently foolish, that a better world might be created out of it, but because they suppose that, in the confusion of elements, the lightest must necessarily float at the top. The divine Milton, certainly no courtier, has well and beautifully pointed out the close connexion which exists between chaos and the author of all evil, where Satan thus addresses[1] the powers and spirits of the nethermost abyss:—'Chaos and ancient night,' in words not ill adapted to a modern anarchist, 'direct my course; directed, no mean recompence it brings to your behoof if I that region lost, all usurpation thence expell'd—reduce to her original darkness and your sway, (which is my present journey,) and once more erect the standard there of ancient night'; to whom the 'anarch old' answers with the utmost kindness, and bids him 'go and speed; havoc and spoil and ruin are my gain.'

"The conversation between Fox and Burke is certainly curious, and not unlikely to have happened exactly as it has been related to you. That overtures have been made I have little doubt, though the choice of Burke for a negociator seems to me to have been a whimsical, and not a very wise one, yet that is no reason why the fact should not be precisely true, and there can be no better authority than Mr. Coke of Norfolk. .

"A gazette account is arrived of a considerable advantage, not to say victory, obtained over the French by the archduke's army. The effects of this are yet, however, in the womb of time, but there is reason to think that they may be salutary. There was a time when my opinion might have had some little weight at Belfast, but, alas, those halcyon days are fled; my only consolation is that I am in no way changed, whatever they may be who formerly honoured me with their esteem. I had just folded my letter when I received your postscript, for which I thank you. The marquiss's delay was certainly ill-timed, yet still I hope that on Wednesday something may be done to save the country from ruin. That alone is my wish; heaven knows I can possibly have no other object. That gentlemen should speak out is undoubtedly right; better so than to brood upon their discontents till they are hatched into mischief, yet is this a time for action rather than for speculation."

---

[1] Paradise lost, ii., 980–1009.

276.—EARL CAMDEN to CHARLEMONT.

1796, September 20, Dublin Castle.—"I have the honor of enclosing to your lordship the draft of the sort of offer which I imagine may be best made to government for the raising of county corps, but if your lordship should prefer any other mode of making such offer, that of your lordship will be equally agreeable to me."

[Enclosure.]—1796, September 20.—"A plan having been communicated to me for raising an internal force in different districts of this kingdom, I beg leave to acquaint you that having given it the best consideration in my power, I propose to raise a corps accordingly in the neighbourhood of ——, to consist of —— mounted and —— dismounted men, and as soon as the names of those persons who shall compose this corps shall be enrolled, I shall have the honor of submitting the names of the gentlemen I should propose for commissions for the consideration of his excellency the lord lieutenant."

277.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1796, September 21, Belfast.—"On returning from Shane's Castle on Sunday, I learned that some of my neighbours had called repeatedly at my house to talk over the subject of a town meeting, and I was sent for by a few of them in the evening. Their intention was to express their concern for the very unnecessary indignity which had been offered to the civil power on Friday, and the unprovoked insult to the town of Belfast, at the same time, their attachment to the constitution and their determination to support the execution of the laws, and to preserve the peace and good order of the community, promoting, as far as they could by peaceful, legal, and constitutional means, a reform in the house of commons. A requisition, most respectably signed, was accordingly presented to the chief magistrate, but it was deemed prudent not to hazard such a measure, in the present divided state of people's minds and the irritated situation of many of them, so that nothing can be done in the way your lordship thought eligible, the inhabitants having pledged themselves to each other, many years ago, not to sign any public declaration of their sentiments, previous to a discussion at some general meeting, properly convened.

"To make amends for this dull, insignificant paragraph, I shall inclose an inscription,[1] which was communicated to me yesterday, and which was put up in the front of his house when lord Macartney lately visited it. The classical purity of this curious morçeau, with the bashful absense of egoism, must, I think, delight you."

---

[1] "Hos avitos agros, has ædes restitutas et ornatas d. d. d. Georgius dominus Macartney, baro de Lissenoure, ordinis regii et perantiquæ aquilæ albæ, necnon ordinis præhonorabilis de Balneo eques, regi a sanctioribus conciliis, hujusce comitatus rotulorum custos et militum provincialium præfectus, in patriam rediens. Anno salutis 1796.

'Nosmet Erin genuit, vidit nos Africa; Gangem
Hausimus, Europæque plagas fere visimus omnes.
Nec latuit regio primum patefacta Columbo.
Casibus et variis acti terraque, marique,
Sistimus hic tandem atque lares veneramur avorum.' "

See Ninth Report of this Commission, 1884, p. 330.

278.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1796, September 26, Armagh.—"Here I am with the view of encouraging the raising of corps for the internal protection of the country in case of emergency, and how far I may be able to promote the execution of that necessary measure as yet I know not, but you are well enough acquainted with my sentiments to render it unnecessary for me to say that, where the safety of my country is at stake, no motive will ever be able to prevent my endeavours to assist her. My journey has retarded my answering the former of your letters, and last night I here received the latter, which had been forwarded to me from Dublin, and which in my present hurry I have scarcely a moment to answer. I am happy that at length the sane part of your community has entered into any measure tending to discriminate it from the insane, but find with much concern that such laudable attempt has proved abortive, though for my life I cannot conceive from what sound reason. The causes alledged, I suppose by the chief magistrate, appears to me void of foundation, as I cannot but think that the present divided state of men's minds, and the irritated situation of many of them, was the strongest of reasons for complying with the requisition and for immediately calling the meeting, since that very complexion of the times and state of affairs rendered the discrimination more necessary, and, even though a majority of the violent had prevailed, a supposition which I think impossible, still a promulgation of the sentiments of a respectable minority would doubtless have been of the highest utility." . .

279.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1796, September 30, Belfast.—"I wish you all manner of success in your present undertaking, which you seem to have much at heart, though, for my own part, I feel not the least apprehension of invasion, and should as little dread insurrection were government to act with sound wisdom and impartiality. As to their simulated fears, I consider them merely as a continuation of that system of alarm, which has so well answered their purpose of strengthening their hands, of calling off the attention of too many from the great desideratum, and of stifling the voice of the people,—shall I add, and of laying a foundation for a superstructure of terror, which they seem nothing loth to make the order of the day? After all, will our dear and revered general feel quite comfortable when under the command of that fire-brand, the present commander-in-chief?"[1]

280.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1796, October 7, Dublin.—When I first read that part of your letter where you declare that you feel not the least apprehension of invasion, for a moment I too felt bold from a consideration that the town in which you dwell is supposed to possess the best intelligence in matters of this nature, but my comfort was of short duration, and I soon sunk into my former doubts when I reflected that very possibly this reputation of our northern metropolis might be ill founded, and that even were it otherwise you would most certainly be the last man to whom your wise ones would communicate their secrets. But, to leave trifling upon a matter of this serious importance, I shall only say that however improbable it may be thought, from the various impediments which must be encountered, that our desperate enemy should be able to carry into execution so difficult a plan, still it is certainly not impossible, and that it would be folly in the extreme not to guard against such possibility by every exertion in our power. The measure also, in which I have taken a part, has appeared to me so wise and constitutional that I have even grudged its rectitude to ministers in every other respect so worthy of our detestation, for what indeed is it but arming the people to protect their own peace and property. But thoroughly to discuss this point would be more than either my eyes or leisure would permit, and I shall therefore content myself with saying that no hatred of administration shall ever prevent me from stepping forth in defence of my country whenever I shall think her in danger; that by so doing my principles or political conduct can never be in the smallest degree altered, and of this I have assured the lord lieutenant; and as for your hints concerning our commander-in-chief,[1] I shall only wish you to consider that I can possibly have nothing to do with him, unless my own wish and free choice should subject me to military law."

---

[1] Henry Lawes Luttrell, earl of Carhampton.

281.—Earl Camden to Charlemont.

1796, October 9, Dublin Castle.—" As I conceive it to be one of the duties incumbent upon me to report to his majesty, for his information, those examples of public spirit in his majesty's subjects in this kingdom which are worthy of remark, I mentioned in a dispatch some days ago, the very active and patriotic conduct which had been pursued by your lordship upon the present occasion. I have myself taken the liberty of stating to your lordship personally the opinion I entertain of that conduct; but it must afford you the satisfaction which is your lordship's due to be informed of the sense his majesty entertains of it, and of your general character. I therefore have the honor of enclosing an extract of a letter I received this morning from the duke of Porland, dated October 4th. .

" I enclose your lordship a bulletin I received this day. Our parliament will certainly meet on Thursday.

[Enclosure.]

" 'Extract of a letter from the duke of Portland to the lord lieutenant [of Ireland], dated 4th October 1796.

" 'The ardour with which the earl of Charlemont stands forward on the present occasion, and the effect which his spirited and magnanimous example must produce in the minds of his countrymen, are circumstances on which his majesty reflects with no less confidence than satisfaction; and although the principles which that earl has uniformly professed, and the constant tenor of his life, prevent his majesty from being surprized at any sacrifice he is disposed to make in support of the religion and constitution of his country, his majesty cannot suffer such conduct to pass unnoticed or unacknowledged, and I am therefore to signify to your excellency his royal pleasure that you take the earliest opportunity of expressing his majesty's particular thanks to the earl of Charlemont for this unparalleled instance of public spirit and public virtue.' "

282.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1796, October 24, Dublin.—" That it would have been my anxious wish to have gone farther northward for the pleasure of seeing you, cannot, I trust, be matter of doubt, but it was really out of my power; my business at Armagh was pressing, and my health would not permit a further progress. I was besides but too sensible of what you yourself almost allow, that my presence at Belfast could be of no use, excepting to myself, and, if not useful, it might have been painful to me. That many of your fellow citizens are excellent men, I have the happiness to be certain, but that the most foolish and misguided among them are not one fourth so bad as they have been represented does not, I confess, strike me with so positive conviction; and this it is which has made me so long and so ardently wish for a proper discrimination. If the many do not openly disavow the pernicious tenets of the few, how can they expect in distant countries to be distinguished from them? But this, it seems, cannot be, and I am heartily sorry for it. I shall in a few days again go down to Armagh, and how a journey at this season will agree with the very precarious state of my health indeed I know not, but at every hazard I must do what I believe to be my duty; consistent with that, my stay will be as short as possible. . . I am sorry to find that lord Londonderry[1] has not been successful, but what better could he expect from long sermons and long oaths?"

---

[1] *See* p. 285.

283.—Elliot to Charlemont.

1796, October 27, War Office.—"Mr. Elliot presents his compliments to lord Charlemont, and takes the earliest opportunity of informing his lordship that, according to the arrangement which has been made with regard to the numbers of which the district corps are to consist, the two corps commanded by his lordship will remain at their present establishment. Mr. Elliot also begs leave to acquaint lord Charlemont that the rest of the regulations relative to the corps will be forwarded to his lordship, by the post, in the course of a few days, together with his lordship's commission."

284.—Richard Lovell Edgeworth to Charlemont.—On telegraphic communication.

1796, November 21, Edgeworthstown.—"I will not trouble your lordship with all the letters and memorials and 'fatras' of my negociation about the tellograph;[2] what I enclose is sufficient. Mr. Pelham sent my tellograph to the duke of York, by my son, who has instructed the duke's aide-de-camp in the use of it. I am at present employed in a pamphlet upon the subject, which is to be my farewell to Ireland till its troubles are over. You will say they have not begun, but you are too wise not to see that they must happen.

"I shall draw with my feeble pen a sketch of what this country is and what it might be; of the character of its populace, unchanged since the time of queen Elizabeth; and of the uncommon natural powers of a people, who want nothing but education and institutions to make them great and happy. If it were possible, I should wish to address myself in the form of a letter to your lordship. To your lordship, 'veniente, discedente die,' I always turn as to the true friend to Ireland and—may I say it?—to me. If another government, which I think will be the case, should intervene between the present time and the great crisis of this kingdom, I think your lordship will not forget me. I think you will vindicate my fame and secure to me an opportunity of shewing that I am fit for practical service as well as for speculation. Your lordship will be so good as to mention the circumstances of this business to your friends."

---

[1] Robert Stewart, created earl of Londonderry in August 1796.

[2] On 27 June 1795 an essay by Edgeworth was read before the Royal Irish Academy "on the art of carrying secret and swift intelligence."

[Enclosures.]

i.—"Mr. Edgeworth's memorial sent October the 6th, 1796.—'Mr. Edgeworth will undertake to convey intelligence from Dublin to Cork and back to Dublin, by means of fourteen or fifteen different stations, at the rate of one hundred pounds per annum for each station, as long as government shall think proper; and from Dublin to any other place at the same rate, in proportion to the distance, provided that, when government chooses to discontinue the business, they shall pay one year's contract, over and above the current expense, as some compensation for the prime cost of the apparatus and the trouble of the first establishment.'

ii.—"Copy of Mr. Pelham's letter to Mr. Edgeworth.—' 1796, November the 17th, Dublin Castle.—Dear Sir,—The lord lieutenant communicated to lord Spencer your plan for establishing a communication of intelligence between Cork and Dublin and between Dublin and Belfast or Donaghadee, by means of a tellograph of your invention, and requested to know whether such an establishment would be of such advantage to Great Britain as to encourage the adoption of it. Lord Spencer and the board of admiralty did not think it would be of such importance as to induce them to encourage his excellency to make the experiment. His excellency, thinking the invention a very ingenious one, and wishing to show every degree of attention to you in the business, consulted the commander-in-chief upon the advantages which would be derived from such an establishment for the communication of intelligence within the kingdom, and not receiving more encouragement from him than he had from the admiralty in England, his excellency has directed me to say that, much as he admires the invention, and the motives which engaged the author to apply his talents to this object, he does not see any purpose in this country for which he could be warranted in incurring the expence. The utility of a telegraph may hereafter be considered greater, but I trust that, at all events, those talents which have been directed to this pursuit will be turned to some other object, and that the public will have the benefit of that extraordinary activity and zeal, which I have witnessed on this occasion, in some other invention, which I am sure that the ingenuity of the author will not require much time to suggest.—I have the honour to be, with great respect, dear sir, your most obedient humble servant, T. Pelham.'

iii.—"Mr. Edgeworth's answer to Mr. Pelham—' 1796, November the 20th, Edgeworthstown.—Sir,—When I had the honor of seeing you, I stated it to be my lord Carhampton's opinion that I should be employed, which will appear by the enclosed copy of his lordship's letter of the 6th of September. What new circumstances have occurred to lessen alarm, and to make my services unacceptable, I am at a loss to conjecture. My invention, however, has been adopted at the admiralty, by the duke of York's chaplain, with such slight alterations as cannot blind the public, to whose judgment I shall soon submit the whole transaction.—I am, sir, your obedient servant, Richard Lovell Edgeworth.'

iv.—"Copy of lord Carhampton's letter to Mr. Edgeworth.—' 1796, September 6, Dublin.—Dear Sir,—If you will be good enough to come up to town, my lord lieutenant will be glad to converse with you on the subject of the telegraph, and I trust you will be employed.—I am, dear sir, with great truth, your faithful servant, Carhampton.'"

285.—To CHARLEMONT from EARL CAMDEN, LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.

1796, November 22, Dublin Castle.—"The proclamation,[1] as I described it to your lordship, passed the council to-day. I have taken all the pains I can that the proclamation should be confined to those districts. I need not say how anxiously I hope that your lordship's reflexion may induce you not to take a line, which had [it] occurred to you to be possible you might be inclined to do. I am sure your lordship feels my difficulties. You have prevented the city of Armagh from being put under this bill, and as I trust there is no chance of your being called upon to act, whilst the proclamation shall remain in force, I cannot but most anxiously hope your mature consideration may induce you not to táke a step which I should not do my duty to the country, and should ill express my own feelings, if I did not say I thought would be very detrimental at present. I ought to apologize again to your lordship for taking this liberty since I had the honor of seeing you, but I cannot restrain myself."

286.—CHARLEMONT to EARL CAMDEN.

1796, November 22.—"With repeated acknowledgments for your repeated favours, among which I must count the honour of your last kind letter, give me leave to assure your excellency that it would give me the utmost concern to find myself compelled, by my duty to my country and to myself, to take any step which could be in any way disagreeable to you. The exception of the city of Armagh and of the two granges is undoubtedly a matter of much importance, and this exception, having been made on my account, must ever be esteemed by me a high favour, as it is of that species which I would wish to receive from government, yet still I am unhappy in being compelled to say that I have not hitherto been able perfectly to make up my mind upon the very delicate subject to which your excellency's letter alludes. Biassed, however, as I am by an ardent desire to act in conformity with your wish, I should account myself unfortunate, indeed, if the consideration of a day or two should not enable me to wait on your excellency, with such an answer as may prove how sincerely I have the honour to be, etc."

287.—EARL CAMDEN to CHARLEMONT.

i.—1796, December 1, Phœnix Park, [Dublin.]—"I was very happy to hear from Mr. Dawson, upon my return to town to-day, that the city of Armagh was not recommended to be proclaimed, and that the magistrates have confined themselves to the recommendation that 'that part of the parish of Newry which is in the barony of Onealand West, and that part of the parish of Armagh which is also in the said barony, should be included in another proclamation.' I understand that it is doubtful whether any part of the parish of Armagh is in that barony, so it is possible it may not be included. At all events, I cannot describe to your lordship the satisfaction I have that this business has ended in a manner which I trust will be agreeable to you, and therefore advantageous to his majesty's service. I was also very happy to be informed that the conduct of the magistrates was much more temperate than upon the former day on which they met.

287, ii.—1796, December 5, Dublin Castle.—"I take the liberty of enclosing to you the answer I have sent to the Armagh address, as you are interested in the transactions which have taken place in that city, and I beg to take this opportunity of thanking your lordship more fully than I had yesterday an opportunity of doing, for the manner in which your lordship is so good as to speak of my endeavours to prevent the magistrates of Armagh from going beyond the bounds of prudence. I shall esteem it a fortunate circumstance to have had this business upon my hands, as it has given me the opportunity and the advantage of more communication with your lordship than might perhaps otherwise have occurred, which cannot have failed to impress me with the highest respect for your lordship's character."

---

[1] Declaring parishes in the county of Armagh to be in a state of disturbance.

[Enclosure.]

"'I have received the address of the sovereign burgesses and inhabitants of the city of Armagh. It gives me the most sincere satisfaction to observe that so many respectable inhabitants of that city have determined, by an hearty and zealous co-operation, to endeavour to prevent those disorders which have prevailed in other districts from interrupting the peace and prosperity of Armagh; and it gives me equal satisfaction to observe that the magistrates of the county, who have taken its interests into consideration with so much attention, have thought themselves warranted in not including the city in their recommendation to the lord lieutenant and council to be proclaimed, according to the provisions of the insurrection act; from whence I trust it may be inferred that the city is in a state of more tranquillity than it had before experienced; and I look with confidence to the operation of those resolutions, which are so respectably signed.'"

288.—James Stewart to Charlemont.

1796, December 17, Cookstown.—"Though there is, indeed, nothing pleasing or satisfactory to tell you, yet I cannot think of deferring to return thanks for your most kind and obliging letter, which I received this morning. Since my last return to the country, this neighbourhood has been undisturbed, but though the people are quiet, yet I fear there is no change in their sentiments. With respect to proclaiming a part of this county, I have the satisfaction of thinking that my opinion coincides with yours, but perhaps I may not be so fortunate as to have my conduct on the occasion sanctioned by your approbation. You will, however, give credit to the goodness of my intention. At the meeting of magistrates, I gave my opinion against any proclamation at present, even of the disturbed parishes, but in this I met little or no support. It was then proposed to proclaim the whole barony of Dungannon, and a division took place, when I was in the minority and against the proclamation; but, yielding to the majority, I signed the memorial (as did every person present except the military men who are made justices), believing that it might injure the country if it should appear that there are differences of opinion in the business. The day following Tom Knox agreed with me in thinking (indeed, he did so from the first) that the determination of the majority had been hasty, and therefore he wrote in his own name, lord Northland's[1] and mine to Mr. Pelham, requesting that the lord lieutenant would postpone proceeding in the memorial till another meeting of the magistrates should be held. But neither to this, nor to the letter which inclosed the memorial, has any answer been given, so that we are yet ignorant what will be done. You will perceive that I mention this transaction to you in confidence, for it would defeat the principle upon which my conduct was founded if it should be known. I therefore request that it may not be told that there was a division, but I always wish to lay my heart open to you, who, I know, though you may think me wrong, will see my faults with indulgence. I shall write to-night to Mr. Lewis on the subject you mention, though I am told the address and answer are in the last Belfast paper, and, if so, they may order it to be copied by the Dublin printers.

---

[1] Thomas Knox, viscount Northland of Dungannon.

"My health, which you so kindly enquire after, is perfectly good, and my spirits not to be complained of. I am now too old and have been too long a family man to enjoy a bachelor's life. I have this moment heard a most disagreeable piece of news, that Lord Abercorn's house, at Baronscourt,[1] has been burned; no particulars are mentioned, whether it was accidental or malicious. What do the French mean by sending a small fleet off Cape Clear? Without transports their object cannot be invasion."

289.—REV. EDWARD HUDSON to CHARLEMONT.

1796, December 18, Portglenone, Ballymena.—"Since my last, the part of Derry adjoining us has been in a most disagreeable state, parties of men out every night robbing the inhabitants of arms, and on Friday night some houses were burnt in the village of Kilrea, about seven miles from hence, by a party of the Kerry militia, with a magistrate at their head, as it is said; for even at this short distance reports are various and contradictory. The magistrate (Torrens, a clergyman,) is a very worthy man, but, at times, not very cool. I happened to be at Randalstown last week, when a meeting was held, at the desire of lord O'Neill, relative to raising yeomanry. He spoke sensibly and modestly, but completely without effect, though he is an excellent landlord as well as a most amiable man. He was applied to lately to have a call of the county in order to petition for a reform. This he seemed inclined to, yet I fancy it will hardly take place. The application originated with some of those who are thought to be very high up; but I am convinced a reform would satisfy almost all that are of any consequence, and confess I am not able to judge of this question in all its relations and consequences; but I can see numberless good effects that would flow from such an attention to the wishes of the people. It is said government should not be bullied into the measure. I say so too. But, surely, government is at this moment so strong that it can grant with dignity and without any possible imputation of fear. But what can be the result of the present system? It seems to me fraught with misfortune, end as it may. I hope I am neither timid nor visionary, yet I cannot help thinking that one of the two greatest political evils that can befall mankind impends over my unfortunate country. May God direct the councils of those who govern her, is my constant prayer and in truth my only hope."

290.—BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN KNOX to CHARLEMONT.

1796, December 31, Dungannon.—"As it is supposed that many disaffected people pass into the county of Tyrone by the ferry at the Blackwater foot, I request your lordship's permission to prevent the boat plying at night, and, if events should render it necessary, stopping the boat plying even during the day."

---

[1] In county Tyrone.

291.—CHARLEMONT to EARL CAMDEN.

1796, December. —.—" Be pleased to accept my most grateful acknowledgments for the honour and favour you have done me in communicating your answer to the Armagh address, than which nothing can be more proper or better conceived, and in the composition of which your excellency has so perfectly surmounted all difficulties, that it now signifies little whether my efforts to stop publication be successful or not. It would have been impossible for me, as far as prudence and the confidence reposed in me would permit, not to have mentioned your excellency's conduct with the utmost respect and applause, and I have only regretted that the nature of the business in question has prevented me from speaking my gratitude as loudly as I would have wished. The remainder of the letter with which you have honoured me is too kind to allow me fitly to express my thanks."

292.—EARL CAMDEN to CHARLEMONT.

1797, January 7, Dublin Castle.—" I am very much obliged to your lordship for the letter I had the honor to receive from you yesterday, and I cannot but consider the opinion you are so good as to give me upon an official letter from Mr. Pelham an additional proof of your lordship's kindness to me. That letter was meant to imply an opinion that the peace and protection of the immediate district, for which the corps was raised, was in the first instance to be attended to; but if any gentleman or any set of men were disposed to offer more general service, conceiving their own property and that of their neighbours sufficiently protected, the letter was written with a view to point out to them where the application was to be made.

" I hope your lordship will use your judgment in making your corps acquainted with that letter. I should conceive it could not be necessary to do it, for I conceive it would not at all answer the public service were they to offer to march out of their district, as I am convinced they cannot be so well placed as where they are. I am very glad your lordship has received accounts from Dublin at this anxious time regularly. We have no accounts this day from Bantry Bay, but I heard from the Admiralty that lord Bridport[1] sailed on Tuesday morning early."

293.—COLONEL W. C. LINDSAY to CHARLEMONT.

1797, January 11, Fort Edward, near Dungannon.—" I think it my duty to acquaint your lordship that Mr. Allen McDonnell, a respectable Roman Catholic tenant on your lordship's estate in the townland of Drumnaferin, has offered to bring forward, when required, at a few days' notice, two hundred of the Roman Catholic inhabitants in this neighbourhood, able and willing to carry arms and march against the common enemy, in defence and support of his majesty's person and government. I have represented this to Mr. Pelham for the information of his excellency the lord lieutenant; and also that four hundred and fifty Roman Catholics have voluntarily come before me in the course of last week, and taken and subscribed the oath of allegiance directed by Parliament. So that I hope, with the assistance of the truly respectable Protestant yeomanry corps formed in this country, we shall soon have very little to apprehend from any desperate faction. I regret extremely that your lordship should be afflicted with any ailment, and trust, for the sake of my country, that a life endeared to it by every tie of gratitude and esteem may long be preserved in health and happiness."

---

[1] Alexander Hood, baron Bridport, commander of the channel fleet.

294.—R. L. EDGEWORTH to CHARLEMONT.

1797, January 21, Edgeworthstown.—"You will do me a favour, if you are in the habit of writing to Mr. Fox, by mentioning my name to him. I have directed that a copy of my letter,[1] which is publishing by Johnson in London, should be sent to him. I suppose that by Wednesday or Thursday Mr. Byrne will send two copies to your lordship, one of which I request you will be so good as to send to Mr. Grattan, with whom my acquaintance is so slight as to make it improper that I should send it in my own name. I have added a postscript relative to the invasion."

295.—HENRY HAMILTON to CHARLEMONT.

1797, January 25, Dublin Castle.—"My father has informed me that your lordship was anxious to have the proposals which your lordship recommended to government entered on the office books, as a record of loyalty. I am happy that your lordship's wishes upon this subject have been anticipated, the lord lieutenant and Mr. Pelham having taken particular care that every circumstance expressive of the great loyalty of Ireland upon the late occasion should be preserved."

296.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1797, January 28, Belfast.—"As we may look on this French alarm to be happily and entirely over, I beg leave to offer my congratulations to your lordship. Meanwhile everything tends to establish the minister on his throne, which, next to a French invasion, is devoutly to be deprecated. .

"Our Irish opposition has dwindled into nothing; the defection of sir Lawrence[2] astonishes some of my worthy friends. The bitter invective of the chancellor[3] has not that effect, but it feeds that contempt for his vicious character, and that detestation of his abominable principles, which have been long entertained by the wisest and best people among us, and who think that being praised by such a person would be far worse than being reviled. What we are yet farther to suffer from his rancour and malice, we know not; be it what it may, we must endure it for a time, lamenting at seeing such profligates at the head of the law, of our criminal jurisprudence, and of our numerous and motley forces. What a pity that lord Camden, whose temper is mild and benevolent, should be obliged to destroy the land by such foxes with firebrands at their tails!

"We have had abundance of swearing in this neighbourhood, and, though I could not readily answer the question, 'cui bono?' I should be at no loss to reply to another, 'cui malo?' People that take the oath do it willingly or unwillingly. In swearing the former, where is the use, or the latter, where the security? None. While the practice lessens the reverence for that sacred bond of society, vitiates the mind, and miserably weakens the ties of moral and civil duty, a simple oath of allegiance would not have been resisted, not even with a clause of obeying the laws, but the consciences of many (call them weak, but weak consciences should be respected) are shocked by that which binds them to support and maintain laws which they execrate in their hearts as oppressive and unconstitutional, and would by every constitutional exertion wipe away (as a foul disgrace) from the statute book. This, be assured, is a fair account of the dispositions of the general mass of those inhabitants of Ulster who possess any degree of information, or any property; but I am free to confess that the wretched dregs of the people, who know not even the meaning of the word reform, look forward with avidity to scenes of confusion and of plunder; and where, amongst that ignorant and indigent class, are there not to be found numbers who are 'novarum rerum cupidi'? Conciliate the minds of those immediately above them, and all is safe; but countenancing 'Orange boys' (bodies of whom took oaths as illegal as those of the Defenders, and who committed as great or greater outrages), and partial or hot-headed magistrates, was not the way to conciliate. At first, it was attempted to force down a much more complicated and revolting oath. The attempt did much harm, though it was pretty soon relinquished as impracticable. For my own part, I consider sound morals in the general mass as much better securities for order, freedom, loyalty, than all the oaths, coercion, prosecutions, persecutions, in the world; and that whatever tends to sap the foundations of morality and religion has a direct tendency to introduce anarchy or despotism, either of which will in time infer the other. I hope it is not peculiar to myself (indeed, I know it is not) to consider loyalty in a mixed commonwealth like ours as having a far different and more comprehensive signification than what it bears in most of the regular governments in the world where the monarch is the constitution, as master Reeves[1] would have persuaded us was the case here. But, in spite of master Reeves, his co-adjutor, Whitaker,[2] and their prototype, Filmer,[3] there is certainly in Great Britain and Ireland a loyalty due to all the members of the constitution, and to the people among the rest, and to the constitution itself, as it should be 'de jure,' not as it is debased, 'de facto.' Loyalty is a derivative from law; in its more limited and, I fear, fashionable sense, it would be more properly termed royalism."

---

[1] "A letter to the right hon. the earl of Charlemont on the tellograph and on the defence of Ireland." By Richard Lovell Edgeworth, esq., F.R.S. and M.R.I.A. Dublin: printed for P. Byrne, 1797.

[2] Parsons. *See* p. 295.

[3] John Fitzgibbon, earl of Clare.

297.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1797, February 1, Dublin.—"The French attempt, which is now, thank heaven, at least for the present, entirely at an end, has, in my opinion, been productive of many salutary effects. It has shewn to the people that there are dangers more to be dreaded than even the effects of a bad administration; it has made the well-minded lay aside their vicious backwardness and boldly speak out; it has confirmed the wavering, and, in a great measure, awed and silenced the clamour of faction; but, above all, it has clearly proved that the numbers of the disaffected have been far overrated, that even they who talked idly would never be induced to act madly, and that the mass of the people are yet to be depended upon. It has roused the martial ardour of the nation, and shewn our enemies that where they were taught to hope support they would find the most vigorous resistance; it has also had another excellent effect, for which, though of a less general nature, you well know that I have long anxiously panted—it has at length taught Belfast to discriminate its good from its bad, and has evinced the unjust and wicked folly of those who condemned and excommunicated its inhabitants in a mass. From what I have said of this last good effect, you will readily collect my opinion respecting the speech to which you allude, and which, though I did not hear it, being then in the north, I read with detestation, unable to decide whether it was more wicked or impolitick. Respecting the oath, I am much concerned that in framing it any ground should have been left for cavil; for indeed, my dear friend, all the objections to it are, in my opinion, nothing more. But to discuss this point would be too much for my wretched eyes; I shall, therefore, content myself with saying that the freeholder who took that oath might, without scruple, instruct his representatives to endeavour the repeal of any law of which he disapproved; and that I, having sworn, would, without fear of perjury, in the very next hour move such repeal. What you mean by the defection of sir Lawrence [Parsons] [1] I do not exactly know, unless the refusing to obey the dictates of a private party of eight or nine gentlemen, lawyers and others, be deemed defection; unless it shall be deemed defection to follow the dictates of our own unbiassed reason rather than implicitly to assent to the peevish and illtimed motions of a few, whose opposition is rendered the less respectable because, in some of them at least, without any breach of charity, it may be supposed to originate from disappointment and consequent discontent. Indeed, true patriotism does not always consist in perpetual and indiscriminate opposition, which may sometimes take its rise in motives not much preferable to those which influence the conduct of the servile courtier. The man who, unwarped by interest or ambition, acts at all times in the manner which to his unbiassed judgment appears most likely to serve or to save his country, ever suiting his conduct to the exigency of the times, and never giving way either to passion or to desire of emolument, he is the good citizen, he is the true patriot. .

---

[1] John Reeves, author of "History of the English law," London, 1787.

[2] John Whitaker, author of "The real origin of government."

[3] Sir Robert Filmer, author of "Political discourses," London, 1680, etc.

"So Paine has now attacked Washington! [2] No wonder; he has lately dared to attack heaven."

298.—R. L. EDGEWORTH to CHARLEMONT.

1797, February 12, Edgeworthstown.—"Pray tell me is there any truth in the report of the prince of Wales's appointment to the government of Ireland? It would be an excellent stroke of policy, but too large for our short-sighted ministry. I hope my pamphlet has reached your lordship, and that the postscript [3] appears chastened and becoming a victor who had his enemies under his feet. I know things 'de la vie privée' of a certain person, whom you think I treat too hardly, that would make you think otherwise; when I see your lordship I will mention them. You would oblige me by your opinion of the rumour I mention, as I will not quit the kingdom if the prince comes, for I think it would unite the nation, and spunge off the disgrace of the late administration of this country, and, if the French give us time, would make us invulnerable. But I fear that April will bring the enemy on her eastern gales. . . . Lord Camden told Tom Pakenham that he did not know that my letter of the 30th of December, offering my services, had not been answered.

---

[1] M.P. for King's county.

[2] "A letter to George Washington, president of the United States of America, on affairs public and private. By Thomas Paine, author of the works entitled 'Common sense,' 'Rights of Man,' 'Age of Reason,' etc." 8vo., Dublin: 1797.

[3] Dated Edgeworthstown, 17 January 1797, in relation to the long time which elapsed between the appearance of the French ships on the Irish coast and the receipt of the intelligence by the Government at Dublin.

"I proceed in my second letter; the first I am told sells; it was not intended to be approved of by the majority."

299.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1797, April 2, Dublin.—"O'Neill has, with his usual propriety, sent down to Belfast a sketch of the attorney-general's magistracy bill, so that I need only say that I think it a masterpiece of that masterly politician, and that I think it highly necessary that all such places as are enabled in point of time should petition against it. To your ingenious, sensible, and spirited townsmen I need not say a word respecting the matter of the petition, as you are already in possession of the outline of the bill, but shall only venture to hint that in my opinion the prayer might be that it should either be immediately rejected or at the least postponed to another session, in order that the country may have leisure to consider a measure in which their dearest interests are so deeply and so immediately concerned. I need not tell you that the phrase should be as respectful as possible, and, if you proceed with that alacrity which is usual to you, your petition may be presented before the third reading."

300.—EARL OF CARHAMPTON to CHARLEMONT.

1797, May 3, Royal Hospital, [Dublin.]—"My letters were brought to me this morning when I was at breakfast. Among them was the enclosed directed to your lordship. I broke the seal, opened it, and, as I usually do, looked to see from whom it came. Then, turning to the first page, the mistake was clear enough. Lady Carhampton and captain Eustace, who were at breakfast with me, are my witnesses that I instantly closed the letter, and put it under this cover and seal in their presence."

301.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1797, May 3, Dublin.—"You have been condignly punished for the enormous crime of silence towards a friend by a whimsical, and, it must be allowed, comical accident which has happened to the letter you have been at length pleased to write to me, and which I this morning received through the strange medium of lord Carhampton, together with an apology for having broken the seal, conceived in the following terms: 'My letters were brought to me this morning when I was at breakfast. Among them was the enclosed directed to your lordship. I broke the seal, opened it, and, as I usually do, looked to see from whom it came. Then, turning to the first page, the mistake was clear enough. Lady Carhampton and captain Eustace, who were at breakfast with me, are my witnesses that I instantly closed the letter, and put it under this cover and seal in their presence.' The mistake in the post office is easily accounted for, as your 'Charlemont' is, as it is written, not very unlike Carhampton, and the cypher with which you usually conclude your letters not being likely to undeceive his lordship, he could only be completely convinced of his error by the style in which you address me, viz., 'my ever dear and ever good lord,' an address which, even though the word 'Charlemont' had been omitted, he would never have taken to himself. Here then he stopped, and, except on his own account, I am sorry he did, as there is nothing in the letter which might not be read at the market place, nor indeed any that you write, excepting where in some of them his own name is not mentioned with much eulogy. It was rather unpleasant that the petition adopted at Armagh should have been preferred to that offerred by my son, which, though it contained the same fundamental principle, was certainly couched in terms more moderate, more proper, and more respectful. But such is the nonsense of the times, such is that madness which forgets that firmness ought ever to be united with moderation. Caulfeild,[1] who is still in the country, has the only copy of his petition. I expect him, however, daily, and should he arrive in time your wish shall be complied with; though, if you should think proper to adopt any part of his composition, I would wish it to be made dissimilar in terms from the original.

"Lord Camden, who sometimes does me the honour of a visit, informed me some time since that he had had a letter from you with which he seemed much pleased, so that I believe you wrong his excellency by supposing him offended at anything you have written. If the paragraph which you transcribe can have displeased him, he must undoubtedly be angry with me also, who have taken the liberty solemnly to advise nearly, if not precisely, in the same tenour. The present miserable state of affairs would rack the firmest nerves and depress the strongest spirits. The madness of the many and the folly of the few are hurrying us to ruin, and that love of my country, which has ever been, and still is, my ruling passion, is, from perpetual disappointment, converted from the blessing to the curse of my life; but still my conscience is clear. . .

"Do not send your letters by the same bearer. Sad as I am, I cannot but laugh at the whimsical mistake. As your meeting is for next Monday, I fear that I shall not see my son time enough to send you a copy of his petition so as to answer your kind purpose."

302.—LETTER to EARL [CAMDEN].

1797, May 8.—"Permit me to state a point which appears to me most important respecting the kingdom of Ireland. I mean the proposed supply of 1,500,000*l*. by the British parliament which was voted in the house of commons on Monday last, 'to be applied to his majesty's services in Ireland in such manner as shall be approved by the parliament of that kingdom.' Does the nation or parliament of Great Britain mean to give an unconditional support, by supplies of money, to any measures whatsoever to which the ministers of Ireland may think proper to apply it? Is it unknown to the nation or parliament of Great Britain that a state of civil war is actually declared to exist in a great part of Ireland, not only by the convention and insurrection bills, and by the suspension of the habeas corpus, but that general Lake[2] has proclaimed what is called martial law throughout the province of Ulster? British troops are actually landed in Ireland, and more troops are reported under orders. Are these the services denoted by the king's message? General Lake has publicly declared that he has received authority and directions (superseding the laws of the land) to interpose the force of the king's troops in such manner as the public safety shall appear to him to require. In these circumstances, publicly known, the British parliament has voted an extraordinary supply of money, to be drawn for from time to time, by a belligerent ministry in Ireland, against their own country. Such a measure therefore cannot appear or be construed in any other light than as an actual adoption of the civil war in Ireland, by supplies of money, which are the sinews of all wars, and most particularly so in a case where the civil war in Ireland would certainly cut off supplies from the ministry for any such war within the precincts of the island itself. This measure has been introduced into the British parliament with a negligent air of unimportance—'anguis in herba!' It may be argued to the British parliament hereafter, that they have pledged themselves in the Irish civil war. What retreat will be left to them, or what justification, when all the preliminary facts of public notoriety and preparation for the war shall be challenged in this constructive accusation and conviction against them? The parliament has refused to intercede for the 'exertion of the king's paternal and beneficent interposition to allay the discontents which subsist in his kingdom of Ireland'—Lord Moira's motion. Surely, before they involve themselves, even in a dubious adoption of the war, they should address the king to inquire into the state of Irish grievances, and to lay them before parliament together with the topics of redress requested by the Irish nation; that the parliament, together with their supply, may combine their advice for the application of it, and at the same time recommend some dignified plan of amity and peace.

---

[1] Eldest son of lord Charlemont—*see* p. 268.

[2] Gerard Lake, lieutenant-general in Ulster.

"War in Ireland is, without doubt, the object of the British ministry in Ireland; and the avidity of the ministerialists in Ireland for what they wish to call rebellion, has been publicly manifested beyond contradiction. All rebellions, hitherto so called in Ireland, have either been provoked by ministers for the time being, with a view to confiscations, or they have been incited by resentments, and for reprisals of antecedent confiscations. These are the never-ceasing earthquakes, which have shaken and convulsed the whole kingdom. Such have been the revolutions and counter-revolutions of Ireland. These eternal vicissitudes of disquiet and reprisals have left indelible impressions of terror upon the national mind and memory of Irelend. If the rage should again recur, through the inevitable and still lurking impulse of confiscations, a century of quiet may be fatally harrowed up into civil war by the madness of a single hour. I hope that irrevocable war is not yet decided or inextricably involved. Our continental enemies, aggravated and insulted by a British ministry, under a confederate and civil war against them, will not now be slack in seeking means of retaliation. Every hostile act and ministerial imputation of rebellion upon Ireland is a ministerial challenge and summons to France to foment the contest, leaving only to Ireland the alternative option either to submit to eternal confiscations, under the provocations and tyranny of a British ministry, or to seek their future 'quietus' through a federal and republican alliance with France. This would be emancipation, dearly bought to them, at the price of national consanguinity and mutuality of common interests converted into hostility and alienation.

"Concede to [the people of] Ireland emancipation and reform, which is the extent of their rights and demands; restore to them the fundamental principles of the British constitution, in their original integrity, as the palladium of safety and peace throughout the united kingdoms; display the British standard of liberties and rights, in our own future example, to the homage and adoption of other contending sovereignties and peoples throughout Europe; as the peaceful compromise of all civil and political commotions, conformable to the laws of God and to the rights of man. The evils of corrupt government are beyond toleration. If they are not now redressed in Ireland by dignified and constitutional reformation, the peaceful fabric of the three kingdoms will be shaken to its foundations and destroyed for ever, etc." *Unsigned.*

303.—Rev. Edward Hudson to Charlemont.

i.—1797, May 9, Portglenone, Ballymena.—"Yesterday our county meeting was held, and a petition agreed to with four or five dissentients. You will see in the papers that it was carried by a majority. The northern packet has brought a full account of the emperor's having made a separate peace whilst Mr. Pitt was borrowing money to enable him to carry on the war. He could not help it, I believe; but what is to become of us? I still think, as I always did, that the people might be easily conciliated, and then we might bid defiance to invasion; which I think we may now look for, unless we also can get a peace. When the folly and madness of our councils shall be read in after-times, I think they will hardly be credited. It will be thought [incredible] that any set of men could have wasted the resources and destroyed the constitution of such an empire as this was in four short years. Will the gentlemen of property never open their eyes? Will they sleep on, in stupid security, till the evil becomes irremediable? I do not so much wonder at those who look to the minister for their daily bread. My astonishment is chiefly raised by the conduct of country gentlemen. Surely they have considered long enough. If I saw a patient grow gradually worse under the hands of a physician, if I saw every medicine not only fail of its effect, but produce others diametrically opposite, I should think it high time to call in other advice. If some such step be not taken, Dr. Pitt will soon have our country in her last agonies. I cannot refrain from telling your lordship a ludicrous circumstance, notwithstanding all my vexations. You have heard of the famous tailor, Mr. Cuthbert.[1] After his trial at Carrickfergus, a gentleman whom I know went to see him in the gaol. The tailor was reclining on a bed. At the fire sat a clergyman of our church belonging to this county, a Presbyterian preacher from Down, and a Papist priest from Louth. The tailor cried out to his visitor, 'By G—, sir, you might travel an hundred miles before you would meet such a trio!'"

303, ii.—1797, May 26, Portglenone, Ballymena.—"Your last gives me much comfort. A change of men must produce a change of measures, which alone can bring the country to such a state as honest men wish to see it in. At present, I can perceive it every day growing worse. From the report of the committee, it is plain government knows pretty well the state of the country. It sees (what I mentioned long since to your lordship) that reform and intimidation were the chief recruiting serjeants for the societies. But, my lord, government itself is lending them another, by establishing a system of mere coercion without any mixture of conciliation. Should we escape invasion, I do believe government has strength enough to carry this system into effect, at least for some time. But what would be the consequence of such success? The overturning the constitution from its base and establishing in its stead a gloomy despotism. I do not suppose any of our ministers harbours such an intention, but power (no matter how acquired) is always reluctantly parted with. For this fortnight past, a foreign visit has been hourly expected. Whether this expectation be as well founded as that in December last, I know not; but this I am confident of, that the number of wishers for such an event has been doubled within these three months, in this part of the kingdom at least."

303, iii.—1797, June 5, Portglenone, Ballymena.—"I received the report which you had the goodness to send me. As far as it goes, I believe it states the actual condition of the country. It shews that a number of persons have formed the most desperate designs; that they are spread over a great part of the kingdom; that if their designs take effect, the constitution must be subverted and our country be filled with massacre and desolation. It shews that the full extent of these designs is not known to the greater part of those who have associated, but that they have been induced by the hopes of obtaining reform and emancipation. All this I have long believed, as your lordship knows; but my reasoning from it is, I own, very different from that which is likely to prevail. If reform is only a pretence whereby to delude the people, grant the reform, and you take away the pretence. By that one act you will deprive the ill-affected of nine-tenths of their strength. For my own part, I wish for a reform chiefly because it would tranquillize the public mind. I am far from believing that it would produce either the good that is hoped or the evil that is feared from it. In the meantime, withholding it is perfectly gratifying to those who have the worst designs, and weakens the attachment of the wise and the moderate.

---

[1] "*See* Documents relating to Ireland, 1795–1804," pp. 112–113; Dublin: Dolland, 1893.

"The military in Belfast are making ample use of the power vested in them. Not a day passes without hearing of some act of outrage. This summary mode of punishing I do not like much, even when it falls on fit objects. There is a danger, too, that these gentlemen in red may not exactly know where to stop; and, being both judges and executioners, a mistake of theirs will not be easily remedied. Trade is almost at a stand. Few have money, and those few are not willing to part with it. No man thinks of paying a debt. We are like the Christians in the first century, who every day expected the world would be at an end, and in contemplation of that great event every idea was absorbed. So here, nothing can persuade us but that some great event is at hand. God grant it may be otherwise, but we are generally (however it happens) pretty well informed."

304.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1797, June 9, Dublin.—"Deplorable indeed is the account you give, and your experience of my sentiments will enable you readily to judge how sensibly I feel for the misfortune of a town[1] which, with all its errors and imprudences, must ever be dear to me; neither does my having long foreseen, and fruitlessly warned your fellow citizens against what has happened tend in any great degree to lessen my concern, since perhaps they are the most unhappy, and consequently the most to be pitied, who suffer from their own faults or follies; and far be from me that hardness of heart which can view with indifference, or sometimes even with pleasure, the sufferings of a friend, merely because he brought them on himself. To avert these evils you well know what pains I have taken. My advice has indeed been lavished on both parties with equally ill success, but how could I expect that it would influence those with whom I was wholly unconnected, when it had produced little or no effect upon my friends? Would to heaven it had been otherwise! But, spurred on by destiny, we seem on all hands to be running a rapid course towards a frightful precipice, and Dobbs'[2] millennium alone can save us from utter destruction. But it is criminal to despair of our country. I will then endeavour yet to hope. My conscience at least is clear, and with a clear conscience utter despondency can scarcely exist. Everything in my power has been done. I have recommended conciliation, I have recommended concession, and though my advice, however strongly urged, has, as might well be expected, proved ineffectual, still I have disburthened my mind, neither is it impossible that in the fluctuation of these unsteady times my opinion may yet prevail."

---

[1] Belfast.

[2] Francis Dobbs, M.P. for borough of Charlemont.

305.—Rev. Edward Hudson to Charlemont.

i.—1797, June 25, [Ballymena.]—"I sit down to give your lordship an extract of a letter which I got from Lisburn yesterday. On Monday, fifteen of the Dublin company were taken up on a charge of conspiring to murder the captain and lieutenant Thornton, of their own company, and to set fire to the camp. The whole of the Dublin men in camp, but two, were informed against as 'United Irishmen'; five of the Armagh are taken up on a similar charge, and many of other regiments. Can anything be more horrid than this account? Thousands are yet unsworn for want of time. In this place, above two hundred attended on Friday and Saturday, who could not be sworn on account of the illness of our magistrate. Harsh measures are the fashion in the neighbouring parts of Derry. The soldiers make no scruple of stripping men, tying them to a tree, and flogging them with bitts and bridles. This is a fact. I have no hopes from such proceedings."

305, ii.—1797, June 31, Portglenone, Ballymena.—"Prolonging the term for receiving surrenders was an act equally wise and humane, and has produced excellent effects. I find that there were many more than I could well have supposed unsworn. Still, however, they bear no proportion to the sworn. But the deluded and intimidated form an immense majority of the whole. I thought it necessary to inquire strictly into the state of my own little flock of church established. They had not escaped the contagion in some degree, but they have been candid with me and have told me some very curious circumstances. I was somewhat like lady Arabella[1] examining for admission into the Asylum. I can easily see that numbers are rejoiced at having the door opened; and, on the whole, I am confident that nothing but ill management can prevent this part of the country from becoming what good men wish. On Tuesday last, a party of the Kerry militia marched into this town from Kilrea, in the county Derry, followed by two rectors on horseback and a curate on foot. Before they left home, they, the soldiers, had given a country fellow seventy lashes, 'which was all the dog was able to bear without fainting, for they were well laid on.' These words are not mine. The party came here to seize a man at whose house meetings of 'United Irishmen' were said (and I believe truly) to have been held, at which some of the Kerry [militia] had been put up. He had notice, however, from the serjeant of the party (as I am well informed), and fled. The officer, after breaking the windows, etc., proceeded to the next house, and took every atom of furniture out of it, which they burned in the street. This house happened very luckily to belong to one of the greatest miscreants on earth. The officer threatened to burn these two houses, which were in the middle of the town, declaring he had orders to do so. Luckily for us all, he did not carry his threat into execution. He then seized two young men (of the name of Knox and of a respectable family) who keep a grocery and cloth shop in this town. They were marched off in triumph to Kilrea (seven miles) on foot, and went home next day, there being no charge against them. Two others whom they had taken up they sent to Coleraine, where they were dismissed by lieutenant-colonel Crosby for the same reason. Our magistrates are not in unison; some administer the short oath of allegiance, some the yeoman's oath, and some an oath longer than both put together. But, what divides them still more, some take fees and some do not. I believe there are two of the former who have levied off the poor above one hundred pounds each in this way. From a letter of Mr. Pelham's, which I have seen, I know government disapproves of this, and I have added a good deal to their popularity by making it as well known as I can. A very decent man, a Seceder, came to me yesterday and told me that a magistrate had sent two constables to bring him before him to take the oath of allegiance. He said he would take it cheerfully, and add to it an attestation of his never having been an 'United Irishman,' nor concerned in any association of any kind, but hoped he would be allowed to swear with an uplifted hand and not on a book, to which people of his persuasion felt an objection, in which the legislature had indulged them. The magistrate swore he would send him to gaol. He did not keep his oath, however. The man took the oath with uplifted hand before another magistrate. Now, my lord, the Seceders are a very weighty body of people, and I think it highly material that they should be brought in to swear in any way. I do not wish to ask anything that would be irksome to your lordship, but perhaps you could have this last circumstance mentioned to people in power. If I had a letter from your lordship mentioning that government approved of admitting those people to swear in their own way, I pledge myself to do a great deal of good with it. I have good hopes of the country. I may be disappointed, 'nam interim haud cessant hostes,' but the probability is with me. .

---

[1] Lady Arabella Denny, foundress of the "Magdalen Asylum," opened in Dublin in 1767.

"Yesterday the soldiers burned a house near this town. The owner I know to be a harmless, innocent fellow. Almost his all was consumed."

[306.—LETTER [1] to the PRINCE OF WALES.

1797.—"The Prince of Wales, having assured his friends in Ireland that he was very desirous to attempt the saving of that kingdom from the danger it was in, by coming over with full powers to do justice to the ill-used Irish, expressed a wish to be invited there by some of the leading men. They all doubted the possibility of his doing the good he so anxiously wished if Mr. Pitt continued in place; and every day the danger increased, which made them desire lord Charlemont would write a letter for them to sign, of which this is a copy.

"'May it please your royal highness,—Impressed with the most lively sentiments of duty and of gratitude, permit us, sir, to express our acknowledgments for the high honor and transcendant favor conferred on us by your most gracious message communicated at your desire by sir Michael Cromie,[2] and at the same time to assure your royal highness of our firm opinion that no agent under heaven could be found so fitted to perform the miracle of rescuing this unhappy nation from her present deplorable circumstances as your royal highness most assuredly is, both by nature and by station. Our love to our country and our zealous attachment to your royal highness are, we trust, too well known to render necessary any attempt to express the supreme happiness we should experience from your residence among us. But while we exult in the idea, we cannot be so selfish as not to take the liberty of mentioning to your royal highness the dread which sad experience has brought us to conceive lest those benign intentions which alone induce you to be our chief governor should be disappointed and frustrated by your acceptance of that office under the present administration. We will, however, dwell no longer upon a subject for the hinting of which we can only hope for pardon from the experienced goodness of your royal highness; and, with a firm reliance upon your wisdom to conduct you on the present delicate occasion to your own honor and to our advantage, we have the honor to subscribe ourselves, sir, of your royal highness the most devoted and dutiful servants,—Leinster.—Charlemont. Thomas Conolly.—William Ponsonby, for himself and friends.

---

[1] MS. in possession of sir William F. Butler.

[2] Sir Michael Cromie, of Stacumine, co. Kildare, created a baronet in 1796.

Note.—Mr. Conolly wrote to Mr. Grattan on the occasion, who said he could not act without the concurrence of those he now acted with, and he did not attend the meeting.—June 1797.]"

307.—Haliday to Charlemont.

1797, July 13, Belfast.—"I am just told that our good parliament no longer exists. This excites no sensation; and I believe we are on the eve of beholding the most peaceful and drowsy election which I, at least, ever witnessed. The next parliament may take queen Anne's motto, 'alter et idem,' as it was well translated, 'worse and worse.' There is a miserable altercation, indeed, in the minds of constituents and of the great mass of the people. Swearing and counter-swearing have nearly extinguished their moral and religious feelings, and thus demolished the only true and stable foundations of public happiness and public security; and they are become quite indifferent to a nominal house of commons, ever ready to pass unconstitutional acts, while they are bowed to the dust by proclamations eking out these, and by military force and violence not only out-stretching law, as Wyndham announced it would, but even general or provincial proclamations.

"Hoche had certainly been in league with our rulers (many of the emigrant guineas, no doubt, settled in France). His critical appearance off Bantry furnished an admirable call for arming in defence of our country and keeping a dead silence as to our grievances; though, in my poor opinion, exertion and complaint should have gone hand-in-hand. 'Sed dis aliter visum;' and, as far as I know, none of the armed 'soi-disant' yeomen breathed a syllable respecting our wrongs, except the cavalry and infantry officers of Belfast, and this, I suppose, was considered as an additional blot on a scutcheon, which has been so notably bespattered.

"We had a display here yesterday morning of the whole force the 'Orange boys,' 'Orange' wenches, and 'Orange' children could muster, for many miles round; it was supposed there might have been three thousand of the motley crew, including the various corps of yeomen. I do not understand the nature of the 'Orange boy' establishment, but it seems to be an establishment 'divide et impera.' I should have rejoiced in the profusion of 'Orange' badges could I have considered them as anything better in general than those of tame submission on one hand, and rancorous religious bigotry on the other; but I was exceedingly offended with the figure of the best of kings, miserably depicted on divers banners; not a whit like; it rather looked like a great fool. The pageant was over by noon, and with abundance of sheepskin noises, to which we are so well accustomed in this garrison. There was no rioting, though those who remembered the fifth of June—and who here will ever forget it?—had their apprehensions. But the hour for orgies was not come."

308.—REV. EDWARD HUDSON to CHARLEMONT.

1797, July 15, Portglenone, Ballymena.—"I have pleased the Seceders very much by communicating to them so much of your lordship's letter as related to them. In the present state of the public mind here, a very little kindness makes a great impression. The report of the lords has not been idle since I got it. The plan of massacre seems to raise the strongest emotions of horror and detestation, and the bulk of the country are now convinced that their leaders have from the beginning deceived them in almost every particular. If our ministers would act as wisely in a few other measures as they have done in the proclamation, I shall become their proselyte. In truth, my lord, its effects have exceeded my most sanguine expectations. No doubt there are many hypocrites, but still it has furnished the misguided with a sufficient reason for declining all further concern in the business, and these compose a vast majority. It also will enable government to draw a line between the good and bad, a thing much to be desired in point of policy as well as of justice and humanity. It has also separated (to a degree that would surprize you) those heterogeneous bodies which had before been jumbled together in one common mass. I confess myself astonished when I consider in how short a time all this has been brought to pass. It is, however, a considerable drawback on my satisfaction to hear of the various abuses of power that are exercised in different parts of the country. That there was a necessity for a vigor beyond the law, I am perfectly convinced, as I am also that it has been attended with many good effects. But in many, too many instances, it has been carried to the most shameful excess. I saw a man, upwards of threescore, whose hands, drawn through the latches of his own car, were held by two soldiers whilst forty lashes were inflicted on his naked body by a clergyman who was not even a magistrate. I saw a certificate signed by the commanding officer of a party, in which he acknowledges that he had burned a man's house through misinformation, but, finding he was a person of unexceptionable character, he subscribed a crown towards rebuilding it. I put my name under his for half-a-guinea, on which he enlarged his subscription. A more ludicrous exercise of authority was displayed by a private of the Kerry militia, who came on a party to this town a few days ago. He knocked at the door of a very decent poor man near the town, and not getting admittance on the first knock, broke open the door, and, entering with a common prostitute whom he had picked up, ordered the woman of the house either to give up her own bed, or find another for him and his companion. In the morning, madame took a fancy to a handkerchief, a cap, and some other trifles, which she carried off, the poor people not daring to murmur. I know these are the acts of individuals, and which would not be countenanced by government; but it is impossible to convince the people of this."

309.—PRINCE OF WALES to the DUKE OF LEINSTER.

1797, July 17, London.—"I beg that you will accept my best thanks, and will be so good as to offer the same in my name to lord Charlemont, Conolly, and Ponsonby, for the letter I received by sir Michael Cromie. Deeply interested as I feel for the fate of Ireland, from affection and gratitude, and sensible how immediately the safety of the empire depends on the happiness, prosperity, and attachment of that kingdom, I have repeatedly recommended conciliatory measures as best suited to the generous temper of the Irish nation, most consonant to the British constitution, and best calculated to regain the confidence and affection of all ranks of people. In every point of view, I have to lament the adoption of an opposite system, which, while persisted in, precludes the prospect of my being permitted to indulge the hope of meeting your wishes and gratifying my own.—I am, my dear duke, with great truth, your very sincere and affectionate friend, GEORGE P."

310.—A. J. MALAN to CHARLEMONT.

1797, July 24, Armagh.—"Enclosed I have the honor to send you the notice of the days of parade, which your lordship will please to sign and send to the War office. Our mounted men attend but badly; the dismounted very well. Your lordship was good enough to say that if at any time we wished to augment our numbers, you would apply for leave. We now wish it very much, for there are so many fine fellows, of the most trusty loyalists, offering and soliciting, that it is really distressing not to be able to give them an opportunity of serving their country. Eighty-two dismounted privates and four sergeants, with twenty-eight mounted men, are the exact number for which we received arms. Could we now be augmented to one hundred and thirty dismounted privates, we should be able to gratify most of the persons applying by enrolling them, and we could have very fine flank companies. Should your lordship think proper to apply for this increase, an order on Charlemont for forty-eight muskets and two pikes, etc. is the first thing to be wished for, as it would entitle the men to immediate pay. I have the number, forty-eight, enrolled, ready to send (if your lordship desires), and can have as many more in two days' notice. Perhaps your lordship would apply for a greater augmentation than I have proposed. If so, you may propose any number you please within a hundred, and be sure of my returning them. We want much indeed, our clothing money and our allowance for cross-belts, pouches, and slings. If your lordship would be good enough to desire our agents to make immediate inquiries, how and when we are to be paid, and how much the allowance for the latter, it would be very desirable. I have given our saddler the necessary receipt to get signed by your lordship for the twenty-eight saddles, bridles, etc. I have received; it will entitle him to the money on producing it at the ordnance office. Tullysaran[1] chapel has been burned, and a man's stack-yard set on fire in Tullygoonigan;[2] otherwise all quiet and peaceable."

311.—The DUKE OF LEINSTER to CHARLEMONT.

1797, August 17, Carton.—"I yesterday received a letter[3] from the prince of Wales in answer to ours[4] by sir Michael Cromie. I think it but right to send your lordship a copy. I hope this will find you better than when I last saw you."

312.—REV. EDWARD HUDSON to CHARLEMONT.

1797, September 16, Portglenone, Ballymena.—"This particular district feels well, and should there be occasion for more yeomen (as I hope there will not), I could in a few days produce as fine a body as could well be found, for whose steadiness I could safely answer. In general, the change is great, and no palliative remedy could answer better than the proclamation; a radical cure could not be expected from it. What

---

[1], [2] In county of Armagh.

[3], [4] *See* pp. 302, 304.

I said in my last, of the height to which things had gone, requires some explanation. In a conversation some days before, with a person of very extensive knowledge, he said, 'Good God, in what a state must a country be when eight or ten of the best and ablest men in it doubt whether an insurrection be eligible or not!' From the persons of whom we had been just speaking, I saw pretty clearly which way he pointed, and, not wishing to appear too inquisitive, I only said, 'Was that the case?' to which he replied, 'By G—d, it was!' The person was not likely to be deceived himself, and would not, I know, deceive me. I have thought much of this."

313.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1797, October 6, Mount-Stewart.—"We have at length seen the close of a tedious and sanguinary north-west circuit. I saw a letter from Dundalk mentioning that the judges, my very good and worthy friends Chamberlain [1] and lord Yelverton [2] (you see what a democrat I am by the order in which I place them), were much delighted with the result. They had capitally sentenced twenty-seven; sportsmen usually boast of the number of pieces they have killed. But what, I suppose, gave them most satisfaction was their finding, throughout, the juries very trustworthy and disposed to do their duty. The language lately held, as a justification for eluding the Habeas corpus by detentions immeasurably protracted, was that juries, through fear or favour, could not be trusted. We shall hear no more of that; yet I own that Trim juries still fall under one of the above suspicions. We have seen two persons there acquitted for an evident and acknowledged unprovoked murder, and one capitally convicted for having a loaded gun under his coat; which reminds one of the old saying, 'It is safer for one man to steal a horse than for another to look over the hedge'; and so it is, if the first has a red and the last a brown coat. Many are the military outrages which have been committed in the north, such as inflictions of military punishments on poor people no way subject to martial law. I myself witnessed one cruel instance of this at Newtonards,[3]—burglaries, robberies, arsons, murders, and almost every instance passed over without censure, or any satisfaction given to the sufferers. It is true three yeomen have been sentenced for two horrid murders, but they have not yet suffered and are recommended to mercy, while every exertion has been made by most respectable people, and on strong grounds, to save one Orr,[4] or to obtain a mitigation of his punishment, notwithstanding which he will, I believe, be hanged to-morrow at Carrickfergus, leaving behind him a character without reproach (except for this one offence of tendering the 'United' oath, which there is good reason to think he did not do, though he certainly was present, to two 'Fencibles'), a heart-broken wife, and six helpless children. Our dear countess [5] has done all it was possible for her to do, but, as it appears at present, with as little success as the rest. The comfort is, that during this circuit of severity numbers have been turned out of their miserable prisons after being confined for many, many months, little or nothing appearing against them, without any compensation for their loss of time, business, health, and character.

---

[1] Tankerville Chamberlain, justice common pleas, Ireland.

[2] Chief baron, exchequer, Ireland.

[3] In county of Down.

[4] William Orr, a member of the society of United Irishmen, executed at Carrickfergus, 14th October 1797.

[5] Frances, second wife of lord Londonderry, and sister of earl Camden.

"The crop in these parts is in unison with Mr. Pitt; a shewy appearance, a large and flattering promise, but all fallacious; grain of every kind light, unfilled and unsubstantial beyond example; great profusion of straw, yet our rulers, if they go on, will compel us to make brick without straw, for truly they are Egyptian taskmasters. .

"That unfortunate Orr feels aggravated distress from this three days' respite, as it is understood that nothing better is to follow. He had fully prepared himself to die on this day, and had suffered the bitterness of death in taking leave of wife, children, and friends, so that the persevering efforts of the humane have produced an enhancement, in place of a mitigation, of his punishment. . My good old friend, Yelverton, I find this instant has recommended a farther respite of a week. Surely more than protracted torture is intended."

314.—William Bruce Dunn to Charlemont.

1797, October 6, London.—"I have many, many apologies to make to you for my too long silence on the subject of tanning which I sent you; but I have been so agitated and oppressed by a work of my own that is meant for public good, and which I have not yet been able to carry into execution, that I found it impossible to secure it to relieve my mind from it. I find it absolutely necessary to go over to carry the new method of tanning into full execution. Having gone through the whole process here, and having seen all the mistakes that have been committed, I can now certainly declare that I have it in my power to establish it at once. For which purpose I would entreat to have a place appointed, under the eye of the Dublin Society, where the works can at once be fixed, that they may with their own eyes see the fact that leather is better tanned in one month than that which now requires sixteen months under the old method. All the tanners having liberty to see the whole operation will enable them at once to commence it and remove every shadow of prejudice on their mind, which will enable them at once to reduce the price of leather and tan all the raw hides and skins that are now exported, and be a saving to the nation of full half a million. They will have the advantage of being instructed in it without any charge from a patent; they will be saved from the extortion of a patentee, who here requires . . on every pound of leather tanned under his patent. I should not trouble you so much on this subject, but as I know your lordship is deeply interested in every matter that causes prosperity to your country, that does a great general good, may I entreat your assistance in this great work that it may at once be carried into full execution. I hope to leave this in a few days to go over about the business, there to remain until it is finished. I have also to hope that the Dublin Society will allow me modellers and draughtsmen, that my own work may not be lost to society. I have written to Stewart Bruce requesting him to mention my intention to my lord Camden, and hope in God that no difficulty will be thrown in my way. I must again entreat a thousand pardons for the trouble I have given and am giving your lordship."

315.—Charlemont to Malone.

1797, October 9, Dublin.—"So little selfish am I, and so much do I prefer your advantage to my own pleasure, that though your abode at Brighthelmston suspended for a long time that correspondence which, in my present situation, is one of my principal comforts, still I rejoice in your country residence, and even in your idleness, both of which I consider as relaxations absolutely necessary to your health and spirits, to your mind and body; and, if I can persuade myself to be content with your having postponed a jaunt of amusement upon my account, it is only because my opinion of your friendship induces me to believe that chatting with me is pleasant, and consequently salutary to you. Indeed, you live too sedentary a life, and do not sufficiently diversify your occupations; for though I be thoroughly of opinion that constant employment is the most universal of all specifics, to give it its full effect it ought sometimes to be varied. You think also too much and too deeply upon politics, a subject of investigation which, in the present state of affairs, cannot fail of being extremely unwholesome to a man who, like you, loves his country and loves mankind. In this, however, it must be confessed that, like other physicians, I do not follow my own prescription, being, heaven help me, as much addicted as man can be to this detrimental exercise of the mind, and, in truth, I am much the worse for it.

"But, to quit this 'recipe' style, I will now proceed with pleasure to inform you that, within these few days, I have met with a gratification as great as it was unexpected. The case of books arrived from Liverpool, and with it another case containing a real treasure, no less than a portrait of you by Humphry,[1] as like as possible, and as well painted as I would wish him to paint. A letter from him immediately preceded it, requesting my acceptance of this, to me, inestimable acquisition under the pretence of certain services, which his grateful heart conceives I had formerly done him, but which, in reality, were nothing more than the not defrauding him, in my general conversation, of the applause so justly due to his merit. No present most assuredly was ever attended with more gratifying circumstances. It is the exact resemblance of an absent friend whom I would wish never to lose sight of—it is an excellent picture, and as such must be highly pleasing to a lover of the arts—and it is a proof of gratitude which cannot fail to delight every man who ardently wishes well to human nature. I have written to him, and beg that you would tell him so, lest the miscarriage of my letter should make me appear ungrateful.

"I am not unacquanted with the 'illuminés,' and know also that even from the time of Charlemagne, and of that most wonderful of all clubs, the secret tribunal, such societies have been frequent and mischievous in Germany. The tenets of the 'illuminés' were undoubtedly abominable, yet such as might have been expected in that country of little tyrants. When men are outraged beyond the possibility of bearing, they never stop at the mere redress of grievances. Man is apt to rush into extremes, and resentment often assumes the name of justice. As an instance of German tyranny, take the following fact. Travelling through Germany, I went three days' journey out of my way to visit the source of the Danube, which takes its rise from a copious spring in the courtyard of the prince or landgrave of Furstemberg. My road lay through that immense tract of wood known by the terrific name of the 'Black Forest,' at the extremity of which the capital of the landgrave is situate; and as I approached his residence, I was surprised and shocked to observe that most of the trees bordering the highway were hung with human limbs, so as to have the appearance of a shambles in a country of cannibals. Hands, feet, arms, legs, and even heads were everywhere to be seen, and my first idea was that some numerous gang of robbers had been there taken and executed. I stopped the chaise, and, enquiring of the postilion into the nature and circumstances of these supposed banditti, was thus answered: 'No sir; here have been no robbers; those limbs once belonged to certain desperadoes who were audacious and wicked enough to kill the prince's game.' And upon farther enquiry, I soon found that the hands and arms had murdered partridges and pheasants, that the legs had feloniously followed hares, and the heads had been so abominably impious as to plot and execute the assassination of wild boars. On this fact I shall make no comment, but shall only say that such atrocities invite rebellion, and that the true mean to prevent conspiracy and revolution is to govern so as to make the people happy. We, thank heaven, are far removed from the possibility of such horrors, and no man can be more thoroughly persuaded than I am of the sublime excellence of the British constitution. It must be loved and revered by all who know it, and feel its effects, and I am convinced that, if purified according to its ancient spirit, and acted upon uniformly, it would be fondly preferred by men of all ranks to every other species of government whatsoever. But then its effects must be felt, since the bulk of mankind judge, not from theory, but from their feelings. I am most sincerely, as I have often said, a constitutional royalist. Averse from all republican ideas, I hate the French, I detest their principles, and think with you that the horrid doctrines under which they have acted ought to be exterminated from the face of the earth. Such are my wishes, and to accomplish these wishes, if I could conceive it possible, I should esteem my bounden duty. But then there are wishes, there are duties, which I believe to be paramount—to support the constitution according to its true spirit, to protect the people when I think them injured; by every legal and loyal means to divert the executive power from such conduct as may appear to me erroneous, and even dangerous to that monarchy which it is the desire of my heart to support. These are duties, these are topics of opposition which can never appear as drops of water to the ocean, even when compared with the execrable conspiracy against human nature, on the horrors of which you so emphatically and so justly dwell.

---

[1] Ozias Humphry, friend of sir Joshua Reynolds.

"When, more for fun than for argument, I mentioned the treaty of Pilnitz, I never meant to insinuate that it had given rise to those pernicious doctrines which, with you, I abhor. But then it has surely tended to the propagation of those doctrines by uniting in a common cause a great but hitherto divided people against an invading enemy, against an hostile army two of whose leaders having lately parcelled Poland, seemed to be desirous to parcel France also. Foreign interference in national concerns is also naturally disgusting, and the man who detested his neighbour, and if left to himself would have cut his throat, would join in repelling the intrusion of strangers. The old and trite instance of man and wife sufficiently exemplifies this natural propensity. Had the French been let alone, and wisely confined by great armies within their own territory, like game-cocks in a pit, they would have fallen upon each other, and the doctrines would probably have been exterminated by the death of the doctors.

"But I have written myself blind, and blinded you, also, by that close writing which crams more words, though less sense, into one sheet than you would into two. .

"Poor Dr. Farmer's[1] auction will certainly be a source of temptation; neither do I wish you entirely to resist it on my behalf, as, however compelled to be penurious, I do not mean absolutely to preclude myself from such inexpensive curiosities as might help forward my collection. I was already provided by Archer with a copy of the large paper 'China'; [1] but as the impressions appear more perfect in that which you have sent me, I shall reserve this last for myself, and can without difficulty dispose of the former. One half of the first volume is insipid and tedious, but the work grows interesting as it approaches China. The style is, however, too 'modish,' and the author, an acquaintance of mine, and a good sort of man, is rather too fond of hard words. The small engravings, or tail-pieces, are beautiful and satisfactory; the large ones are also well engraved, but their subjects appear to me not well chosen. In a word, the book, like the embassy, though certainly curious and even useful, does not entirely answer our expectations.

---

[1] *See* vol. i., p. 373.

"I long much to see your edition of Dryden's prose works, as I know of no compositions in our language which better deserve such an editor. Of Aubrey I know nothing; and, as for Chalmers, his petulance, not having travelled to Ireland, has never offended me; but I take it for granted that he is scarcely worth your answer, which may probably counteract your purpose by raising him into notice.

"Indeed I pant for peace, and consequently was vexed, though not in the least surprised, at the sudden return of lord Malmesbury.[2] From the first notification of the conspiracy, in which, by the way, there seems to be some truth mixed with much abominable falsehood, I clearly perceived an intention to break off all negociation; and now our battered vessel is again forced to sea. Heaven grant that she may ride out the storm! But no more of this; were I to proceed, I should again be compelled into polemic politics, and shall therefore conclude this tedious letter."

316.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1797, November 4, Dublin.—"I heard from friend Roache some particulars of the late military outrage at Belfast, and need not, to you who know me so well, expatiate on my feelings on that subject; but, alas, all the world is mad, and unfortunately strait waistcoats are not yet in fashion. With you I lament the carnage with which our late victory was attended, yet still I must rejoice in the event, which will undoubtedly be productive of consequences even thus not too dearly purchased. Indeed, among the sad effects of the present abominable transactions, none is more striking than that our feelings have been blunted by the perpetual repetition of horrors, and the man who would formerly have wept over the loss of an individual can now hear unmoved of the death of thousands. In the late action the slaughter was indeed terrible, yet what was it when compared to French butchery. A native of La Vendée has assured me that in this district alone not fewer than five hundred thousand perished; he may most probably have exaggerated, but what ought to be our feelings if we only believe one half of his narration."

317.—ROBERT LIVINGSTON to CHARLEMONT.

1797, November 8, Armagh.—"The peaceable and industrious state of the people of the county of Armagh, and particularly since last assizes (until within a week last), gave pleasure to every good person. But I am sorry for the cause of having now to trouble your lordship with informing you that, on Monday last, Jonathan Sever, esq., captain of the

---

[1] Narrative of earl Macartney's embassy to China. London: 1797.

[2] Negotiator for peace with the French Republic.

Orior[1] yeomen, with a party of the ancient British or Welsh cavalry, quartered at Newry, came to Granemore and Carclea, two townlands in your lordship's estate, about five miles from Armagh, and entered the houses of the inhabitants, demanding and searching for arms. The yeomen, with a mob, inhumanly beat and abused many of the people, broke and destroyed their furniture. In Carclea they burned the house of a poor man, with his flax and goods; took from the Protestants their arms, though they had certificates of their registry, also of their having taken the oath of allegiance. Yesterday they came within four miles of Armagh, ransacked the houses in Tassagh, struck and abused the people, and carried away the firelocks from the bleach-yards, which were kept for the watchmen for protection of the bleach-greens, and generally assaulted the inhabitants. Their declaration to return and burn all the houses has terrified some so as to cause them to desert their habitations. The people were paying their rents and debts, and doing well, which, however, cannot long continue, unless a stop be put to such military persecution. More than forty people have been with me to-day relating their cruel treatment. Though I cannot redress their grievence, I hope their case will be considered by those who can. . . . I am just now informed that further depredations have been done this day."

318.—Earl Camden to Charlemont.

1797, November 10, Dublin Castle.—"I have this instant received the honor of your lordship's letter. I have lost no time in ordering enquiry to be made into the facts which it states, and it will be my anxious wish to be enabled to convince your lordship, as well as the inhabitants who have been molested in the neighbourhood of Armagh, that the severities which are said to have been practised do not meet with the countenance of Government."

319.—Bulletins.—French fleet at Bantry.

i.—1797, December 30, 9 o'clock a.m.—"By letters received in the night by lieutenant-general Dalrymple, dated Bantry, December 27th, 11 p.m.—The French fleet at anchor in the same place. Wind very high. Reinforcements arrived from different places; the country assisting the army in every respect."

319, ii.—December 30, one o'clock p.m.—"An express arrived this morning at 11 o'clock from lieutenant-general Dalrymple, dated 28th December, and states that there had been a most violent storm, that the weather was extremely hazy, and that it was uncertain whether the enemy's fleet had been driven to sea or not. The troops were in high spirits, and the inhabitants displaying every proof of loyalty and attachment. A letter from admiral sir George Elphinstone, dated the 'Monarch,' Crookhaven, 6 p.m. 24 December, stating that he was preparing the 'Monarch' and the 'Daphne,' frigate, to watch the enemy's motions or to join any squadron of his majesty's ships that may appear."

319, iii.—December 30, 5 o'clock p.m.—"An express from lieutenant-general Dalrymple brings an account, dated Bantry, December 28th, of the enemy's fleet having got under weigh about 4 o'clock p.m. on the 27th, since which period they had not been seen. The conduct of the people most meritorious."

---

[1] Barony in county of Armagh.

320.—"AMICUS" to CHARLEMONT.

1798, January 1.—"It is now more than fourteen years since you have ceased to appear in that high political station to which you were unanimously called by the voice of your united country. It will not be necessary to put your lordship in mind of the dignified pleasure you must have felt at that period in the command of a nation of soldiers, who were not only sensible of their military strength, but the value of that liberty which was at once their stimulus to arm, and the furor that must have made their arms irresistable. With such soldiers, no enemy dared to insult your island, and no island dared to resist your honest, but, alas, temporary claims. You did much, but, unfortunately, you left undone that thorough reform which would have made the concessions that England was compelled to make you not plausible merely, but real and solid, to the end that all the people of Ireland might rejoice in equal and permanent benefits, from equal ardour in what every man regarded as a common cause.

"It would be useless for me to remind your lordship of the brilliant exertions of the best heads and the honestest hearts in the nation to enlighten the public mind in that season, and to open the eyes of a country almost totally obscured by the political damps and mists of a century, a century of barbarism, which sunk five-sixths of the people into slaves, and degraded the remainder into negro-drivers. Your lordship saw the sudden and general illumination of those pious endeavours by the tyrant laying aside his frown, and the face of the heretofore slave smiling off his long-fixed despondency, his eyes glistening with a grateful sense that his condition was changed, his body erected into the port of man, and his soul exalted by new and combined sensations of independence, patriotism, and philanthropy. Since that time the spirit of liberty has not made a halt. America gave the momentum. Your lordship's conduct, and your answers to the Volunteer addresses, contributed to its velocity, and the French revolution has, latterly, so impelled its career that nothing less sublime than the genuine soul of freedom will ever be able to restrain or direct it. Will, then, the Irish Washington sleep, while the most stupid of the vulgar is vigilant? Or will he shrink from his allotted post in the hour of general exertion, and torpidly and inhumanly look on to see his countrymen and his tenants butchered and burnt by a merciless soldiery, directed in the work of ruin by an odious and profligate government, whose aim is, and always has been, to erect its own greatness on the vital principles of our common country? My lord, this is not the old contention of parties in Ireland. It is not the Whigs against the Tories, or the 'ins' against the 'outs,' but it is a simple and pure idea of liberty, domestic and foreign, against the most gross, cruel, and outlandish slavery that ever insulted the sense of enlightened man or oppressed the hearts of terrified humanity. There is no middle way now; your lordship must either be active in the service of the people, or take the 'Orange' oath of extermination. That is, you must give all your weight in the scale of Ireland, or tumble together with the corrupt mass that (for this instant) bears down all virtue in our country. I will not appeal to your lordship's known humanity. I call on that selfishness inseparable from human nature to direct your efforts. How long is it possible for ministers to be successful in their system of annihilating whatever is native to the constitution or to the soul of man, and how long can the spirit, the military spirit of three millions of men, endure to be tortured with impunity by a collection of poor goaded wretches driven into the army from the comforts of peaceful industry by the mad taxation of those very persons who fancy themselves secure by blooding them on the people? It is monstrous to suppose those unhappy fellows can be depended on in such a contention. The ministers who to half-blind eyes appear so formidable, are, when committed with an united people, like an egg which will not yield to a certain pressure, but squeezed beyond that force which it is capable of firmly resisting, is crushed to atoms in an instant.

"I have been induced to trouble your lordship with my sentiments on the present state of Ireland, as I am well informed that [the earl of] Moira intends shortly to make a motion in the Irish house of lords respecting the condition of the country, and to call on the peerage of Ireland to interpose their authority to prevent further horrors on the people. His lordship will be supported in this motion by some independent noblemen, and I trust lord Charlemont will ever be of that number.

"Your lordship is in the eye of your country; it is fixed upon you as the chief of its last hopes. If you act as becomes your former character, let what will happen, your country, whether in prosperity or ruin, will gratefully recognize this last instance of your virtue. Even I, perhaps, may deserve well of my native land for this letter, and your lordship will be partly paid the interest of an old obligation I some years ago received at your lordship's hands, and which impatient gratitude has long desired to repay."

321.—J. C. Walker to Charlemont.

i.—1798, January 13, St. Valerie, Bray.—"I am happy in being able to add to your lordship's collection a rare edition of the 'Rosmunda,' of which I have a duplicate. Through the active kindness of my friends in London and in Italy, I have lately gotten several scarce Italian books, amongst others, a complete copy of the first edition of the 'Italia Liberata' (Rome and Venice), and an edition of Andreini's 'Adamo,' printed at Perugia, 1641. For the latter I am indebted to prince Giustiniani, the present governor of Perugia, who is still exerting himself to gratify my passion for Italian literature. With the 'Adamo' he sent me a good engraving of your lordship's accomplished friend, the marquis Maffei."[1]

321, ii.—1798, January 18, St. Valerie, Bray.—"In the letter with which I took the liberty to trouble your lordship last week, I omitted to ask if you had ever met with an earlier edition of the 'Sofonisba' of Galeotto del Carretto than that of 1546. It was, your lordship knows, presented to Isabella d'Este, marchioness of Mantua, in 1502. Of this drama, which is said to be 'la prima tragedia scritta nel volgare idoma,' I have never seen a copy; but I am in possession of a tragedy by Antonio da Pistoia, which was printed so early as 1508, eight years before the 'Sofonisba' of Trissino was represented, and sixteen before it was printed. This tragedy is founded on the story of Sigismonda and Guiscardo. It is divided into five acts. A chorus appears at the end of each of the four first acts; it is what the Italians call a 'coro mobile.'"

322.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1798, January 30, Dublin.—"Lord Moira is full as much my hero as he is yours. I honour and love him, yet sincerely join with you in surprise and regret at his having gratuitously reprobated reform, a circumstance which, in my opinion, tends to invalidate the effect of his argument of the only two possible methods of restoring order, coercion and conciliation. He justly inveighs against the former, yet repudiates in the latter that which alone could render it efficacious. It is as if, in treating a patient in danger of mortification, the physician should absolutely prohibit amputation of the diseased limb, but at the same time positively refuse his assent to the use of the bark. As to his reason for bringing forward so extraordinary and so ill-timed a declaration, I do not look for it in any preconceived opinion of the prince; but if I could allow myself to guess, should rather seek it in the principles of those with whom, about the time of his speech, he was, I believe, negotiating a change of administration. This, however, I give as mere conjecture.

---

[1] Francesco Scipione Maffei, author of "Merope," "Verona illustrata," etc.

323.—EARL OF MOIRA to CHARLEMONT.

1798, January 31, Donington.—" Perhaps, by getting another person to direct and seal this letter, I may save it from that scrutiny which I am told is exercised with little delicacy at your post office. At all events, it is worth trying, because it may be important that I should communicate with you on a particular point; and others (if the letter be examined) could gain no advantage by learning my sentiments upon it. I have received a notification that a committee has collected for me a great body of evidence respecting the shocking outrages that have been committed in different parts of Ireland through the fatal system established by government, in the expectation that I shall lay those proofs before the Irish house of lords. Now, a display of such a nature has not been in my wish. Those gentlemen, actuated by an honest indignation, may have only thought of exposing the oppressions, without having adverted to collateral considerations. In this country, it was necessary to give the outline of a system of despotism, the existence of which was not credited from newspaper authority; and my hope was that the ministers, shamed by the recital, would have prescribed another course to lord Camden. In Ireland, I purposed to urge, upon general grounds of policy and upon the hazard of our situation with regard to a foreign enemy, the adoption of conciliatory measures; and, as I should be most truly in earnest in the recommendation, I did not mean to counteract my own object by exasperating the ruling party and forcing them through passion to maintain their system. Should the interference of the ministerialists force me to incrimination, the impolicy of the discussion would lie at their door, not at mine. The question, however, is, whether government may not already have used such a language as to make a moderate line inexpedient for me to attempt. In this point I shall take the liberty of applying for your lordship's opinion, estimating no man's so highly, as early as possible after my arrival in Dublin. I therefore submit the matter to you beforehand, that you may be prepared (if you will so far indulge me) to give me your counsel. It may be necessary for me to make my decision very suddenly. I must not let this mass of evidence slip through my hands, but I should be driven to a necessity where it would be required. There must be some apprehension lest those gentlemen, finding me backward to substantiate in the first instance the detail of outrages, should revenge the disappointment by withdrawing the proofs. Yet, on the other hand, if I pledged myself too hastily to their views, I might do mischief which they had not calculated. The possible harm of the publication is this. Each district in Ireland may perhaps believe that in some other district oppressions may have taken place similar to those which it has itself suffered. But such a supposition will be vague, and will afford no ground for dangerous speculation. If I establish by proofs that in such and such parts the inhabitants have been goaded by such and such inflictions, the animosity of those districts against government will be inevitably inferred; and one may thereby assure the populace of a more general concurrence in hostility against the higher ranks than what they could learn by any other mode of communication. This, in the irritated state of the lower classes of our countrymen, might be formidable, especially at a crisis like the present. There can be no doubt but that France will attempt without delay to make a descent on Ireland; and the effort will probably be made in a very serious manner, as Buonaparte is supposed to be destined for the undertaking. Add to this, the grievous pressure of the taxes in this country, and the wants of the multitude of workmen, servants, etc., dismissed from employ, threaten a ferment here that might leave Ireland to its fate. Whilst such chances visibly impend, there appears risk in anything that can condense the public discontent. What may be the validity of this apprehension with regard to Ireland, or how far it should operate against the duty of discrediting the system now pursued, your lordship on the spot is more competent to measure than I am. On that account, I recur to your friendship and your judgment. An unexpected summons obliges me to go to London, just as I was preparing to set out for Ireland; and I have been forced to promise a short additional delay to some political friends who are anew much alarmed at our situation. It was an attention which I could not refuse, though I know it to be useless. The sentiments of those gentlemen will never be adopted till we are in actual convulsion, and then remedy will be too late."

324.—WILLIAM WICKHAM to CHARLEMONT.

1798, February 7, Dublin.—"I have received and laid before the lord lieutenant your lordship's letter of the 1st, and his excellency having having been pleased to approve of the appointment of those gentlemen whom your lordship recommends as additional officers in the Armagh yeomanry corps, I have the honor to enclose commissions for them."

325.—REV. EDWARD HUDSON to CHARLEMONT.

1798, March 11, Portglenone, Ballymena.—"I had long respected lord Moira's character, but to your lordship I will freely confess that the difference between his English and his Irish opinion of reform did not please me. In England he acquiesced in a scheme for establishing a ministry to the exclusion of Fox and reform. In my poor opinion, he judged badly, even if his motives were pure. His speech here, however, was admirable The only argument on the other side is, Will you compromise with rebels? This seems to suppose that all who are not entirely on the side of government are rebels, a supposition which is equally false and dangerous. It tends to divide the kingdom into two parties, and to leave moderate men no choice but that of throwing themselves into one or the other, though they like neither. This has suggested often to me the idea of a third party, formed upon true constitutional principles. Were such a plan set on foot by a few men of rank and reputation, I do firmly believe their party would in a short time become the most numerous of the three.

"The speakers on the side of government say much of the change that has taken place in the north. They are certainly right, for an amazing change had taken place, which I believe I had informed your lordship. I wish there was not reason to fear that another change is rapidly coming about. I see an increased activity of late, and particular pains are taking to dissuade the Catholics from coming forward. You will shortly hear from me more particularly on this head. I was much pleased with lord Caulfield's debut, and rejoiced to find you had brought Dobbs[1] into Parliament. He is the most virtuous man I have ever known, and his abilities are much superior to what many even of his friends supposed them."

326.—BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR[2] to CHARLEMONT.

1798, March 19, Purdysburn.[3]—"Your lordship's letter followed me to this place. Had I had the honor of receiving it in Dublin, I should have remained in town to attend the house, in obedience to your lordship's wishes rather than my own judgment, which inclines me to believe that all further opposition is worse than useless; and that the only way to create an alarm for the country in that quarter, where alone there seems to be none, and where if it was once excited it might operate to an effectual change, would be to shew that the present system is so abominable, and the faction who carry it on so desperate, that there is nothing left for those who have hitherto in vain endeavoured to resist them, but to retire from the contest and wait the event with fortitude and calmness. But it is great presumption in me to give an opinion on a subject of such importance. I do it, however, with the utmost deference for that of others, and for none more than your lordship's, whose condescension it is that encourages me to express myself so freely. After all, as there was a protest, I am sorry I was not there to sign it."

327.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1798, March 20, Dublin.—"Health with me knows little melioration, and in this city public matters appear daily to grow worse and worse. They who censure lord Moira's speech[4] are, in my opinion, possessed of neither taste nor judgment. Nothing could be better than his matter except his manner, which even surpassed the sanguine hopes of friendship. Animated though cool, and dignified without pomp, his first statement was excellent, but his reply was incomparable. The goodness of his heart, incapable of allowing him to do anything which might be attended by possible mischief, prompted his moderation, and the soundness of his understanding led him to believe that he was far more likely to carry his point by moderated firmness than by any excess of violence. But that which most of all delighted and surprised me was his wonderful coolness and self-possession, which was such as to persuade every one who beheld him that he would have been just as cool if commanding a line of troops exposed to the hottest fire of the enemy. As to our dear bishop, you have exactly said what I thought of him. His answer to a most unjustifiable attack was precisely what it ought to have been, and was, I am confident, unexpected by his opponent, as it certainly was by his friends, and particularly by me, who the morning before had been urging him to speak, and had received for answer that it was utterly impossible. But 'facit indignatio versum.' You will have seen in the papers that Frank has broken the ice, an effort which gives me the more pleasure, as I feared that the sheepishness of the father might have been entailed upon the son. For his first essay he was not deficient in matter nor in manner, and he shewed a degree of bashfulness which indicates that sensibility without which no man ever yet succeeded as a speaker. I am happy to inform you that my two friends have done excellently. Dobbs[1] has fully equalled my expectations, and will daily improve; Plunket[2] has exceeded them, and is already one of the best and most useful debaters."

---

[1] For the borough of Charlemont.

[2] William Dickson, chaplain to the earl of Northington, lord lieutenant of Ireland, appointed bishop of Down and Connor in 1783.

[3] In county of Down.

[4] On 19 February 1798, in house of lords, Dublin.

328.—Earl of Moira to Charlemont.

1798, March 25, London.—"In consulting with lord Thurlow (who is indignant at the mismanagement of Ireland), I thought it better to defer asking an audience of the king for the purpose of laying the affidavits before him. His majesty was so soured and so agitated by the supposed conspiracy of lord Edward Fitzgerald and his associates, that my representation to him at the moment would have been met with prejudice. It thence appeared better to delay any statement till the history shall be a little cleared up. None but the ministerial reports have gotten into currency here; and those, you may believe, assure us that there is the fullest proof against the persons arrested, of their having corresponded with France and solicited an invasion. I suspect that they have been seized on the loosest suspicions and perhaps for no deeper purpose than to stop the publication of Bird's[3] and Newell's[4] confessions. The persuasion here at present with regard to O'Connor[5] is that nothing can be proved against him, though everybody is satisfied that he was attempting to get to France, and [that] necessarily infers a further guilt. I have reason to think that the minister is determined to continue the system of terror in Ireland, though it is very obvious that he sees the growing difficulties here, and is very uneasy about them. I fear that he thinks a convulsion in Ireland might be useful in distracting attention from his failures and his mismanagement of our resources. The independent party is, I think, stronger than ever, but I have convinced the gentlemen that it would be unwise to stir at present. The French would not, I conceive, make peace with us till they had taken the chance of what fruit they might gain from their preparations against Ireland. Thence, by coming in, we should not fear any danger; and, by not having gotten all the strings of the machine right in hand at a critical juncture, we might injure the general plan of defence. The money also ought to be secured by the present ministers, if it indeed be practicable to provide resources for the year; for it would be desperate for a new administration, resting solely on popular opinion, to begin with the grinding imposts which will be requisite. Pitt may call, but how the spirits are to come from 'the vasty deep,' I know not. In short, there is a sense and a profession of embarrassment here that gives a gloom to every countenance; and with all that it is prudently resolved to coerce Ireland."

329.—Sir Lawrence Parsons, M.P., to Charlemont.

1798, March 29, Merrion Square.—"I enclose you copies of two letters, which will sufficiently explain themselves. I am sure your partiality for me will readily believe that the censure of my conduct was unfounded. I repeatedly requested lord Charles Fitzroy to state facts in support of his assertion, which he declined to do, because he could not. If the men of my regiment were licentious in their conduct, as he represented them to be, they could not be so without acts, and there could be no difficulty in mentioning the acts. Certainly some of the light company have lately been guilty of misconduct, but that company was detached and taken from under my command above a twelvemonth ago. Therefore any recent misconduct in it ought to be imputed to the colonel who commanded it, not to me who did not. I shall not, however, trouble you with any further observations on the subject. It is obvious that my removal was desired."

---

[1] Francis Dobbs, M.P. for borough of Charlemont in place of Richard M. Jephson, appointed judge advocate at Gibraltar.

[2] William Conyngham Plunket, elected for Charlemont borough on lord Caulfeild's retirement to sit for Armagh.

[3] James Bird, alias Smith.

[4] Edward John Newell. *See* "Documents relating to Ireland, 1795–1804," Dublin: 1893.

[5] Arthur O'Connor.

[Enclosures.]

i.—Sir Lawrence Parsons to Earl Camden.

1798. March 27, Dublin.—"I have the honor to inform your excellency that major-general lord Charles Fitzroy communicated to me yesterday a message which he had received through lieut.-general Craig from the commander-in-chief, representing that the discipline of my regiment was considerably relaxed since I took the command of it in this garrison, through my mistaken lenity; and that I should either change my conduct, which, with my sense of the duties of such a station, I could not do, or that I should give the power to the other field officers, a concession to which no colonel could submit. Conscious that this accusation is perfectly unmerited by me and the men under my command, I shall not stoop to take any further notice of it than to say, that as my object when I was originally prevailed upon to accept of the regiment was to serve my country, and since those in superior authority have been persuaded that my commanding it has had the contrary effect, I shall not continue any longer in that situation. I must therefore request that your excellency will accept of my resignation."

ii.—Earl Camden to Sir Lawrence Parsons.

1798, March 28, Dublin Castle.—"I had yesterday the honour to receive your letter, in which you inform me that you request me to accept your resignation of the King's county regiment of militia. I lament extremely that you have been induced to take the step in consequence of observations from the general officers upon some relaxation of discipline in that regiment, which I am convinced you would easily have corrected; but since this is your determination, I cannot decline to accept that resignation which you have transmitted to me."

330.—EARL CAMDEN to CHARLEMONT.

1798, April 3, Dublin Castle.—"I yesterday received the honor of your lordship's letter. I presume the clause five in the second chapter of the yeomanry act has given rise to the doubt your lordship entertains. My construction of that clause is, that as everything which is performed by the yeomen is voluntary, so every offer which they may make can only be accepted according to the terms of that offer, if it should seem eligible so to employ them. By Mr. Eliot's letter, it is proposed that services now performed by small detachments of the army should be performed by the yeomanry, provided they think themselves competent to that service; and it does not appear to me that the yeomanry who so offer their services subject themselves to military law, unless it is part of their own stipulation they should do so. If any doubt remains upon your lordship's mind, it will be very easy to remedy such interpretation, by making that exception in the offer you may make. But I look upon the whole spirit of the yeomanry institution to be so voluntary, that they cannot be expected to perform any service which they do not chuse to undertake. I have the honor to mention to your lordship my own interpretation of this act, but if your lordship wishes for any farther explanation, I shall be very happy to give it to you. I can with truth assure you it is not the intention of government to put the yeomanry under the mutiny bill."

331.—Charlemont to Earl Camden.

[1798, April 4.]—"Your excellency's goodness in so fully answering my troublesome letter, while it merits my warmest acknowledgments, increases the compunction I had already felt for my imprudence in teazing you in this season of embarrassment; but the dread of misinforming those persons who had put themselves under my protection by a wrong explanation of Mr. Eliot's letter finally prevailed, and is the only apology I can allege for my intrusion.

"I now clearly see that by the act, no yeoman can be supposed to have put himself under military law who does not expressly stipulate so to do, and who does not sign his name to such stipulation; and even though this explanation of the act were doubtful, the expedient which your excellency so kindly suggests, of making that exception to any offer, will put the matter beyond any possibility of doubt. Suffer me, my lord, to renew my apologies for the trouble I have occasioned, together with my thanks for your kind and condescending attention."

332.—Charlemont to Johnston.

[1798.]—"By this post you will receive a printed circular letter,[1] which was sent to me some time since from the war office, but which I was determined not to transmit to you till I had fully ascertained its meaning, as it seemed to me to involve a doubt that such of the yeomanry as might accept of the terms therein contained would actually put themselves under military law, and become subject to all the restrictions of the mutiny act, a measure which, though I might not blame those who, with their eyes open, adopted it, I should be wretched indeed if through any fault of mine they were deceived into. With a view to such explanation I wrote to the lord lieutenant, and received an answer which appears to me satisfactory, as you will perceive by my reply, a copy of which I send you enclosed, together with such extracts from his excellency's letter as may more fully let you into the subject. You will there perceive that, in order to obviate every doubt, his excellency suggests as his opinion that, in any offer which may be made, the subjecting those who offer to military law may be expressly excepted against. With such reservation you will, I am confident, have no objection to the making yourselves more useful, and any who wish to go still farther, of whom I certainly am not one, are at liberty to do so."

333.—Rev. Edward Hudson to Charlemont.

i.—1798, April 8, Portglenone, Ballymena.—"My accounts from your town are not very flattering; if they are not exaggerated, things are very bad indeed. It is difficult to say anything with certainty of our state here. We are perfectly quiet, indeed, but I hear things which fill me with disquiet, nor can I perceive anything in our prospects that tends to console me. Should we escape the horrors of invasion and anarchy, I much fear the time will be long in coming when we shall return to the sober spirit of the constitution. Those strong measures which, I fear, are at present indispensably necessary, will perhaps continue when the necessity will have ceased. This evil, however, loses its horror when compared with those terrible ones which seem to impend over this wretched country. Your lordship is not apt to despond. Have you now any hope of political good in this kingdom? It will revive me to hear that you have. Will they hang O'Connor[1] and his reverend fellow-traveller, Mr. Quigly?[2] This latter is the person of whom I once wrote[3] to your lordship as having been in Cuthbert's (the tailor's) room in Carrickfergus, the day after he had been tried for a conspiracy to murder. There were also there a Dissenting clergyman and one of our church; a pretty trio, as Cuthbert himself said to a gentleman who happened to come in. One thing here surprises me much Many persons of substance entered into the scheme from fear, and yet some of them seem at present the most alert. What this proceeds from I cannot well tell, but am inclined to think it is from the increased expectation of foreign visitors, for it is generally believed here that Ireland, not England, is the object."

---

[1] Not in the collection.

333. ii,—1798, April 22, Portglenone, Ballymena.—"From the time of the proclamation for taking the oath of allegiance there was a great and visible amendment in this part of the kingdom till about October or November last. From that time to this, things have been taking a different turn. This I venture to say you may rely on. Still, however, we are better than we once were. I draw no political inference from the drapers resuming their occupation, nor did I lay much stress on their temporary abandonment of it. Trade in their line had begun to be slack at home; they therefore had sent large quantities of linens to America, from whence the returns were too slow to enable them to purchase in the ensuing season. They now have got their money, and will not let their works go to ruin for want of being employed. I do not say this was the case with all, for many (I know) had cash and were afraid to venture, and all rather wished to have their being idle attributed to their political fears than to their want of money. I must have expressed myself inaccurately if anything in my last tended to convey an idea of disturbance in any part of this country. It is all perfectly tranquil, and my immediate neighbourhood remarkably so; nor have I any fear of its changing, unless something very general occasion it. We have an excellent priest, and (which is more extraordinary) an excellent Dissenting clergyman, with both of whom I am on the best possible terms. I have no doubt but your correspondent may have heard some of a certain sect express a dislike of their new allies, and a concern that the junction had taken place. I have more than once heard something of that sort myself; but what is the reason of all this? It is because many of the latter have come forward with declarations which they do not like. Still, it will be said this distrust is of some consequence. It would, my lord, be of consequence indeed if we had a wise government, not blindly devoted to one system, but willing to adapt itself to the exigencies of the times, and ready to avail itself of circumstances as they arise. This, however, I fear, is not to be hoped for."

---

[1] Arthur O'Connor.

[2] Rev. James O'Coigley, executed in 1798.

[3] *See* p. 299.

334.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1798, May 3, Dublin.—"I have for some months past been extremely ill, and, instead of getting better as the season advances, daily seem to grow worse; but so it must be, as I daily grow older. I had spirits, but they are evaporated. I had good humour, and in some degree I have it still, but how should it subsist unimpaired under the pressure of public and private calamity? Yet still, as there is no night so dark as to be totally void of light, both my public and private prospects are enlivened by some cheering rays. My son's success in his first parliamentary attempt, on which you so kindly dwell, most certainly affords me real pleasure, and I have the still higher satisfaction of perceiving that, whatever his abilities may be, his principles are precisely as I would wish them, and such as will at all times prompt him to the disinterested service of his country. Ought I then to complain of my private lot? Surely no; and, as to our public affairs, dark as they are, the gloom is in some degree brightened by lights from the north, where tranquillity seems to be re-established, and where good sense and returning industry appear to have at length prevailed over madness and tumult. With these consolatory circumstances I will close my letter."

335.—REV. EDWARD HUDSON to CHARLEMONT.

i.—1798, May 3, Loughbrickland.[1]—"When I wrote to your lordship of an increased activity in the agents of a certain body, though I was well assured of the fact, I was totally ignorant of the particular cause that produced it. I can now let your lordship know something more of the matter. Your lordship already knows how general the swearing in was in my part of the country, and how various the motives by which the people were led to it. That oath, however, was only to promote reform and emancipation. The present object is to prevail on the people to take the 'Defenders'' oath, and in this they have been indefatigable for some time past. What success they have had in other parts I do not so well know; but the attempt was made in Portglenone before I left it, and there I have good reason to believe it was rejected with indignation by some, of whom the agents thought themselves quite sure. In another place, too, I know of its being spurned at by one of the most active and most mischievous 'United Irishmen' in our county. I believe the leaders have two objects—in my opinion—to plunge the people more deeply in criminality, and to attack the Catholics by the influence of 'Defenderism.' I think it probable that government knows of this business, but I do not see any steps taken to guard the Catholics from this snare. In Lisburn and its vicinity 'Orangemen' are multiplying exceedingly, and in fact have an absolute dominion over their adversaries. God grant they may not make an improper use of it."

335, ii.—1798, May 6, Flurrybridge.[2]—"My last was written amidst so many interruptions that I wish to add something in explanation. The person who gave me the first information in Portglenone knew of but two or three to whom application had been made. They all peremptorily refused, and my friend promised to follow the instructions I gave him as to the most likely means of dissuading others. This is, however, a business which requires much caution on his part, and how far he has succeeded I know not; but he was sure of the co-operation of those who had refused, and he and they can, I know, do a great deal. He said they wished to form a corps of yeomanry under officers nominated by government, which would render them and those who approved their sentiments secure from the resentment of others. To this I replied that government were not, I believed, very willing to trust with arms those who had not stood forward at first; but if they would make a declaration that they were impelled to take up arms by resentment at the wicked attempt that had been made to bind them to join the invaders of their country, I made no doubt but government would readily accept of their services. This he said he would have no objection to, but despaired of the others venturing on a step so hazardous. Having no communication with any concerned in the administration, I know not how to represent this, but if your lordship could do it without its being irksome to you, I have no objection to my name being used, for I think some good might be derived from the disposition of the people in my immediate neighbourhood, if proper measures are carried, and that the very measure that has been adopted for strengthening the conspiracy may be turned against it with excellent effect. As I passed through Randalstown, I found that a student from Edinburgh, who had been initiated as he came through Belfast, came to a person, from whom I had it, accredited from some of his friends there, but that person rejected the proposal of being concerned in such a business in the most decided manner, though the student said it had been universally embraced in Belfast; and, indeed, I now remember that this scheme was spoken of near two years ago, but never (I believe) attempted to be carried into execution till lately. At Loughbrickland I have reason to believe it is going on, for a man there told one, on whom I can rely, that there was a 'new constitution,' but had not then an opportunity of explaining himself further. The Presbyterian minister of the same place (who is rather moderate for one of his trade) told me that, though the country was perfectly tranquil, he knew the minds were not a whit better than when I had been there before, which was bad enough. And so ends the journal of my travels. As to the means likely to secure a certain class against this fresh attempt, I confess myself unable to form an adequate opinion as to the country in general, but in my own neighbourhood I am confident that raising yeomanry corps, in which a number of them might be enrolled, would produce excellent effects. I think them in that part of the country loyal and and well disposed in general, but they have little confidence in themselves, and act almost entirely by the direction of another class, more indeed from fear than love. But I can observe that in Mr. Jones's neighbourhood, who has a corps composed almost entirely of them (which I do not approve of), they are bolder and speak mere freely against 'United Irishmen' than any place else."

---

[1] In county of Down.

[2] In county of Louth.

335, iii. — 1798, May 19, Portglenone, Ballymena. — "I left your lordship (I think) at Randalstown,[1] from whence I proceeded to Glenavy,[2] in which neighbourhood many houses exhibited melancholy proofs of the devastations of the 'Orangemen.' From thence to Lisburn that party is completely triumphant and increasing with astonishing rapidity. All the way to Ardee[3] I found it going on, but less in the county Down than elsewhere. In Jonesborough[4] barrack there is a corps of yeomanry all Protestants, mostly (I believe) from your estate. A large portion of these are 'Orangemen.' Your old Ballymascanlan[5] Volunteers, who six months ago were almost all 'United Irishmen,' are now complete 'Orangemen,' which is more congenial with their feelings. A gentleman who had just come from Cork told me that this system is beginning to spread in the south. I understand they reckon on the countenance of government, and, I fancy, not without reason. They are, I am told, loyal; but I foresee many evils from the establishment of parties in a country. I could wish that this party (if there must be parties) had taken the name of 'loyalist,' or any other than that of 'Orangemen.' For this latter tends to frighten and alienate the Catholics, who are, here at least, well-affected, and from their numbers must always be of consequence. On my return home, I inquired about the progress of the 'new obligation,' and am happy to find, from a person I can depend on, that it has been little or none except in our metropolis. Government must have heard of it, for one of their warm friends in that town has, I know, had information of it. I am sorry I cannot say anything of the amendment of the leaders of a certain party. The pains taken to keep the lower class steady are incredible. They are much closer than formerly, and scarcely anything is now communicated even to those of their own body who are suspected of moderation. I thank your lordship for the pamphlets. Harper's is admirable, but the other is better calculated for the mass, and I cannot help thinking the circulation of it would have excellent effects. Mine is going through this town and read with avidity. I most heartily wish the people in this immediate neighbourhood were allowed to raise a corps of yeomanry. I know steady people enough could be had, and it would be a vast encouragement to all of that description, of whom we have a good number, and this I do not say lightly. . . .

---

[1], [2] Co. Antrim. [3], [5] Co. Louth. [4] Co. Armagh.

"In speaking of the astonishing increase of 'Orangeism,' I forgot to mention the most wonderful part of it, that immense numbers of them are in Belfast."

336.—WALPOLE[1] to CHARLEMONT.

1798, May 23, Twickenham Park.—"Neither illness nor parliament, private misfortunes or, what we have more of, public misfortunes, have prevented my ungrateful mind from attending to the very flattering favours of your lordship. I give myself up as guilty of the most inattentive negligence. When I at first entertained the thought of sending the memoirs of my ancestor to your lordship, I hesitated for a time; but my ambition to have his name added to a collection of such acknowledged taste, and my wish to give you a proof of my respect and gratitude, as well as the reliance which I had of your lordship's constitutional principles and knowledge, preponderated, and I submitted with confidence the work to your unbiassed and enlightened judgment. Your lordship's testimony of sir Robert Walpole has added, indeed, to the satisfaction of his posterity.

"I thank you for your opinion of my principles; yours I have known; they are sealed by the testimony of former as well as the present times. Long may we be able to retain them. In spite of the madness of ministers, your lordship's cool judgment will secure you from precipitation; I only pray that I may not be compelled to be a republican. I have voted for measures which I formerly hoped never to have done; we must vote for stronger, if we mean to preserve the monarchy.

"I had thoughts of paying my respects to you in Ireland; but I dread your government. I might bear their killing me, but I could never endure the thoughts of their eating me, and neither my person or principles would be an obstruction to your iron-digesting counsellors."

---

[1] Horatio Walpole, second baron Walpole, created earl of Orford in 1806.

337.—REV. EDWARD HUDSON to CHARLEMONT.

i.—1798, June 2, Portglenone, Ballymena.—"Your lordship's accounts from the north are favourable, and from what I see in the 'Dublin Journal,' I conclude government thinks well of it at present. That we are perfectly quiet, is true; that a great number of guns (such as they are) come in daily, is also true. And yet, my lord, I am not satisfied with the state or disposition of the country. The northerns are indeed wiser and understand calculation better than the people of Kildare and Wicklow; and yet I fear they were very lately on the brink of the precipice over which the others have fallen. I remember once telling your lordship of the disaffection of that large tract of country which lies between Ballymena and Carrickfergus, and thinking it strange that there was not a single soldier stationed in it. I now find that troops are marching from different points to take post there. Had there been good accounts from Leinster, I believe these troops would have been wanted there some days sooner. Before my last trip to Jonesborough, I had been told, by a person who never deceived me, that the demagogues, despairing of the French, had for some time been persuading the people to attempt the business of themselves. This appeared to me so extremely improbable that I paid little attention to it; and yet nothing was more true, as has since appeared plainly enough. The day before I last wrote to your lordship the same person came to me to confirm what he had before told me, with some additions which were alarming enough. On the whole, I am confident we have but just weathered the point. The fact, I believe, is this. We were to have acted in concert with you, but, finding things not likely to turn out well, think it prudent to take care of ourselves. I fancy you are very angry we did not start fair."

337, ii.—[1798, June 17,] Portglenone, Ballymena.—"Everything seems quiet in this part of the country, but there is an odd report of something intended for the 20th instant. This comes to us from a Mr. Jones, a clergyman in the county of Derry. I can see no probability of any such thing, and am sure it is not known to any of my acquaintance, or I should have heard of it. It is somewhat extraordinary that in times so full of danger no officer commanding a detachment has any orders how to act when attacked, nor is there any communication between the different detachments. My son-in-law could easily have retreated to Antrim, if he had directions, and had he joined the dragoons there, before they made that rash and unfortunate charge, I think it probable some loss might have been prevented. The officer commanding here had not a single order or instruction during the whole time of the alarm. General Knox's aide de camp, on a day when we had no military, came to ask my opinion about breaking down the bridge here. I said that, knowing nothing of the plan of operations, I could form no opinion on the subject, but that it seemed strange that the rebels should break down the bridge at Toome and the king's troops destroy the next bridge on the same river. I told him, too, that if general Knox thought the pass of consequence (which it certainly is), and would send us a hundred foot, I would engage the pass should be defended or he should find us lying about it. He had at the time a strong force lying near us, and in a country free from disturbance. I heard no more of it; nor, when the yeomanry came back, could the officer procure even twenty men from Castledawson. For my own part, I see nothing like system. The officers chief in command have issued proclamations contradictory to each other, and everyone is at a loss to know which will be supported, though it is generally believed

Clavering will. A very good sort of clergyman, who has the next parish to this, wished to adjust this difference, and carried a letter from Clavering to lord Henry Murray, and got his answer, which I carried to Clavering's quarters at Shane's Castle. I now hear that the poor parson was conducted by twelve dragoons as a prisoner to Coleraine and dismissed, after being told that he made himself too busy."

337, iii.—1798, June 19, Randalstown.—"Had my last been written a post sooner or later, it would have given a more faithful picture of the state of the country. The first explosion was in the town, where my son-in-law (Ellis, whom I have come to see) and a son of my friend, Mr. Jones, were with a detachment of yeomanry. They were attacked by a multitude and retired to the market-house, where they defended themselves while they had a shot, and till the market-house was set on fire. They then surrendered and were taken out of one of the windows by a ladder. Ellis was slightly wounded. At Antrim the rebels gained some advantage at first, but were soon after routed with considerable slaughter. But, alas, I fear that amiable, worthy man, lord O'Neill, is mortally wounded. I had always told your lordship I depended much on my own corner, where, God knows, I have laboured hard for three years. The event has more than answered my expectations. The town of Portglenone turned out with me, to a man, and, having joined the party of yeomanry that was with us, we kept so good a countenance that though the rebels were very close to us and, as I was pretty well informed, had thrice determined to fall on us, they thought proper to decline it. But why trouble you with details? The grand point is, the disaffected are so completely down in spirits that in these parts government may settle the matter as they like, and I know they may have as much information as they chuse as to leaders, etc. There has been some difference of opinion between colonel Clavering and lord Henry Murray as to the terms to be granted, but I hope general Nugent has settled it."

337, iv.—1798, June 26, Portglenone, Ballymena.—"Delighted indeed I was to receive a letter written with your own hand. This will not offend lady Charlemont, for you and her ladyship are one mind, which is still better than one flesh. Having too much to say puzzles a man as much as having too little, for he knows not where to begin. You have seen general Nugent's[1] letter, in which he says he knows nothing of the beginning of the affair at Antrim; and in truth he might have said the same of every part of it, and of what happened after it, as your lordship will probably soon see, as some persons in Antrim will, I believe, publish an account of that business. He says that colonel Durham, after beating the rebels at Antrim, proceeded to Randalstown[2] (four miles), in which direction most of the rebels had fled. They did not fly that way, nor did Durham send a man there till next day. If he had sent any force there before ten o'clock at night (which he might easily have done), he would have found the rebels drunk and rejoicing. He seems to know nothing of the affair at Randalstown, nor how the troops of yeomanry were taken. He speaks of a body of rebels intrenched at Toome,[3] and that Clavering and Knox[4] were advancing to attack them. Clavering did move from Shane's castle towards Toome about two in the morning, on Sunday the 10th, privately, and would, I suppose, have attacked them but that they were not there. The fact is, and this I speak confidently, that, after Thursday the 7th, when a mob assembled there to break down the bridge, there never was a rebel force at Toome exceeding twenty men, amongst whom there were but three firelocks. Knox had sent to reconnoitre the pass, but I believe was not much the wiser, and I fancy general Goldie[1] is likely to incur some censure for not giving the detachments of yeomanry in the various posts some orders how to act in case of being attacked by a superior force. The yeomanry at Randalstown were fifty foot and twenty dragoons. They could easily have got to Antrim, where they would have been a considerable addition to the force there, and would to a man have interposed their own bodies between the ever-to-be lamented lord O'Neill[2] and the infernal villains who murdered him. There were so many ways by which he might have been saved that it almost distracts me to think of it. I write but by snatches, but hope to give you something like a regular account. I have just got an express from colonel Clavering with an account of a fresh rising in the next parish, and have assured him there is not a word of truth in it. Similar accounts were received by the commanding officers in the county Derry near this. If I had not had better intelligence when I commanded at Forkhill,[3] I would not now be able to assure your lordship of the unalterable attachment of your ever affectionate servant, etc."

---

[1] George Nugent, major-general.

[2], [3] In county of Antrim.

[4] John Knox, brigadier general.

338.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1798, June 29, Dublin.—"Though still scarcely able to write an exertion must be made, as it is impossible for me to repress my desire of thanking you for the sincere pleasure I have felt at seeing your name subscribed to the incomparable declaration of the inhabitants of Belfast. That your sentiments were exactly those which appeared in that excellent production I myself had no doubt, but am happy that you have thus promulgated them to a public which, from want of a personal knowledge, might have mistaken you, but who shall now presume to harbour a thought that my friend is not the friend of his country? Thus far I thank you on my private account, but where should I find words to testify my acknowledgments for the public service you have done by affixing your truly respectable and popular name to a declaration of such genuine loyalty? On this theme I would wish to dwell, but, alas, my head, my eyes, and even my hand, refuse their assistance. Though the jaundice has disappeared, it has left behind it an universal weakness scarcely to be described or conceived, and I can only say that I seem, to myself at least, fifteen years older than I was when the disorder first attacked me."

339.—REV. EDWARD HUDSON to CHARLEMONT.

1798, July 18.—"To attempt giving an accurate account of what has passed in this country would be like sitting down to draw a picture of chaos: proclamations contradicting each other; two leaders only excepted today; all leaders, tomorrow. Then the only rebel of any sort of consequence, taken in one district, carried into another, brought back to the former. There, instead of being tried for his life, a court of inquiry held on him. In fact, my lord, we are (to say the best of us) great blunderers indeed. I believe I gave you some account of the military proceedings and of the inaccuracy of the official accounts. I shall therefore at present confine myself to some of those circumstances which precipitated the rebellion. It is generally thought that a hope of seizing the magistrates assembled at Antrim was the principal cause. That it contributed, there can be no doubt, but I think they had much stronger incentives. The summary jurisdiction of martial law had been established, informations were every day becoming more frequent, and the guilty began to tremble. The French visit, in expectation of which they had so long lain upon their arms, was despaired of; but, above all, the 'Defender's' oath, though taken by very great numbers, was resisted by so many even of the most zealous, that a schism was apprehended; and, to tell you the truth, of this latter I made most admirable use. These, in my opinion, were the chief causes of the late frantic proceedings in this country. That they had leaders of an higher description than those who appeared, I well know. Whether or no these approved of the insurrection, I do not so well know. But, in either case, their conduct would have been the same. They would have let the blackguards try the first brush, and then have been determined by the event. Two of these gentry, not quite so prudent as the rest, were forced out on the first day, and, had not the rebellion been so suddenly quelled, most of the rest would have submitted to the same gentle kind of ravishment. One of the two has a tolerable fortune in possession, and a larger in expectancy, is a magistrate, a constant grand juror, and lately resigned a company in the militia. He has got a smart wound. I confess, however, that he seems to have been only the dupe of the other, who is a cunning scoundrel of about 300*l.* per annum, and contrived it so that they were both ravished together, and carried to the rebel army in Ballymena. General Nugent says this fellow will be tried, notwithstanding the favorable report of the court of inquiry which I mentioned. His companion has not even been taken up, owing perhaps to his wound.

---

[1] Thomas Goldie, major general.

[2] *See* p. 329.

[3] In county of Armagh.

"I hear, from pretty good authority, that there is some difference of opinion between those who sit near the helm as to the measures to be pursued in the present sad times. If this be so, lord Cornwallis will have but an uneasy time of it. If I had the honor of being known to him, I would submit to his consideration the following hint. The exclusion from pardon I find descends so low as to captains. Some few of this class have been and more no doubt will be discovered; but they are so numerous and so obscure that many of them must escape detection. Whilst these remain in the country, the most desperate of their followers will probably adhere to them; and, though unable to raise an insurrection, may form gangs fully adequate to the purposes of robbery and murder, a great share of which will probably fall to the share of the loyalists. Now, my lord, if a proclamation were issued allowing such persons to transport themselves for life, to be punished as felons should they return, they are so thoroughly frightened that I think they would gladly set off. One word more and I will release you. The brotherhood of affection is over; rancor and animosity to an incredible degree have succeeded."

340.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1798, July 20, Dublin.—"Wednesday[1] was the only pleasing day I have for a long time past seen in Parliament. The message[2] was then delivered, the purport of which I am sure you will approve, even though it should prevent the further ornamenting your public buildings.

---

[1] 18 July.

[2] By lord Castlereagh, in relation to bill for free pardon and oblivion for past offences.

Our present chief governor [1] has, I believe, come over with good intentions, and that he is a man of firmness evidently appears in the cross and disappointed countenance of many who lately smiled, or rather, like Milton's 'Death,' [2] 'grinned horrible a ghastly smile.'"

341.—REV. EDWARD HUDSON to CHARLEMONT.

1798, July 27, Portglenone.—"I have some hope of having an hour to myself, which for near two months I can safely swear I have not had, and mean to devote it to your lordship. I think myself now pretty well acquainted with the detail of everything that passed in this county, the action at Antrim only excepted. I am well acquainted there, and went for the purpose of informing myself. I had three accounts of it from persons who were present, and they might pass for accounts of three battles fought in different parts of the globe. Early on the 7th June, general Nugent got an account that there was to be a rising on that day, that Down was to cooperate, but would not be ready for two days; that Antrim, where the magistrates were to assemble that day, was to be first attacked. The force there was I believe about forty dragoons and a pretty strong company of yeomanry commanded by lord Massereene. Nugent sent two detachments to Antrim, by different routes, commanded by Clavering and Durham, and here the confusion begins. That under Clavering came from the camp at Blaris, and yet seems to have had the start of the other, which came direct from Belfast. Colonel Lumley, with (as some say) about one hundred cavalry, advanced before the foot and entered Antrim by the bridge, much about the same time as a large column of the rebels came in by the church. Lumley drew up all the dragoons near the market-house, whilst part of the rebels advanced into the street, and others took post between the wall of the churchyard. The doors of the houses were all shut, and Lumley seems not to have considered that they might be filled with rebels, which was actually the case. Without waiting for the foot, whom he had left behind with Clavering, he charged, with what force he had, and though the dragoons behaved incomparably, the fire from the houses and churchyard galled them so dreadfully that they and the yeomanry (who also behaved extremely well) were obliged to retreat, the former to a pretty extraordinary distance from the town, the latter into lord Massereene's lawn, where they posted themselves behind that high wall which commands the street of Antrim, and there did good service to the last. At this time the rebels got possession of two cannon, and kept the town for near an hour. Clavering's detachment seems to have halted; that under Durham, after firing some cannon into the town, where they had friends as well as foes, advanced and drove the rebels out, after a smart resistance, as some say, but this is one of the disputed points. In the evening, part of the troops advanced to Shane's Castle, which is within two miles of Randalstown, where another body of rebels was drunk and triumphing in the defeat of a detachment of yeomanry which they had taken there. The army reposed at Shane's Castle till morning. The rebels, after detaching a strong party to break down Toome bridge, marched from Randalstown, with about eight hundred, and took post at about two miles distance in a place surrounded almost entirely with bog, where they passed that night and almost the whole of next day. The grand army of rebels (I suppose about seven thousand) had in the meantime taken possession of Ballymena. Very early in the morning of

---

[1] Lord Cornwallis.

[2] "Paradise lost," ii., 846.

Friday, Clavering advanced from Shane's Castle to Randalstown, from whence he sent a small party of dragoons to reconnoitre the tentless camp of the rebels and then returned to Shane's Castle. But enough of fighting; and now, if you please, we will begin to negociate. When Clavering returned to Shane's Castle from Randalstown, he declared he would burn the latter unless the rebels, who were two miles off, would give up Mr. Jones's son and my son-in-law, whom they had taken prisoners. I believe it was understood he was willing to grant terms to the rebels near Randalstown. Upon this, an intimate friend and brother-in-law of mine, who is extremely popular (though he never was an 'United Irishman'), wrote to the commander of the rebels in that quarter (one Henderson, a colonel and a wheelright), stating the destruction that impended and strongly recommending submission. He received for answer that if their lives and properties were secured, they would submit. He carried this to Clavering, who gave him a written assurance of what they had required. This he went with to the rebel camp (as they called it), but for security took with him two gentlemen, one of whom, at least, had a better title to the confidence of the rebels than he had. After haranguing them for some time, he began to perceive strong symptoms of discontent amongst the most desperate of them, on which he turned about his horse, crying out, 'Let those who would save their lives follow me'; which about three-fourths of them did and delivered up their arms. About two hundred staid behind, who after firing some shots at their departing comrades marched off to Ballymena, whither they had before sent the two prisoners. The rebels there had by this time opened a negociation too. Their envoys were a Seceding minister and a person who, I have reason to believe, was inferior to few in activity. Peace was made between the two belligerent powers on the following terms: the rebels to give up all their arms and two persons whom Clavering supposed to be leaders; for this the rest were all to be secured in lives and properties. They did not, however, give up these persons, and I have good reason to believe they were not very punctual in the performance of the other article. Instead of laying down their arms in Ballymena where they were assembled, which should have been insisted on, they were suffered to disperse and send in the arms as they liked. I forgot to mention that they were to liberate the prisoners, which was done, and this, I believe, is the only article that has been observed on either side. These are the principal facts. The Antrim business is the only part I cannot vouch for, but I believe it is near the truth. I purposely avoided saying anything of the execrable murder of lord O'Neill, who was in no part of the action. In truth, I never think of it without the most poignant regret; regret embittered by thinking that it might have been easily prevented. I have had an account of this accursed transaction from major Jackson, who was taken prisoner within a short distance of his uncle, and another from a gentleman who was with the yeomanry in lord Massareene's enclosure, not above thirty yards from the spot. These two accounts differ 'toto cœlo.' Your friend, Mr. Staples, doctor Macartney, of Antrim, and a good many others, had been with him [lord O'Neill] in the street, and escaped by crossing the river and getting to the lake, where they found a boat. Macartney says he shouted to lord O'Neill to follow them, which, however, he either did not hear or did not mind. Some say his horse was restive from a wound he had received. Be that as it may, he continued on horseback, between the market-house and the wall behind which the yeomanry were posted, and which was not above thirty yards from him. Had he retired to the foot of this wall he would have been safe from pikes at least; nay, he might have gone along it to the gate, which the yeomanry could have opened to him. Unfortunately, he did not attempt it. A fresh body of rebels entered Antrim from the Shane's Castle side and came in directly where he stood. They ran at him with their infernal pikes. He was first wounded in the thigh by a villain whom he immediately dispatched with a pistol; another was shot by the yeomanry from the wall, who then ceased to fire lest they should injure lord O'Neill. Vain precautions! Jackson saw him fall or slide down from his horse; he received many wounds; the fatal one pierced his stomach, and this, I believe, was given after he had fallen on his back. Accursed be the miscreant and those who armed his impious hand! Were it not for this melancholy event I should have many occasions of rejoicing—a formidable conspiracy, after swelling for seven years to a size that alarmed the boldest, exploding with little mischief, my family and my friends safe and happy after such dreadful alarms, and the district in which I live pursuing its usual occupations without fear of burning or arrest, and grateful to me for having been in some degree instrumental in producing their happiness. And now, if you have waded thus far, you are a brave man and pretty well tired. Yet I must proceed a little farther, but it shall be in shorthand. I have seen a man issuing protections to townlands, wearing a sword which he hardly knew how to put on, and conferring confidentially with colonel Clavering on the affairs of the country; and yet I have known this same person (a linen-draper) to have been in custody for having in his possession concealed cannon, which he was obliged to give up, and I have good reason to believe he was pretty deep even in the late business. I have [known] a warm if not an intemperate loyalist go to a camp to give information, and to be there told that if he was seen again in it he should be taken up; yet he is a man who is well known to have been as obnoxious to the disaffected at all times as man could be. I have known a Scotch colonel order an Irish will to be brought to him, that he might determine as to the property bequeathed in it. I have seen John and Peter hugging each other most fraternally a few days ago, and now see them ready to tear each other's eyes out."

342.—Sir Lawrence Parsons, M.P., to Charlemont.

1798, July 27, Parsonstown.—"I have just received a letter from Mr. Martin, informing me that he apprehends an opposition to the act of grace. If I thought that any opposition of consequence would be given to it, I should immediately set out for Dublin and give government whatever little assistance upon the occasion I may be capable of. But I cannot think that any set of men will adopt a conduct so odious to the great mass of the people, so inflammatory, and at the same time, which with them I am sure will always be the weightest consideration, so injurious to their own interests. I hear, indeed, from all quarters that they are very much discontented, but I suspect that the amnesty is only the avowed, not the real cause. Lord Cornwallis's character for integrity must render him a very unacceptable chief governor to those who usually manage the affairs of this island. May I request that you will dictate a few lines to some one, for I do not wish to trespass on your eyes, and let me know what is doing."

343.—Haliday to Charlemont.

1798, August 8, Belfast.—"This famous town is becoming from day to day less interesting; it resumes by degrees its ordinary features of stupidity; our jails are now but thinly inhabited; our courts-martial no longer sit for blood; our streets are not so gaily adorned and incumbered with heroes in red and blue; and our brisk juvenile military magistrates are gradually relinquishing the civil department to our old, slow-eyed justices of the peace. Even Newtownards, the headquarters of severity (a priest sat there as judge advocate), exhibits a sullen acquiescence with the new, absurd system of mercy and humanity. Passing through on Saturday, I took notice that the gallows was struck, after suspending no more than a beggarly dozen; here we had but half that number who died with such 'grinning honours,' and may now despair of ever rivalling that paltry borough in a display of that first of virtues, loyalty, and its favourite guardian, wholesome severity. Yet, after all, our tender mercies are in many instances cruelties, useful members of society being banished, some for ever, for no other reason than that they had been confined on groundless suspicions or for very slight offences, which it required a microscopic eye to magnify into guilt. In one instance, an old, valuable, interesting friend of mine, no inhabitant of this town, to purchase the life of the only delinquent in his family, was obliged to banish himself and the whole of it for ever. It consists of four sons and five daughters, one of the former about to take his degree in Dublin college, with applause, and who could have the most satisfactory attestations of his good conduct and principles. A great part of my friend's property, with his books and valuable papers, had been wantonly destroyed by the military in an early stage of this business, and what remains of his valuables will not fetch, through the suddenness of his departure and the complexion of the times, one half of their real value. I delivered this unvarnished tale to a worthy lord of our acquaintance, and he said it was a just and reasonable proceeding, and I said nothing. . . .

"Lord Cornwallis has proved himself an able missionary by his converting that savage, Clare; yet he will not be able to save his soul; that was mortgaged long ago, and the mortgage will be foreclosed; his court of equity cannot prevent that."

344.—Francis Dobbs, M.P., to Charlemont.

1798, August 11, Email[1] Camp.—"My leaving town on Wednesday was so sudden, that I had barely time to write you the short note I did. The object of my leaving town was to give a sort of security to the rebels in the mountains of Wicklow that faith would be kept with them by government, and major Hall, properly instructed, accompanied me. This I will more particularly explain to your lordship when we meet.

"On Wednesday night, major Hall and I slept at Bray, and on Thursday morning we sent, under proper passes, three men who had been in the rebellion, but who had made their peace with government, into the Wicklow mountains, where the outstanding rebels were supposed to be, in order that they might know the humane terms that would be given them by government on their submission. Having done this, we proceeded to Blessington, where we thought general Moore[2] was, he having the command of the forces in Wicklow. On our arrival there we found he had advanced to the place from which this letter is dated, about fourteen miles further into Wicklow; and we accordingly followed him. From about four miles on the Dublin side of Blessington to Email is one dismal scene of desolation; the town of Blessington and the villages of Holywood and Donard nearly totally burned, not one house in twenty being left standing, and the same as to the houses in the country. I asked Mr. Heighington, a gentleman of the neighbourhood, who rode a great part of the way with me, by whom this destruction was made, and, from his answers, I think it doubtful whether the rebels or military were most active in it. In short, what escaped the one was destroyed by the other.

---

[1] Co. Wicklow.

[2] Subsequently sir John Moore, killed at Corunna in 1809

"On my reaching Email camp, where the marquis of Huntly commands under general Moore, I had the satisfaction to find that those humane generals were restoring peace to the country, and that the people are beginning to feel that they are safe under their protection. Indeed, I am satisfied, from what general Moore told me, that the unmanageable conduct of some of the yeomanry has alone prevented a general submission long before this. Two instances he particularly gave me within his own knowledge. The one was a man to whom he had given a protection, being wantonly shot by a Mr. Fenton, and for whom he is now offering a reward of one hundred guineas by order of government; and the other the burning a village of unoffending people. Another instance I learned from a surgeon at Bray. Five of the Powerscourt yeomen fired three shots at a man who had also a protection, and dangerously wounded him. His examinations were taken by major Edwards, and the men are arrested. Your lordship knows how much I love the yeomanry at large; but it is a lamentable thing that some individuals should thus disgrace themselves, and defeat the mercy of government. However, above nine hundred rebels have come in yesterday, and a few days before, to get protections from general Moore; and from the best I can learn, all that now remain out in the mountains are under one thousand, ill armed, and in want of everything. And general Moore has so judiciously disposed his different camps, that if they do not surrender they must speedily perish by famine or the sword. However, I expect all will surrender in the course of this day or tomorrow. I expect to be in the house of commons on Monday."

345.—Rev. Edward Hudson to Charlemont.

1798, August 12, Randalstown.—"Your opinion of our chief governor gives me infinite satisfaction, as it gives reason to hope that he will think for himself, and neither govern nor be governed by party. The leniency of his measure will give offence to none whose opinions are of value to a wise man. At the same time, it must be confessed that persons of this description are pretty numerous. About a month ago a privy councillor read me part of a letter from Dublin, in which it was said that the chancellor meant to go to England to remonstrate, etc. The papers shew me that he has changed his determination, if not his opinions. I have had pretty frequent occasion to observe that those most frightened at the rebellion are most sanguinary, now that it is over; which is natural enough, cowards being generally cruel. I will, however, confess that it sometimes moves my indignation to see four or five persons walking about unmolested but for whom, I am perfectly satisfied, there would not have been a rising in my part of the country, whilst others comparatively innocent have suffered severely. But this must ever be the case when those in command have not a sufficient knowledge of the country. Government has shewn me a mark of favor in allowing me to raise a yeomanry corps, when many others were refused, and I am now (saving your presence) a captain, which I should not have been but that the people would serve under no other. I already perceive most excellent effects of it, and am convinced that, in case of emergency, I could have a good many hundreds that I could rely on. But in this, as in all my endeavours, I find I shall be confoundedly out of pocket. And now I must mention to you a circumstance which gives me some disquiet, and which may, I fear, produce some disagreeable consequences. The 'Orange' system, which was at one time, I believe, useful, begins to extend itself in a way I do not like. People of a certain description are crowding eagerly into it, partly from an idle view of screening themselves, and partly from a desire of being revenged on their quondam associates of a different persuasion, which terrifies these latter beyond measure. In the meantime, rancor and hatred prevail to an astonishing degree. I believe I shall be able to keep my own quarter pretty clear of it; but it is becoming so general as to be well worthy the attention of those who can keep it within proper bounds. If you can have patience to read a detail of my own transactions, I shall certainly trouble you with it."

346.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1798, August 16, Dublin.—"When things are at the worst they'll mend, says the old proverb, and surely from the miserable situation to which the country was reduced we had every reason to hope for amendment. Neither have our expectations been disappointed. Our present chief governor has come over with the best intentions, and all the calm steadiness which he so eminently possesses has been and will be proof against all the efforts of virulent party. Lenity, united to a proper degree of firmness, is now the ruling measure, and has produced the effect I always foresaw. The country is quieted, and there is every reason to believe that we shall shortly be able with truth to assert that rebellion is no more; indeed, the assertion might even now be made, such is our present state, and, if anything could add to the pleasure I feel from it, the addition would arise from the discontented countenances of those who growl in private, but whose habit of subserviency to any government forbids them from venting their spleen in open opposition."

347.—Rev. Edward Hudson to Charlemont.

1798, August 20, Flurrybridge.—"I have so seldom left home for some time past that your lordship has not been troubled with a journal of my travels. I have been five days on my journey hither, and have taken some pains to inform myself of the sentiments and dispositions of the people as I passed. The lenient measures of the lord lieutenant are naturally extolled by those who had anything to fear from coercive ones; and in truth I believe they have made the right impression on a very great majority of them, indeed on them all, were I to believe all I have heard; but such an instantaneous and universal conversion is rather too miraculous for my faith. Amongst the loyalists I find a great diversity of opinion, but those of the best understanding seem pleased with what is doing. My general argument is, that if lenient are likely to prove as effectual as rigorous measures, he must be a savage who would not prefer them; and that, at all events, government deserves praise for wishing to reclaim rather than exterminate. I hear my friend Dobbs has been sent to persuade the rebels to accept of the mercy offered them, a mission for which I think him eminently qualified, and in which I most heartily wish him success. The circumstance that sticks most with me I cannot help repeating to your lordship: assuredly the arms have not been given up. That part of Derry which is next me was for two days vibrating between rise and no rise, and was at last deterred by want of a leader and by the failure of a partial rising near Maghera. In all that district hardly any arms have been given up since, as I am informed; though they certainly must have had a great many. Colonel Leith, who commands at Maghera, should be consulted about this. He is, I am told, a sensible man, but I do not know him."

348.—LADY LOUISA CONOLLY to CHARLEMONT.

1798, August 28, Castletown.—"I have been too long accustomed to admire and respect the purity of your principles, to pause a moment at relinquishing anything that could affect their correct course. I am thoroughly sensible of the impression that the report of the secret committee has had on the minds of most of my beloved nephew's[1] friends, and to their jurisdiction I must submit in humility and sorrow, although my unshaken opinion remains that those very accomplices, who have screened themselves behind his departed shade, have more to answer for than himself, and prove (what I always dreaded would happen) that his name and character, being necessary to their banner, they would put him foremost, as the best covering for themselves. Too surely have they succeeded, and although I cannot defend the part he took (from my own principles of opposition to that cause), I must revert to the singular circumstances in which he stood with respect to the laws of his country, which undoubtedly exonerated the severest justice from any farther steps against him, after that it had pleased God (in his mercy) to close the melancholy scene by removing him to a happier world. You may imagine what my feelings must consequently be, and how much they must affect the remainder of my days. Your kindness, in still offering to present the petition in the house of lords, is consonant to your honourable conduct throughout life; but I could on no account avail myself of that stretch of friendship, preferring always to make any sacrifice rather than distress the feelings of a sincere friend, such as I hope ever to be allowed to consider your lordship."

349.—REV. EDWARD HUDSON to CHARLEMONT.

i.—1798, September 4, Portglenone, Ballymena.—"On hearing at Jonesborough of the landing of the French, I naturally set out for this place, and deferred writing to your lordship till I should see something of the state of the country. I found much greater alarm than I expected, occasioned by what I think a very indiscreet expression in the general's circular letter, that 'the French were landed in force.' I wish I could tell your lordship that there appeared much amelioration in the minds of the people, but am sorry to say I can see no symptom of it except in a small part of the country. I am far, however, from thinking that they will make any attempt without greater encouragement than they have any prospect of. The man who was sent prisoner from hence to Ballymena by captain Bristow, for having two concealed guns, has (we are told) been liberated; which would seem to me very extraordinary, but that so many extraordinary things happen here every day. When we receive any orders, I always expect counter orders within two or three hours, and am seldom disappointed. I wish they would send both by the same messenger; it would save the dragoons some trouble. We are at present ordered to burn or bring here all the boats, etc., on the river Bann, on which (by the bye) there are four bridges. This has raised a thorough alarm through the country, as it looks like an expectation of a landing on the coast of Derry or Donegal; but, as I hope lord Cornwallis has by this time disposed of what French there are in the kingdom, we need not fear the arrival of a few more. If Connaught has behaved as well as we are told, it will help to redeem the character of the Catholics, which I shall be the gladder of, as numbers of them in this quarter have conducted themselves entirely to my satisfaction. During my short absence, there were two or three disputes here about 'Orange' business, but I hope I have taken such measures as will prevent anything of that sort in future."

---

[1] Lord Edward Fitz Gerald.

349, ii.—1798, September 17, Portglenone, Ballymena.—"Your last brought good tidings, indeed, and which already seem to be producing their natural effect. It were to be wished this effect had been the result of gratitude for the merciful treatment the country has met with, but we must take the world as it is. Your lordship can hardly conceive the alarm and bustle caused by such a contemptible attack. We had orders from colonel Anstruther to be particularly alert on a certain night, and an officer in this town had got private warning to the same effect. It proved a false alarm, as I was pretty sure it would. The dissatisfaction expressed in my last had but too much foundation. When I left home, a certain description of people were very anxious to come forward with a loyal address and resolutions. When the French were in the country, I tried them and found a majority of them cold and backward; those of the other kind did better, as you will see in the papers. I could tell your lordship many unpleasant things, but, thank God, there is nothing to be feared at present. My chief comfort arises from the steadiness of my own corner, which would have produced some hundreds had there been occasion. Your lordship, I know, hears sometimes from Belfast. I hope your accounts of it are better than some I have received lately, and from a person on whom experience has taught me to rely. I find I have written on a quarter of a sheet of paper through mistake, but your lordship will excuse it. I am delighted with the Armagh boys charging the heroes of the continent so gallantly. It will, I think, inspire our militia with confidence in themselves, by shewing them that a good thrust with an Irish bayonet can overset one of those little heroes who call themselves invincible."

349, iii.—1798, September 29, Portglenone, Ballymena.—"Poor Napper[1] has made but a bad expedition of it, though I believe getting off with a whole skin will console him. Had he advanced into the country, Toler[2] should have been sent against him. The effect of this attempt appeared to me before I heard of the attempt itself. I am far from believing that the ill-disposed here will be easily moved; but, should the French land in force (as a general once wrote to us here that they had done), I much fear it will appear that gratitude has but a feeble influence on depraved minds. I wrote to your lordship that five or six fellows were going at large, without whom there would have been no rising in this part of the country. One of these has been taken up, though his case had been investigated before a court of inquiry, and he was deemed an unfit object of punishment. This has had a good effect, and if they take up two or three more, it will be still better. We have now a new alarm, by express, that government has received positive intelligence of the French being on their way hither. My immediate neighbours are delightful fellows. The express came from our brigade-major at Ballycastle, and it was immediately reported that the French had landed there. In a few hours, I had an offer from a very great number of men to march with our corps where ever it might be ordered, though the poor fellows had not a gun amongst them. We are shockingly inconvenienced here by the want of a post office. Major Jackson (nephew to the late lord O'Neill) applied to lord Ely on the subject, and says he promised him an office should be established."

---

[1] James Napper Tandy. He landed on the island of Arran in September 1798, but returned immediately for France.

[2] John Toler, attorney general. He had been challenged to a duel by Tandy in 1792.

349, iv.—1798, October 6, Portglenone, Ballymena.—"I sit down to give you some account of the state of parties in this country, which, I confess, fills me with anxiety. The 'Orange' mania has broke loose amongst us, and spreads with a rapidity almost incredible. It made its appearance here (but lately) through the means of a corps of yeomanry that has been quartered here some time. They bit a few of my corps, at first; but within this week they have had a dispute with their officers on the subject. These are both excellent men, but by endeavouring to check the progress of the association, incurred the imputation of leaning to the Catholics. This has produced its usual effect, and, the business assuming somewhat of a religious appearance, all denominations of Protestants are taking it up. The officers of the other corps have got matters settled very properly for the present; yet, within these forty-eight hours, the number of 'Orangemen' is trebled in this town, I am confident. Two of my corps appeared on parade with a little bit of orange ribbon in their caps, but all have declared they will never again attempt it, finding me an enemy to all badges of distinction. Never did I feel myself in a situation of such delicacy, though I have been in some of more danger; nor can I help thinking the subject well worthy the serious consideration of government, and that it will require all its wisdom to devise an eligible remedy for what so many people think the greatest good that can befal us, whilst others (wiser in my opinion) fear from it some of the greatest evils. I am here speaking against my own bias, if I have any; for I believe the principles on which the 'Orange' associations were formed to be those in which I have lived and in which, by God's blessing, I will die. But I well know that mankind in general think little of original principles. When once formed into bodies, 'l'esprit du corps' supersedes all obligations. I have a great deal more to say on this business, but (in the parsons' phrase) must defer it to another opportunity."

350.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1798, October 15, Dublin.—"I am indeed sadly indisposed; not only my eyes are almost useless, but my nerves are unstrung, and my spirits sunk to a degree of dejection scarcely conceivable. Old age, which insensibly steals upon the happy and healthy, seems to have seized me by sudden invasion. But no wonder; such must always be the case when the corrosion of care co-operates with that gradual decay which time must ever produce, and surely you, who are intimately acquainted with my heart, and have with me witnessed and deplored the sad series of events which have, for a long time past, crowded on each other in rapid succession, cannot be ignorant of the cause of that perpetual anxiety which, like the vulture of Prometheus, has preyed upon my vitals: many, indeed, are the causes, notorious and less known, public and private. Even now, when rebellion is frighted into its den, robbery and assassination, even in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, still keep the field, and reign in its stead. The murder of Hume,[1] that best of men, the friend and favourite of his country, is a recent example of atrocity, which perhaps exceeds all that went before it; but, as if real events were not sufficient to disturb my mind, rumours also come in to their aid. The town is now filled with reports that an union will speedily be attempted; how far this may be true, I cannot presume to say, but the unhappy always fear the worst. Has this report reached you? If it has, tell me how it is received; if not, do not propagate it. Thank fate, I am enabled to conclude this letter more comfortably than I began it, being this minute informed that an express is arrived from the postmaster of Rutland with an account that in an action off the coast of Donegal, near the isle of Tory, between our squadron and that part of the Brest fleet which was meant for Ireland, two French ships have been taken, and three so crippled that they must necessarily fall into the hands of their pursuers. The particulars of the action are not yet fully known, but there is no doubt of its having taken place, as I myself saw a letter from Alex. Stewart to his nephew, lord Castlereagh, in which he tells him that from the heights of Horn Head he saw the combat, though he could not precisely ascertain the event, which, however, appeared to him to be favourable. I am, however, perhaps communicating intelligence with which, from your vicinity, you are already acquainted, but really the exploits of our navy are most illustrious, and that of Nelson, for your congratulations on which I sincerely thank you, is a prodigy in our naval history. The French squadron is said to have consisted of one line-of-battle ship and seven frigates, and its defeat will, I trust, put an end to all fear of invasion."

---

[1] Captain of a yeomanry corps of cavalry in county of Wicklow.

351.—REV. EDWARD HUDSON to CHARLEMONT.

1798, October 27, Portglenone.—"Many thanks to your lordship for the bulletin. Our deliverances are so critical that the hand of Providence is almost visible. What I feared from the growth of party spirit seems every day coming to pass. I must mention to your lordship a strange circumstance which has come within my knowledge. Being in the house of a friend at some distance from this, a few days ago, I saw a paper empowering a person in that neighbourhood to keep arms, and signed: 'William Atkinson, captain commandant of the armed Orangemen of the county Antrim,' and directed: 'To all whom it may concern.' On inquiry, I found that Atkinson had asked the person to whom he sent that protection whether a company of 'Orangemen' and a proper captain could be had in his neighbourhood, adding that they should have arms. Atkinson is, I know, high constable of Belfast, and 'grand master' of the county Antrim; but his title of 'captain commandant,' and the phrase of 'armed Orangemen,' puzzles me. I hear it said that this association has the direct protection of government. There may or not be truth in this; but surely those who wish to support government ought to be let so far into the secret as may enable them to regulate their own conduct at least. What I hinted in my last of counter-association was, I find, well-founded. But it will not extend itself so rapidly nor so openly as the other, for reasons which your lordship will readily conceive. In the meantime, rancor and animosity prevail to an astonishing degree. Papers have been put up with the old inscription: 'To hell or Connaught.' These each party attributes to the other, and it is hard to say which is right. Is it not hard that our good fortune against foreign enemies must be alloyed with the noise of civil discord, even in the moment of our joy?"

352.—SIR LAWRENCE PARSONS, M.P., to CHARLEMONT.

1798, November 5, Parsonstown.—"Having heard nothing further respecting this detested union, I begin to indulge myself with hopes that it will not be attempted. I really sicken as I think of it, and am persuaded that, if accomplished, it would, if not accompanied, be soon followed by a civil war and ultimate separation.

"Our neighbourhood is perfectly quiet, and the people seem to be as peaceably disposed as I ever remember them to be. If the government does not tamper with the country by attempting this hateful measure, I think everything will go on well as formerly.

"This town is crammed with troops, besides two corps of yeomen, the English artillery, the German chasseurs, and the Wicklow militia; so you will say that you give us no credit for our tranquillity, for we dare not be otherwise."

353.—Francis Hardy, M.P., to Charlemont.

1798, November 6, Castle Forbes.[1]—"Many years have elapsed since I did myself the honor of writing to your lordship on the subject of the famous propositions of 1785, and I am sure you will forgive me if I intrude on you now for a few minutes, when a question of far superior importance is shortly (as I am informed) to be brought before parliament. I have not been in Dublin since March last, but all my letters from thence, and some from England, speak in the most decided terms of a union, and many go so far as to state the general outline of the plan which is to be submitted to the legislatures of both kingdoms. On what authority these letters are founded, I know not; none (that I have seen or heard of, at least) come from persons immediately connected with the ministry, or their known and declared agents. However, it may not be the less in agitation, and the question is, how is it to be met? When I consider the situation of the country, the enormous military force in it, most necessary certainly for its defence, but little according, heaven knows, with that entire freedom of discussion which should attend any political proposition, I can see nothing but insult on the part of the ministers in bringing forward such a measure under such circumstances. Besides, the minds of the people are in such a state, so clouded with rancour, prejudice, and nonsense (beyond all example of former times), that it is hard to say whether the state of the army or the national intellect is the most completely averse to the immediate introduction of a proposition so important as this. So much as to the time, which I dwell on more particularly, because I think this question might be combated successfully on that ground, and if put off for one session or more, in all probability it would be put off entirely, as the chances would be much in our favour. A change of ministry, for instance; and although that did not take place, if the people could recover their senses and something of their old political spirit of 1782, they would then see this measure in its true deformity, and oppose it with irresistible force. At present all is silence in public with regard to it. No corporate body, no tongue, no pen [moves] on the subject. The country is something like Eloisa in Pope: ''Tis all blank sadness, or continual tears.' A precious time, certainly, to decide on the fate of millions yet unborn! I therefore take the liberty of suggesting that, if opposition is to be made to it in parliament, it should be made on the general question at once. It is the only way, in my opinion, of meeting any great pernicious measure as this is. When a proposition is intrinsically good, it cannot be too much unfolded in detail; when the reverse, no detail should be entered into. The spirit of the house evaporates, and time is given for the venal to sell themselves. Who will oppose it,

---

[1] Seat of the earl of Granard, in county of Longford.

I do not know, either in your lordship's house or ours. My respectable friend [1] here certainly will, with all his true characteristical openness and integrity, of which no man has a larger share. For my own part, I have long considered the subject, and the result of all the attention which I could bestow on it is the most decided conviction that it must operate fatally for both countries. If I wished to separate them, I should as a minister propose it. If Ireland is disinclined now to England, with her legislature at home and most of our gentlemen at home, what will it be when the legislature crosses the channel and those gentlemen along with it, cultivating new habits and new connections, the little affection which they have for Ireland rendered still less, and whatever influence they have in their neighbourhood crumbling daily and hourly away by their necessary absence. How are you to settle your peerage? Is Sir Samson Gideon, or any other Jew, or the reverend lord Kilmallock, with whom your house and our old nobility have been insulted, to vote equally with your lordship on your peerage elections? Or are they to be dislorded as unconstitutionally as they were most unconstitutionally and shamefully 'monseigneurized' by the minister? Are all appeals to go back again to Westminster? Are contested elections to go there? I should like to see Denis Browne [2] with his voters from Croagh-Patrick [3] teaching them English in New Palace Yard. Is this country to be shorn of its independence because it has been shorn to the quick by rebellion? Is my lord chancellor resolved that it shall never stand alone, that it shall never come of age, but remain under his guardianship, like one of the minors or idiots in his own court of chancery? In short (and a thousand pardons for trespassing on you in this manner), I defy the advocates for this scheme to point out one advantage which may not be obtained and cultivated without it. Should your lordship be at leisure to favor me with a word or two on this business, you would confer a real favor on me, as I am totally in the dark, and know not who is to propose, or who to combat it. I hope to be in town in the course of this month, and, if you permit me when there to wait on you, I shall be happy in doing so. I naturally address myself to your lordship on a subject like this, which requires all your protection. Should it be abandoned or defeated, let us owe our victory to those who have uniformly asserted their loyalty, their love, their zeal for sovereign and people. It is no adulation to say that your lordship, in that class, stands among the foremost. We are impatient to hear further from Buonaparte. He may be by this time in

> '——— that Serbonian bog,
> Betwixt Damiata and mount Casius old,
> Where armies whole have sunk.' [4]

When I hear from the bishop of Down, I shall acquaint your lordship."

354.—Rev. Edward Hudson to Charlemont.

i.—1798, November 7, Portglenone, Ballymena.—"The sentiments of the person to whom you spoke are such as become his station, for I believe it may be received as a maxim in politics, that a country cannot be well governed on party principles. God grant that ours may not require a modification of this maxim just as it is. I mentioned something to your lordship of a counter-association. I now know that it is spreading rapidly, and in a more dangerous form than I had any notion of when I wrote last. The divorce between the quondam lovers is not so complete as it appeared. As far as it went, the effects were violent enough. But I find to a certainty that those who took the last obligation ('Defenders') are at this moment acting together and have nocturnal meetings. All this is done under pretence of opposing the 'Orangemen,' and I opposed it principally because I foresaw it would furnish this very pretence. I have this day information of one rebel captain's asking a man to take the 'Defenders'' oath, and of another's telling a man that there was a 'shorter' way than had been used in the late rebellion of disposing of those who would refuse to turn out. I should have observed that both these are Pr[esbyteria]ns. Had the captains been obliged to leave the country, this would not have happened. A village about four miles from this is the central point, and in it there never has been a soldier quartered, but in truth the whole arrangement of the force here is bad. It may seem strange that in the present state of things any person can be hardy enough to think of plotting, but fellows who have long lived without industry do not easily return to it, and the spirit is kept up here by false accounts from other parts of the kingdom. I thought it necessary to give you this account, every part of which you may rely on."

---

[1] Sir George Forbes, sixth earl of Granard.
[2] Right Hon. Denis Browne, M.P. for county of Mayo.
[3] Mountain in county of Mayo.
[4] "Paradise Lost," Book ii., 592.

354, ii.—1798, November 15.—"I confess myself completely bewildered with the inexplicable state of affairs in some parts of this country. Facts which I cannot doubt lead to conclusions which my reason tells me cannot be well founded. I mentioned in my last that a village (Ahoghil)[1] about four miles hence was becoming the theatre of nocturnal meetings of 'Defenders,' as was supposed. I find that Anstruther, who commands in Ballymena, had the same information, for he took up the man of the house where the first meeting was held and three other persons, who have since been bailed. I yesterday sent for our priest, who is a very honest man, and explained to him at large the destruction that would fall upon his people if they became 'Defenders.' He said he could answer for the bulk of them, but admitted that about that village some of them were very bad and joined with people who were going on in the old way; he attributed this, however, to the introduction of the Orange system, and hinted something of the encouragement it received from the higher powers. This induced me to shew him (sub sigillo confessionis) your lordship's last letter, with which he seemed delighted, and most solemnly assured me he would take any steps I would recommend to prevent the spreading of the combination at Rasharkin.[2] I find there are also nocturnal meetings, at which a friar presides who possesses very uncommon powers, and by pieces of brown cloth ornamented with yellow silk, secures his friends against almost every species of danger. This day a gentleman is gone to general Goldie with an account of some very extraordinary circumstances relative to this parson. On the whole, the minds of people here are in a very unpleasant state—not a week in which there are not one or two nights destined for massacre, and the best of it is, onewhile the Orangemen, another the 'Defenders,' are to be the agents. Such are the accursed effects of party spirit. I am quite exhausted, but must tell you that last week general Goldie told a gentleman, on whom I can depend, that he was 'authorized' to encourage the Orange party, and that the 'captain commandant' whom I mentioned in my last, on being asked how he came to assume such a title and to grant protections and send arms and ammunition to persons, replied at first that *he* was authorized too—but, on being pressed, begged the gentleman (who commands here) would take up any of those protections he could lay hands on."

---

[1], [2] In county of Antrim.

354, iii.—1798, November 30, Portglenone, Ballymena.—"I hardly know what to think of the present state of this country. Party has taken such hold of the people that it is necessary to be very cautious in believing what one hears. Yet, on the whole, I cannot help thinking there is a very ill spirit at this moment working in different parts of this country, and in this I am confirmed by the opinion of two or three very intelligent persons, who never deceived me, and who live at a considerable distance from each other. The person whom I mentioned to your lordship as dealing in bits of brown cloth and yellow silk, has absconded. An order had been sent to arrest him, but he was too much of a conjurer not to have notice of it, and so disappeared in the very nick of time. It is said he is gone but for a few days, which I doubt, however. I learn from Forkhill that there has been a very large meeting lately on the adjoining edge of Louth. The yeomanry marched out to disperse them, but they had saved them the trouble. My account says that it was generally understood they had assembled to take a new oath—that is, the late edition of the D[efender]s' I suppose. This I have from my successor there, who went out with the yeomanry. When I compare this with what I know is going on in different parts of this country, I cannot help thinking there is something evil in agitation. The O[rang]e system spreads in many parts of this country, but in the most tainted I find it makes no way at all. I still wish it had not been introduced here. I cannot conclude without mentioning a circumstance which I think I would hardly credit but that I have it from captain Bristow of the Rasharkin yeomanry; the 'brown cloth gentleman' during his residence in Rasharkin converted several Presbyterians to the Catholic religion."

355.—Francis Hardy, M.P., to Charlemont.

1798, December 4, Castle Forbes.—"As this strange and unfortunate business (for unfortunate, I am afraid, it will ultimately prove to the countries) is again revived, I must once more trespass on your lordship, but first permit me to make my acknowledgements to you for your lordship's most obliging and satisfactory letter, which I should have answered, had I not been aware that your usual politeness and goodness would have led you to write to me again, though at the expence of your health and your eyes, which however, I most sincerely hope, are not so bad as when I had the honor of hearing from you. What leads me particularly to write now is a report that monsr. l'orateur de la chambre basse, having gone to England with the most reiterated assurances to his friends that he never would consent to this measure, was induced whilst there to forego these declarations, and has now returned the most decided advocate for this business—that he is to be an English peer with a large pension, etc. All this I am not the least surprized at. Experience of three parliaments forbids me to waste one moment in any idle astonishment at such tergiversation, but if the fact is so, it only behoves those who are adverse to the measure to be more concentrated, and more prompt in their mode of opposing it; I wish I could add and repelling it altogether. As to any meetings, I mean private ones, till some system of attack or defence is agreed on, and entered on immediately, I know how little they are to be depended on, but I should beg leave to suggest that if this measure[1] is not assailed in limine when the house meets, it must infallibly go on; but if it is attacked between this time and the meeting of parliament by large corporate bodies, and then followed up by a spirited opposition within doors, the minister may be obliged to recede from this favorite project of his, which, I have some reason to know, he has long had in contemplation, and now takes the advantage of our distresses to bring forward, aided by all the servility, folly, and characteristic levity and impatience of our countrymen. I am told that all, or the major part at least, of the landed property is for it. I know, and I lament, that some individuals will support it here, and elsewhere. Altogether the prospect is dismal. I wish I could ascertain with any degree of precision who will be for, and against, for this reason, that I have some authority for saying that Pitt would not urge the measure if he thought it would fail in his hands. I am by no means well, but hope to be in town some time this month."

---

[1] The Legislative Union.

356.—JAMES STEWART to CHARLEMONT.

1798, December 12, Killymoon.—"I flattered myself that when we had nothing more to fear from enemies abroad or rebels at home, your mind might have been freed from anxiety, but our rulers, it seems, are determined not to allow those who feel for the publick welfare to enjoy the present tranquility. To introduce a subject of controversy, as the union must be, at such a time is unpardonable, and in my mind impolitick in ministers, since it must necessarily raise a powerful party in opposition to them at the moment when all opposition seemed at an end. I am glad to hear that members are consulted on this subject, because I think the general opinion will be to dissuade lord Cornwallis from attempting it now. Even those who at another time, and under different circumstances, might approve of it would not wish to agitate the country with such a question at present. My opinion never has been enquired about either by his excellency or anyone connected with him, and I am determined to keep it free till I can have the advantage of your advice in forming it."

357.—WILLIAM DICKSON, Bishop of Down and Connor, to CHARLEMONT.

1798, December 30, Liverpool.—"I am going to take a liberty with your lordship which requires a better apology than any I have to make for it. It is to request, should this letter find your lordship as well as I wish you, that you would have the goodness to inform me what is to be the mode of proceeding in our parliament respecting this projected Union? Whether it is to be brought forward at the opening of the session in both houses at once, and in a way to be at all decisive of their opinion either for its acceptance or rejection. If this should be the intention, I should regret much the not being present; and indeed, however inconvenient it may be to me in other respects, nothing but the continuance of a very heavy and obstinate cold, which has now confined me near two months, shall prevent me. I suppose there is no doubt that the measure will be carried, as Dublin seems to be the only spot in the whole kingdom where it has created any very lively sensation. However, it would all my life be a satisfaction to me to have given it my negative. I am sure I can tell your lordship nothing on the subject that you are not much better informed of than I am. The articles handed about in London are curious—a little parliament of our own consisting of 150 members; two thirds of the number to be deputed as delegates to England every year, the remainder to try contested elections, and other equally important points: any of the 100 sent thither liable to be recalled and changed, and a 'suppliant' exported from Dublin to replace him. As to the commercial advantages to Ireland, they are to be 'all such as were given to France by the treaty of commerce.' The people of England appear hitherto to take no interest whatever in the business. I will not detain your lordship longer than to entreat your forgiveness for this intrusion."

358.—LETTER from CHARLEMONT.

1798.—"It being at present impossible for me to repay your truly kind visit in person, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of making the only return to it in my power by thus thanking your lordship for the high honour and favour you have conferred in wishing to give me a share of the very short time you spent in Dublin, a kindness which my ill-fortune in being from home prevented my profiting by as I would have desired, though nothing can lessen the satisfaction I must feel in having been selected by your lordship as one you wished, however restricted in time, to converse with. Your goodness in thus visiting bruised Ireland in her distress must ever be remembered with gratitude, and it would seem as if your presence was fated to be at all times propitious to her, since the day of your arrival was also the day of her deliverance from an invading enemy, assisted by some, though not by many, of her deluded and criminal sons.

"The late puny invasion, if not repeated, will most certainly be attended with advantageous consequences, by having proved to the friends of their country its general loyalty, and by having shewn our disappointed enemies the futility of those hopes of important assistance, on which they have, as falsely as traitorously, been taught to rely. It was, indeed, happy that, immediately before this alarming crisis, a chief governor had been sent us who had wisely and virtuously moderated the system hitherto pursued, by tempering firmness and the rigour of justice with the assuasive lenitive of clemency; a change of measures which has undoubtedly produced the most salutary effect. Yet still much remains undone to perfect and to confirm our cure. The minds of the people must be conciliated, and to adopt the precise means by which this great end may be safely accomplished will require a mixture of wisdom and of vigour which can only be expected from the wisest heads and the best hearts. Heaven grant that such may be found. Meanwhile, I have the pleasure to assure your lordship that the internal state of the country is greatly amended, and that Ulster, which you well know is by far the most important province, is not only perfectly quiet, but affords every reason to assure us that tranquillity is there derived from a happy melioration of principle, and, consequently, that it will be permanent. With these hopes, which must, I am confident, be highly pleasing to you, I conclude my letter. . . .

"The abominable agitators, however, who may possibly be well-informed, seem yet to expect another visit from their friends and the foes of mankind, as they have since the last defeat of their impious hopes been sedulously endeavouring to stir up the peasantry in the more disaffected counties."—*Not addressed.*

359.—REV. EDWARD HUDSON to CHARLEMONT.

1799, January 21, Ardee.—"I have been upwards of a fortnight from home, and have deferred writing to your lordship till I arrived here, which is the extremity of my tour. I have been pretty inquisitive at every place where I have means of information, and found that after I had travelled about twelve miles from home, the oath I mentioned to your lordship was not in circulation. As I proceeded I found the Union had sole possession of the [public] mind. One thing I universally observed: that the most active loyalists were decidedly against it with a degree of zeal bordering on rage, whilst the most suspected of disaffection were, or affected to be, totally indifferent about it. On my conscience, I believe they wish for it most heartily, nor do I wonder at it, for it certainly bids fair to further their schemes in the end. I received a letter from lord Caulfield, in which he does me the honor to ask my opinion as to a meeting of Armagh. Having heard something of endeavours to counteract his intentions, I replied that if he had reason to expect a strong opposition the silence of the county would be best. I don't know whether I was right, but know I shall be very unhappy if your lordship thinks me wrong. The meeting was (I suppose) by magistrates, as his lordship asked for my signature, which was, and ever shall be, heartily at his service. I ventured, however, to request he would not use it if it were not necessary. If I told your lordship my reason for this I believe you would laugh at me. I see things are likely to be carried with an high hand. Surely the ministry must expect some vast advantage from the measure when they go such lengths for it. Doesn't your lordship admire the Speaker?[1] I could almost fall down and worship him."

360.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.—Debate on Legislative Union.

1799, January 25.—"We are yet a nation; the abominable project is defeated; I can think or talk of nothing else. This morning, at seven, there was a division in the house of commons on the agreeing to the union clause in the address to the king, when our friends divided 109 to 104, so the clause was rejected by a majority of five.[2] This delightful event has braced my nerves, and added ten healthy years to my life; neither is the excellent conduct of parliament on this occasion the least among the causes which contribute to my exultation. Never yet were the usual efforts of administration exerted more energetically to procure a majority. Any man might have had anything, but rewards and punishments were without effect. Is not this satisfactory? Is not this great? Will not this tend to that first of all blessings, the reconciling the people to their parliament? Surely it ought, and the topic should be dwelt upon by every well-wisher to the prosperity, tranquility, and happiness of his country. But I can write no more; the wild incoherence of this desultory billet sufficiently marks the joyful agitation of my mind, and I have for a long time past been too unaccustomed to anything like pleasure to be now able to bear it with equanimity.

"Upon reconsideration I am not clear whether it might not be thought better, in the above-hinted instruction, to leave out the last words, and then it would stand thus: 'and would pursue and persist in whatever measures their wisdom may deem most effectual to the farther securing the independency of the legislature of this kingdom'; but I must again repeat, that whatever of this kind I mention is only intended as a hint, and by no means as a model to be pursued. Relying upon Dobbs, I meant to have written a short letter; and see what an epistle I have plagued you with."

---

[1] John Foster, elected in 1785 speaker of the house of commons in Ireland.

[2] For contemporary letters, from the Pelham MSS., on this debate, *see* "Documents relating to Ireland, 1795–1804." Dublin: J. Dollard, 1893, pp. 197–203.

361.—J. C. Walker to Charlemont.

1799, January 25, St. Valerie, near Bray.—"When Baretti said that your lordship's knowledge of Italian literature was much more extensive than his, he spoke truth. I fear then I am only going to expose my ignorance of the subject which I have ventured to treat historically, in submitting to your lordship's perusal my 'Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy.' But I trust that the motive with which it was undertaken will obtain some indulgence for the author. That your lordship's patience will bear you through the work, is not likely; but if it should, might I presume to hope, my lord, that you would take the trouble to point out a few of the many instances in which I have erred in taste and judgment, and some of the defects occasioned by the want of better information. If the public were in possession of your lordship's history of Italian literature, how many deficiencies would that inestimable work have enabled me to supply. How deeply does elegant literature suffer by its suppression."

362.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1799, February 2, Dublin.—"I now begin to perceive that our victory, though glorious, is not absolutely decisive, and that our arch enemy, enraged at a defeat to which he is wholly unaccustomed, may yet rally his discomfited mercenaries, and again attack us, and this he will most probably do, unless he shall find us armed with our only genuine defence, the declared sense of the people. Why then do you tell me that a call of the county was preparing in Down? For heaven's sake, let it proceed; it never was more necessary. The silence of the country is the only argument administration can bring forward against us, a silence principally occasioned by that torpor which their own measures, perhaps cunningly, have produced. I have been labouring in Armagh, and still hope for success, though thwarted by many obstacles. The freeholders, indeed, are willing, but many of the gentlemen are supine, and the sheriff is absent, I know not where.

"Are you not delighted with the impudence and impolicy of Pitt's speech? Both qualities ought surely to be in our favour."

363.—Rev. Edward Hudson to Charlemont.

1799, February 3, Randalstown.—"I have been detained here for some days by the snow, which fills the roads between this and Portglenone, though there is little in the fields. Last night an armed and numerous banditti plundered several houses of arms within a mile of Antrim, where there are horse and foot. They murdered one man, and wounded another in such a manner that his life is despaired of. I find too that many houses have been robbed of arms in the northern parts of this county. I find every day strong reasons to confirm me in the opinion which I communicated to your lordship. I can perceive a vast change in those I converse with as to an union. There seems now no apathy at least. The glorious conduct of the commons is producing the most excellent effects. The most violent (some of whom I know) begin to express a confidence in parliament, which they had been used to vilify and calumniate. I do not see in what manner the minister can push this measure after what has passed, but, if it is pushed, I tremble for the consequences. From what had been hinted to me of the means used to prevent a meeting of Armagh, I was surprized to see Mr. A——'s name amongst the patriots, and suspect I was misinformed. A requisition for a meeting of Down has I hear been signed, but I fear there will not be one in this county, there being no person fit and willing to take the lead."

364.—ROBERT BOYD to CHARLEMONT.

1799, February 20, Acton.[1]—"I attended the meeting at Armagh yesterday. It was respectable, numerous, and unanimous against a Legislative Union. The only objection I had was the putting sir Capel [Molyneux] in the chair. I privately told Mr. Richardson, Mr. Brownlow, and Mr. Moore my objection. They said that was he not put in the chair he would detain the meeting till midnight by his speeching. I acquiesced. The resolutions, which you and major Acheson will receive, were offered by Mr. Richardson and seconded by Mr. Brownlow, and were unanimously adopted. Sir Capel read a string of resolutions of his own; they were not seconded; they were very violent. I think that calm, determined sentiment is most proper for resolutions from aggregate meetings at this crisis. I was agreeably surprized to hear colonel Sparrow pronounce that he hoped that no gentleman would be so degenerate as to espouse or support the measure of a Legislative Union. It was thought there would be opposition and protest, but no such happened. Not one of the Prentices, nor their friends the Dobbins, appeared at the meeting. The vanity of that set is such, that, unless they are first, they would not be secondary even to a nation. I am sorry to find that lord Corry's[2] motion[3] was negatived by such a majority."

365.—LORD STRANGFORD[4] to CHARLEMONT.

1799, February 23, [Dublin,] Earl-street.—"My conduct was, I believe, on the first night of the session perfectly consonant to that of other noblemen, who, though wishing from respect to our sovereign to let the address go to the throne unaltered, nevertheless did not conceive themselves acting as supporters to the union of the two countries. I can aver on my sacred honor to you, my dear lord, and wish the world knew it, that let the measure of a Union be ever attempted, it ever was and ever shall be my fixed determination to oppose it. I feel myself intruding on your lordship's time, but, so often indulged in that respect, I thought it but honorable and a justice to my character to be thus explicit to you, my dear lord. I have not, alas, the abilities or powers of rhetoric to publickly speak my sentiments, but this I shall assert, that whenever the measure is proposed of a union, the vote I shall give in opposing it arises from perfect conviction on my own mind of the impolicy of the act, and not from any soreness arising from deprivation. God forbid I should ever act with any systematic determination to oppose his Majesty's government. Whenever I think his ministers are right I shall support them; whenever so grossly wrong as in the present instance, I shall to the last moment of my life oppose them."

366.—REV. EDWARD HUDSON to CHARLEMONT.

i.—1799, February 23.—"I wrote to you from Randalstown an account of what had happened near Antrim; soon after similar depredations began to be committed within some miles of this place. In one night seven houses were plundered of arms and one man frightfully stabbed and cut. Soon after two other houses were plundered and an old soldier worse than murdered; his left arm is almost severed from his body; he received also four other wounds. These are the beginnings of the system I mentioned to your lordship some time ago, and which, at that time, few or none believed to exist. I sent out a party of our cavalry a few nights ago, who, after plunging through the snow and bogs for nine hours, apprehended ten fellows suspected of being concerned in these atrocities; against four of them we have positive information, and they are committed to gaol. The disaffected are full of an invasion, which I hear they say will be within a month."

---

[1] In county of Armagh.
[2] Somerset, lord Corry, afterwards earl of Belmore.
[3] In opposition to the progress of measures for the Legislative Union
[4] Lionel Smythe.

366, ii.—1799, March 9, Portglenone.—"Our state every day becomes more alarming. The taking up of arms is going on. Last night early a party broke into the house of my curate, who is one of our yeomen; they got three guns, a sword, and pistol. I had made a public declaration that, if any of our yeomanry's arms were meddled with, I would not let the suspected rest in their beds for three months. This, I believe, made some impression upon them, for after leaving the house for some time, they came back and returned the cavalry sword and pistol. The name of United Irishman is never heard, it is merged in that of Defender. I gave pretty early notice of this system to as little purpose as I formerly did in Armagh. The fate of Cassandra seems to attend me. I thought I had given your lordship an account of the scheme of our sensible meeting in the lower baronies, but recollect it was to the Speaker I wrote. A paper for signatures was afterwards sent to a person who was directed to go with it through Mr. Staples' tenants. The confidential person happened to be in this house when he received the paper. As he seemed disinclined to the business, but at a loss how to act, I told him the story of a clergyman who, being ordered to read in church one of James the second's dispensing proclamations, told his congregation that the law obliged him to read it, but that there was no law to oblige them to listen to him, on which they all left the church. I hear the tenants have all refused to sign, though they are all justly attached to Mr. Staples; in fact, an union is universally reprobated here; even the disaffected seem to have changed their mind about it. I this moment hear of another house robbed of arms last night, and though a purse with 25 guineas fell into their hands in searching for pistols in a desk, they did not take a shilling of it. Their object is plain. They expect an invasion immediately, and (I am sorry to say it) their intelligence is generally but too good. I am every moment interrupted. I have got the shadow of a trace of the fellow who commanded the party at Johnston's, who is no less than a colonel. I shall in a few hours know more."

366, iii.—1799, March 22, Portglenone, Ballymena.—"Since my last we have had a wonderful alarm through all this country. Some person had given information on oath that a rising was to take place on the 17th, which was immediately communicated to all the commanding officers, and for three nights all was vigilance. It turned out, however, to be unfounded. That 'Defenderism' has made and is still making a considerable progress in this county I well know, but they will not attempt a rising of themselves unless they are mad indeed. In case of an invasion, I fear we should see terrible scenes, but I trust there is no great danger of this, as I fancy the French will soon have business enough on their hands. If the act in establishing martial law means no more than it avows I cannot help thinking it will do good, nay, the very apprehension of it has done some already; at the same time I cannot see any necessity for such an act if the chancellor be right in his assertion that the king possesses such a power by the constitution. The judges declared ship-money legal. On the subject of the union, I have some reason to suppose that those who had influence amongst the disaffected exerted themselves to encourage it, thinking [it], I suppose, a likely mean of producing mischief. They have not succeeded, however, or at least their success has been of short duration, for at present there is but one opinion on the subject amongst the mass of the people in every part of this country."

366, iv.—1799, March 30, Portglenone, Ballymena.—"The taking up of arms in this country had ceased for some days, and, from private information (which is not easily had at present), I had reason to believe the system was changed, and that all was to be done in one night when 'the boys' should appear on the coast. However, last night they recommenced. A person within three miles of this was plundered of some guns and a blunderbuss. This fellow had declared to me that he would defend himself, yet he gave up his arms without firing a shot. He is an old huncks who has amassed 30,000*l.* by all manner of ways. He told me this morning that his children hindered him from firing; they also hindered him from taking half a guinea which the leader of the banditti offered him to pay for some windows they had broken, and this I believe was the more difficult task of the two. Your lordship, I fancy, need not fear the vigorous enforcement of martial law in this part of the country. We (for you know I am a military man) have got a sort of tragi-comic orders in which the sensitive and corrosive are so curiously blended, that it is morally impossible either can have any effect. I would willingly hope that either system steadily pursued would produce the effect that honest men wish."

366, v.—1799, April 8, Portglenone, Ballymena.—"I sit down to explain the hasty note I sent you from Belfast. An officer of the rebels, who had fought at Randalstown in June, and afterwards, I find, at Killalla, had disappeared for some time; and, after returning to his house near Randalstown, went to a friend of mine and told him he was weary of flying from place to place and wished for a pardon. He was privately introduced to my son-in-law, Ellis, who commands at Randalstown. To him, in proof of his sincerity, he gave information against three of his associates who had lately committed a robbery with circumstances of atrocious cruelty. These Ellis soon took. I wished much for an interview with this gentleman, which he positively declined. At his next meeting with Ellis, the latter, by my desire, asked him to set a fellow whom I was anxious to have taken. He answered, 'Sir, do not trouble yourself about such trifles. A few days will produce something of more consequence.' On being urged, he said that there would be a general rising of the C[atholic]s throughout Ireland (he is one himself), assisted in the north by a large proportion of the Pr[esbyteria]ns; that Dublin would be attacked, the great officers of state murdered, and that though he liked the principle he was shocked at the idea of so much blood being intended to be shed; said that he believed the rising was intended for the 10th April, but that a messenger was gone to the directory whose return was expected within a few days, and he then would tell him the time more certainly. It is worth observing that at this meeting he seemed totally indifferent about a pardon, and would not listen to the offer of a reward, what I had desired to be hinted to him. A few nights after this meeting, every hill in this part of the country had a bonfire on it, and the same thing took place as far as we could see into the county Derry. This, I learned (from another quarter), signified 'good news' from Dublin, which made me conclude the messenger was returned, as I soon heard from Ellis he was. His friend told him the orders were only to hold themselves in readiness. He mentioned to him a number of circumstances, some of which I know to be true, others I believe to be false. Few people have more dread of being thought light or credulous than I, and perhaps I have sometimes been too much influenced by it, but under the above circumstances I felt it my indispensable duty to communicate what I had heard to those above me. The fellow is rather in a low situation, but is of uncommon cleverness; and was educated for a priest. His father is rather a rich countryman and of good character. He promises more information. My corps is at present in charge of this town, which a consciousness of my own inexperience and inability renders very painful to me, but I will do mon possible. I am sorry to say we are in want of some of the most necessary articles for attack or defence, nor are my remonstrances of any avail."

367.—J. C. WALKER to CHARLEMONT.

1799, April 9, St Valerie, Bray.—"The 'Fiorenza' of Lorenzino de' Medici (concerning which I took the liberty to trouble your lordship with an enquiry some time since) does not, I believe, exist. Both Mr. Roscoe[1] and Sir R. Clayton[2] seem to think so. Indeed, Tenhove's[3] authority is, on many occasions, very questionable. His vivacity often led him into error. Of Pazzi's tragedies I have found some account in Bembo's letters. Thus your lordship may see I pursue my inquiries after my favourite subject, though it is not probable that another edition of my 'Memoir' will be demanded. Till lately I did not know that there had been a ninth volume of the 'Spectator' published. For this information I am indebted to Mr. Todd, the ingenious editor of 'Comus.' 'In p. 273 of the Historical Memoir on Italian tragedy (says he), you observe that the fable of the 'Mysterious Mother' is minutely detailed by Bandello. The plot occurs almost verbatim in a scarce and forgotten book, the ninth volume of the 'Spectator,' duodecimo, 1715, no. 54.' The same gentleman agrees in my conjecture that it was to cardinal Francesco Barberini (nephew of Urban VIII.) Milton was introduced—'Historic Memoir on Italian Tragedy,' p. 144. Mr. Warton's error was an extraordinary one. Looking the other day over Harvey's letters to Spenser, I observed mention of nine comedies by the latter of which I had never heard before."

368.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1799, April 15, Belfast.—"That very able speech,[4] which most of those who heard it and most of those who read it must think too short, has revived my drooping heart, and must have had a similar, perhaps a greater, effect on your better one; and 'out of the heart are the issues of life.' My health is the better for it, as I hope and trust yours is, and that you are as able to encounter my paper-shot, as I am again willing to let it off.

"That speech must have sunk into the ears of the hearers with great weight, and must, through the eyes of most others, forcibly impress their heads and their hearts, both here and, I hope, on the other side of the channel, to be for ever memorable to Irish legislature. But it will irritate, even to rage, the soi-disant Messiah of Irish salvation, of whom it may with equal truth be said, what you once mentioned to me of lord Buckingham: 'quod vult, valde vult.' And what this new 'Orlando Furioso' may attempt in his madness, is not calculable by even those who have read Ariosto. Had Foster's philippic been made up of a 'delectus verborum' and rolled off with a flippancy of tongue, of misrepresentation, misconstruction and childish sophistry, it might have been endured. But who can bear to be convicted of a total want of all candour, of palpable, and, I must add, voluntary falsehood, of sophistical conclusions from false premises, by a plain statement of strong facts, and deductions from them truly logical? I am afraid our great Briareus, with innumerable hands, will find it not in his nature, or think it beneath him, to avail himself of Horace's suggestion,[1] 'levius fit patientia, quicquid corrigere est nefas,' and conclude that where prior argumentation fails, the 'ratio ultima' should take place.

---

[1] William Roscoe, author of "Life of Lorenzo de' Medici." Liverpool: 1795.

[2], [3] "Memoirs of the house of Medici . . from the French of M. Tenhove," by sir Richard Clayton. Bath: 1797.

[4] By John Foster, speaker in the house of commons, against the Union, on 11 April 1799.

"You badgered me a good deal about these two counties; but I could do nothing, and in fact, they could do nothing. You may see a good reason for this hinted in the Speaker's speech; and I, who witnessed the difficulties, I may say the dangers, which the last attempts at their meeting had to encounter, could not be surprised at their apparent torpor. Besides, to say the truth, the firm stand against this annihilating union, so honourably made by the house of commons, though it diffused general joy, was not singly sufficient to do away old suspicions and restore confidence, which, as lord Chatham said, 'is a plant of slow growth in aged breasts.' We waited to see how the house would follow up that spirited exertion, and were not much edified. Your sentiments with respect to the rebellion bill, at least, are generally known. What is to be the fate of sheriff Fitzgerald's[2] indemnification and amnesty measure I know not; but it seems admirably calculated to introduce the two inquisitions of Madrid and of Venice into this persecuted land. People who are suspected of either religious or political heresy would be left at the no-mercy of familiars and the grand-inquisitor."

369.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1799, April 19, Dublin.—"My bodily, and consequently my mental powers, have been so weakened as well nigh to preclude every possibility of exertion, but you will better conceive the extent of my depression by its effects than by any account I can give of it. What must it have been when I was not able to attend the house, and partake of that oration which, if Ireland can be saved, will save it. What you have seen is excellent, but you will see a great deal more, for tomorrow, I trust, a full and correct copy will be printed, and though the speech lasted four hours, a single minute of it cannot be spared. Besides the excellence of the performance, nothing was ever better timed. Our great and laudable activity had given place to inaction, and men were allowed to sleep upon the question—a dangerous situation, since when gentlemen are allowed to sleep they are too apt to have golden dreams. But all now are awake and roused to exertion, so that I hope that, should the wicked attempt again be made, it will be completely defeated. Respecting parliament, you must not be unreasonable. Give them due praise for their merits; whatever demerits they may have, certain at least that they would not be improved by being sent to England. One that appeared to me of this latter class I was happy in an opportunity of protesting against, and am still more happy to find my sentiments approved by you. Foster's speech will not be out until Monday."

---

[1] Horace, odes: i., 24.

[2] Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald, high sheriff of Tipperary.

370.—REV. EDWARD HUDSON to CHARLEMONT.

1799, May 1, Portglenone, Ballymena.—"Accept my hearty thanks for the Speaker's speech, which in quantity of matter and clearness of reasoning exceeds everything I have ever seen. If the question were to be determined by argument, the friends of the country would have nothing to fear; but the minister has one mode of reasoning in his power that seldom fails. The marquis of Hertford[1] has, I hear, been feeling the pulse of his tenantry on the subject, but I believe he is not much pleased with the result. This country is in a horrible state. The banditti continue their nightly barbarities, and have struck such terror into the well-disposed that they hardly dare to complain, and when a man has been flogged, his friends dare not visit him; nay, a surgeon in Aghoghill[2] had his arm broke for visiting a man whom they had almost killed. For five nights past we have not heard of any outrage; perhaps they may quit of themselves, and that, in my opinion, is the only chance we have. My little district has escaped as yet. After three months' solicitation, I got a score of our dragoons put on permanent duty. They patrol every night to the distance of about three miles, and within that the cat-o'-nine-tails has not yet appeared. The Directory has fixed so many days for risings, that I hope the patience of their friends must be nearly exhausted. The fact, I believe, is that it is done to keep up their spirits till they see what the chapter of accidents may produce."

371.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1799, May 10, Dublin.—"No anti-unionist, to my knowledge, has vacated his seat. One or two have talked of it, but will not, I trust, without leaving their places properly filled.

"An officer, whose duty may probably prevent his attendance on the day of trial, has asked for the escheatorship, and has, as yet, been shamefully refused.

"Our worthy rulers are, however moving, not heaven and earth, but hell, to accomplish their designs, yet I trust even that will not prevail against us.

"No news as yet from the fleets, which is strange. Many believe that the French are gone to the southward. Would to heaven Bridport[3] could meet them, as, in that case, an end would speedily be put to all their naval hopes. Have you seen the wonderful letters of the duke of Portland, etc. Never surely was so curious a publication, which may be well named, the statesman's cabinet unlocked. My name is therein mentioned, not, certainly, to my discredit. These letters, which made part of Pitt's speech, were published in the 'Sun' and 'Courier,' and afterwards in the Dublin papers."

372.—CHARLEMONT to D. HARTLEY.

1799, May 14, Dublin.—"This wretched country, the situation of which is, I am convinced, one principal cause of my ailments, appears now to be at the crisis of its fate. Invasion from without seems to hang over it, and intestine commotion, aggravated and inflamed by misrule and a long course of misgovernance, preys upon its vitals. Nor yet content with horrors, ever attendant upon internal and external hostility, our ill fortune has roused against us even those whom we have ever esteemed our best and surest friends! Next to the liberty of my country, its perpetual connexion with its beloved sister has ever been the dearest wish of my heart, the gratification of which could only have been endangered by the plan now in agitation, this disuniting union, a measure which I reprobate as an Irishman, and, if possible, still more as a member of the empire, and an adorer of the British constitution. But still I trust that these black clouds will be dissipated, and that our firmness may yet have the honour of saving the three kingdoms; with which comfortable hope I will conclude, not indeed being able to write more."

---

[1] Francis Seymour, sometime M.P. for Lisburn and for Antrim.

[2] In county of Antrim.

[3] *See* page 292.

373.—Rev. Edward Hudson to Charlemont.

i.—1799, May 18, Portglenone, Ballymena.—"In my last I believe I told your lordship that the flogging had intermitted. It has been practised since; but a system of robbery succeeded, which, to my great satisfaction, seemed to cause considerable terror in those persons who might be called neutral, that is, who wished to keep themselves safe till they could judge which was the best side to take. But when money began to be attacked, they could hardly hope to escape long, being, generally speaking, the most substantial persons in the country. At this crisis the celebrated Dickson was taken by my son-in-law (Ellis), who has got excellent means of information. The rebels were in the utmost consternation at his arrest, both as being the most active and enterprising man of the party, and as having it in his power to hang one half of them; the better people began to hold up their heads, and I thought this a favorable moment for calling a meeting of this large parish. It was attended by numbers exceeding my most sanguine expectations, and I had the pleasure to see amongst them almost all in whom I have confidence; whilst few of those I suspect, and very few whom I know to be bad, made their appearance. After speaking to them at considerable length, shewing them the vast importance of mutual confidence between the government and the people; the favourable opportunity of evincing their sincerity when an invasion was threatened; the madness and wickedness of encouraging a foreign enemy to desolate the country; and the shame of submitting to the tyranny of a rascally banditti; I proposed the enclosed paper, which I may say was passed by acclamation and was signed, I believe, by upwards of five hundred men. From the time that the account was received of the sailing of the French fleet, an unusual stillness has prevailed in this part of the country. Our patrols hardly ever meet a man on the roads at night. Whether this be a good sign or not, I am not certain; but of this I am sure, that there is an evident change for the better amongst the more substantial part of the Presbyterians. . . . I forgot to mention that in the mentioning of the flogged there was not one Catholic."

[Enclosure.]

"'Declaration.—At a meeting of the inhabitants of the parish of Ahoghil, held in the meeting-house of Portglenone on the 15th inst. (the church being too small), the following declaration was unanimously agreed to, the Rev. Alexander Speers being in the chair:—

'At this awful moment, when our country is threatened with danger impending from within and from without; when gangs of armed miscreants traverse the country almost every night, committing depredations on the properties and exercising wanton and unparalleled cruelties on the persons of the loyal and peaceable; we, the undersigned, feel it our indispensible duty to make this public and solemn declaration of our sentiments and our determination.

'Firmly attached to his Majesty's person, family, and government, we are ready to spend the last shilling of our fortunes, and to shed the last drop of our blood in his defence and that of our country, against all enemies, foreign and domestic.

'Should the long threatened invasion take place, we hereby offer our services to government to be employed as they shall think fit for repelling it; and should arms be put into our hands, we shall endeavour not to fall short of the old character of our ancestors for courage and fidelity.

'Should any amongst ourselves be base enough to assist the invader, no consideration of friendship or kindred shall restrain us from looking on them as enemies and treating them as such.

'And we do hereby solemnly pledge ourselves that we will by every means in our power assist in protecting and defending each other against the attacks of those villains who at present infest the country, and that we will use our best endeavours for discovering such wretches, and bringing them to that punishment which they so justly deserve.

'We call God to witness the sincerity of these declarations, and should any man who signs them hereafter deviate from the true purport of them, we shall hold him base and infamous and unworthy the benefits of social intercourse.—Alexander Speers.

'The Rev. Alexander Speers having left the chair, and the Rev. James Cumming being called to the same, on the motion of Mr. Hudson it was unanimously resolved that the thanks of this meeting be given to the Rev. Alexander Speers for his proper conduct on this and every other occasion.—James Cumming.'"

373, ii.—1799, May 27, ———.—"Your approbation of my endeavours gives life to them; a supplement to my last is necessary, however, to complete it. On examining the lists of names, I perceived there were but few from a particular part of the parish. It was observable, too, that the Presbyterian minister of that part did not attend the meeting, though our two others (we have three) did; I therefore sent a copy of our resolutions to him by a friend, who heard him read them from the pulpit twice. Yet they were signed but by himself and a very few of his congregation. This man I never thought well of, nor of his immediate district, and I confess I am rather pleased they did not concur, as it seems to mark the sincerity of the rest. I have the pleasure of hoping we shall be imitated. My friend Mr. Jones expects his parish will come forward, and on this day I find the noted parish of Drummaul[1] holds a meeting. This was one of the most rebellious districts in the north. The more wealthy and respectable part of it did not relish the defending system, and have been for some time returning to their senses; but I have my doubts as to great numbers of them yet, and I know them well, having been some years curate of that parish. The change I mentioned to your lordship becomes every day greater, and gives me vast pleasure. I cannot say so much for those of the other persuasion, though it is not long since I would have trusted these latter in preference to the others. The reason, or at least the pretext, of their perversion I gave your lordship some time ago. The late union of these two descriptions will, I think, be more short-lived than even the former. One circumstance, seemingly of little consequence, has raised a jealousy that will not easily be cured. The celebrated Dixon, who was hanged the other day, was a Protestant; his friends begin to suspect (and here they are pretty right) that he was betrayed by a C[atholi]c. The effect of this is hardly credible.

---

[1] In county of Antrim.

374.—J. C. WALKER to CHARLEMONT.

1799, June 6, St. Valerie, Bray.—Please to accept my best thanks for your lordship's highly acceptable information concerning the comedies published under the name of Tansillo. My 'Sofista' is one of these. It is dated Vicenza, 1610. This and the 'Cortegiana' are the only comedies of Aretino that I have. There is, I am told, in the biographical work [1] of count Mazzuchelli, a good life of Aretino. This work I have not had an opportunity of consulting. Nor can I find in any of my collections of 'Rime,' Aretino's famous sonnet on marshal Strozzi, beginning: 'Mentre il gran Strozzi—arma virumque cano,' etc. Any information I may obtain in regard to your lordship's old comedy, I shall do myself the pleasure to communicate."

375.—REV. EDWARD HUDSON to CHARLEMONT.

i.—1799, June 10, Randalstown.—"With deep concern I receive the account of your lordship's state of health. Still I trust the change of weather will have a salutary effect. If the wishes and the prayers of all honest Irishmen are of any avail, you will soon be well. Much as I feel gratified and honoured by hearing from you, I must beseech you never to write me a line (which I know your goodness sometimes induces you to do) when writing is in any degree irksome to you. I shall from time to time trouble you with anything material that occurs here, and will hope that you will sometimes desire some one of your domestics to give me an account of your health. If he can just say 'my lord is better,' it will be more precious to me than any news Dublin can afford.

"The change I mentioned to your lordship becomes every day more visible, and even those of the Pr[esbyteria]ns who had become D[efende]rs have conceived such a distrust of their friends, that I am clear little need be apprehended from them. Informations are very frequent, and chiefly from one description of people. The effect of one instance of this kind (which I mentioned in my last) is in truth astonishing. The person has become so much suspected that I believe he left the country last night, which is a very material loss to me for certain reasons."

375, ii.—1799, July 5, Portglenone, Ballymena.—"Returning home after an absence of some days, I had the happiness to find a letter written by your own hand, which gives me reason to hope you are better, and this delightful weather will, I trust, help to restore you. Things here wear a very different aspect from what they have done for some years past. and indeed, if ever people had reason to be thankful, they of this country have. It is literally a land flowing with gold and silver, which whoever has need not fear the want of milk and honey. Our northerns are not like Dublin tradesmen, who, when trade is good, work one day and drink two. On the contrary, they are working double tides to improve the favourable opportunity. Great pleasure, however, as the prosperous state of the country gives me, I feel much greater from the astonishing change which I observe in the public mind; not but we have rebels enough still, nay, perhaps some who speak fair have the old leaven in them yet, but the mass is, I am confident, amended to a degree that I would have hardly dared to hope in so short a time. The word 'Protestant,' which was becoming obsolete in the north, has regained its influence, and all of that description seem drawing closer together. I only wish their affections may not be so entire to each other as to exclude all others from a share of them. The Orange system has principally contributed to this. I was no friend to the introduction of it into this country, and it has in fact produced the evil I apprehended from it, but, I must confess, it has also produced good which I did not foresee, and which in the then state of the country I did not think could have been produced. Your lordship's last letter but one encouraged me to hope that a certain measure would be given up; but your last shews me you are still afraid of it. Why, in the name of God, will they not let us alone at such a time as this? Why interrupt that tide of prosperity which is flowing in upon us? What a stupid question! That very prosperity induces the attempt."

---

[1] "Gli Scrittori d' Italia." Brescia: 1753–63. 6 vols. folio.

376.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1799, July 6, Belfast.—"In a letter now of an old date, I begged lady Londonderry to communicate any intelligence which might reach her respecting your lordship's infirm health; telling her I durst not write to you, being afraid that you would both read and answer my letter, though I apprehended to do either was a task too sore for you in your then situation. I saw her since, and she commanded me to write, knowing I can scarcely resist any command of hers; yet I should now, but that I have heard nothing from her, or anyone else, on the interesting subject, except that she has sent the arch-duke to wait on you; so I write, in my most legible manner, in hopes of learning, by some short bulletin from some of your family, that your appetite and digestion are amended. . . You have seen by this time that estimable bird of passage, lord Wycombe;[1] and he would do your lordship more good than the arch-duke, or even the gentle Suwarrow, though he would probably terminate your sufferings sooner, by a coup de main, than your three good doctors could do, by their slow 'secundum artem' proceedings. You were always the better for such visitors as his lordship; his conversation, like his letters, is entertaining and instructive; and were you to quarrel with him (as in some points there are shades of difference in your opinions), I should go to Dublin to reconcile you. When the cardinal de Richelieu cut Boisrobert, who had been his delight, he lost his spirits and became moping and vapourish; the king's physician was called, who, finding how the case stood, wrote on a slip of paper 'Rec: Boisrobert'; the cardinal took his prescription and was cured. A lively, entertaining companion might not prove so specific in your (I hope late) complaints, but good spirits are excellent stomachics and analeptics; at least I find them so."

1.—D. HARTLEY to FRANCIS CAULFEILD, second EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

1799, August 19, Bath.—"Though I have not the honor of being personally known to your lordship, yet, being most sincerely a partaker in grief for the death of your most worthy and honorable parent, I beg of your lordship to receive, and to present at a proper season to lady Charlemont and to the rest of your lordship's family, my most sincere and deep condolence.

"Your most worthy father's family and friends will be individually and personally the most afflicted; but there cannot be in the kingdom of Ireland any one man truly devoted to, and loving his country, whose heart will not be smitten with deep and unfeigned grief.

---

[1] John Henry Petty, marquis of Lansdowne, 1805–9.

"These testimonies are already declared in your country. They denote in the hearts of every individual, and of the nation nationally, an eternal memorial of his private and public virtues. It was his heartfelt anxiety for his beloved country which aggravated his infirmities in the greatest degree. I received this painful sentiment from himself but a few weeks before his death. It was a mournful token to me that those anxieties would soon overwhelm him, as a martyr to the griefs of his country.

"The misery of this end is not confined to his immediate connections. The continuance of his life and health and counsels might have proved the redemption of Ireland. Ireland is a kingdom, not a province, a distinct island-kingdom of the great world. By God's eternal creation it stands on self-existent soil. 'Sursum corda.' A proud day for Ireland may yet arrive. These were the hopes and sentiments of your most worthy parent. He has not lived to see that day, which, from his expressions to me, he did not finally despair of.

"I am sensible that my own personal and first duties, as a British subject, are owing to the community and soil of which I am a native. But every British subject has an interest in the dignity and prosperity and independence of Ireland. No Briton can look upon the late miserable and convulsed state of that kingdom with unfeeling indifference. The great stake in Ireland, called Union, is challenged to compulsive decision. Upon the cast of that die the fate of the three kingdoms is set. Incorporating union is a monster of insult and impossibility. It leaves no alternative to Ireland, but republican independence under the auspices of France, or savage devastation throughout the whole country, and the universal dissolution of all the bonds of society and peaceful existence. Such convulsions in Ireland would shake the whole empire to its foundations. These were likewise the sentiments of your most worthy parent. Such sentiments will therefore ever remain the persevering objects of vigilant attention to his friends. He was the prudent, virtuous, benevolent, and magnanimous friend to his country. May the redemption of Ireland from all its miseries, dangers, and disquietudes become the blessed tribute of gratitude to his memory and virtues."

2.—HALIDAY to second EARL CHARLEMONT.

1799, November 24, Belfast.—"I am anxious to learn your opinion of the fate of this Union plot (I can call it by no better name), which almost wholly engrossed the correspondence I had been long honoured, delighted, and instructed by, with your venerable father, as it drew near its lamented close.

"With him I have ever considered it as the most deadly blow ever aimed (and many have been aimed) at the vitals of this injured, this persecuted country by a sister kingdom, which has rarely merited to be considered by us but in a hostile light, and by a minister whose rancour and malice seem implacable.

"With the commercial part of the question I meddle but little. The benefits to result from the momentous measure in this respect are problematical, and the chance to be purchased by a surrender, not of some of our rights, but the whole of our constitution. The evil, and it is of the utmost magnitude, would be certain, the advantage precarious; or were this equally certain, it would be no sort of compensation for a much inferior sacrifice than we are called upon to make. Of commerce and manufactures we have, or, under the present system, will have, enough. Britain has a great deal too much, as Holland once had, so much as to swallow in its vortex all public spirit and almost all private virtue; substituting in place of the first, insatiable corruption, avarice, and ambition; in the room of the latter, unbounded luxury and profligacy among the higher and opulent orders, and vices of a still more atrocious cast among the miserable victims of bad example, of penury and distress.

"Even here, with such restricted commerce as we possess, these mischiefs are too much felt; and those of the last-mentioned class likely to be much more so before the people have struggled through the trying season, whose approaches are so gloomy and alarming. Well, and in character, did the apostate Windham exclaim: 'Perish commerce, but live the constitution!'

"I have scarcely, however, adverted to the subject but in a constistitutional point of view; and even with regard to the first question which meets one at the very threshold, viz., the right and competency of parliament to annihilate itself and disfranchise the people (for say what they will it amounts to annihilation and disfranchisement), notwithstanding all I have read, which was a good deal, though far short of all that was written, for I grew tired of the 'crambe repetita,' I hold 'Junius's' doctrine to be irrefragable: 'The power of the king, lord, and commons is not an absolute power. They are the trustees, not the owners, of the estate, the fee-simple is in us. They cannot alienate; they cannot waste.' This position at the time it was so well and strongly stated, was never attempted to be controverted.

"As for the arguments derived from the corruption and subserviency of our parliament, they apply equally to that of Britain, nay, more forcibly. There is not an instance of the latter's rejecting any measure of the present minister which he had seriously at heart. Not so here; our parliament has successfully withstood many of his favourite measures; it is sufficient to mention the last memorable instance, this his darling favourite, the union.

"It is true we have had too much reason to condemn our legislature for many of their doings; but we have also had reason to commend, and be grateful to them, on many important occasions; at any rate, is it not wiser 'to bear those ills we have, than fly to others which we know not of'? especially when the probability is that these will be of greater magnitude and irremediable?

"It is impolitic in the pro-writers to bid us turn our eyes to Scotland; what they got in point of trade, we already possess; and we have a much better constitution to give up than they had; now, that we have got rid of our lords of articles, the privy-council.

"They bid us look to the vast advances in prosperity Scotland has made since the union; but post hoc ergo propter hoc is a false deduction; and what progress has not Ireland made since that period, without one?

"They do not indeed bid us look at the political consequence of that union; for we should see the whole Scotch representative a dead weight thrown into the regal or ministerial scale, not one member, either peer or commoner, having been returned to the present parliament from that country but on the minister's list, except sir J. Sinclaire, who had it in his power to secure his own election. And such would be, though possibly not at the outset, the case of our Irish deputies to the British parliament. 'Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.'

"Separated as these islands are by a considerable and no very safe sea, a legislative union seems unnatural; indeed, for any good purpose, impracticable. How are our disputed elections to be tried on the other side? Can clouds of witnesses be easily, cheaply, or safely wafted over? or would their long absence from their families be no grievous inconvenience? How are the constituents to instruct, or intercede with, their representatives on any sudden emergency? And with respect to the god of the present day, gain, how are we sure that the great and inevitable addition to the present enormous absentee-list will not overbalance any accession that we may eventually derive to our trade and manufactures?

"Our late troubles by no means furnish a very plausible pretext for this measure, so pertinaciously insisted on, and so unfairly canvassed for. Without inquiring into the primary source of them, without accusing the minister of tergiversation, in that confessedly great desideratum, a reform of parliament, or the delegates of his omnipotence here of having fomented a spirit of division, of animosity, of mutual persecution among the people, or even of the negative crime of supineness, when such a spirit should have been crushed, as it easily might have been, on its first manifesting itself.

"It may be asked, is a legislative union likely to terminate, or prevent in future, such deplorable confusion, as timid people flatter themselves that it will; yet some as wise, and in more possession of themselves, think, on the contrary, it is more likely to increase the present ill temper, or generate a worse if possible.

"But I have run on to a much greater length than I had intended; yet I must express my astonishment that after the continued outcry against innovation, which frightened away petitions for reform, etc., etc., etc., the leader of the chorus should, with unabashed front, set about so awful, so tremendous an innovation; and such it is not for Ireland alone, but the whole empire. And will he persist in enforcing it, after having so recently evinced his ignorance and incapacity by that absurd and woful attempt on Holland? Yes, for this is the age of wonders."

UNDATED LETTERS AND PAPERS.

1.—JOSEPH BARETTI[1] to CHARLEMONT.

"I give your lordship the warmest thanks for your generous present, which, as you may well imagine, could never be better timed. My friends here were not wanting in pecuniary assistance on the late unfortunate accident; yet I had remained for a while quite penniless without my oldest British friend on the other side [of] St. George's channel. Thank you, thank you a thousand times. I am recovering from the shock this ugly transaction gave me, and hope I shall be able soon to recollect my scattered thoughts, and mind my book as usual. I am sure that by this time your kind anxiety is quite over. When shall I see your lordship again?" . .

2.—TOPHAM BEAUCLERK to CHARLEMONT.

i.— November 20, Adelphi, [London.]—"I delayed writing to you, as I had flattered myself that I should have been able to have paid you a visit at Dublin before this time, but I have been prevented, not by my own negligence and indolence . . .

"Goldsmith[2] the other day put in a paragraph into the newspapers in praise of lord mayor Townshend.[3] The same night we happened to sit next to lord Shelburne at Drury lane; I mentioned the circumstance of that paragraph to him. He said to Goldsmith that he hoped that he had mentioned nothing about Malagrida in it. 'Do you know,' answered Goldsmith, 'that I never could conceive the reason why they call you Malagrida, for Malagrida was a very good sort of man.' You see plainly what he meant to say, but that happy turn of expression is peculiar to himself. Mr. Walpole says that this story is a picture of Goldsmith's whole life.

"Johnson has been confined for some weeks in the isle of Sky. We hear that he was obliged to swim over to the main-land, taking hold of a cow's tail. Be that as it may, lady Diana[4] has promised to make a drawing of it. Our poor club[5] is in a miserable decay; unless you come and relieve it, it will certainly expire.

"Would you imagine that Sir J. Reynolds is extremely anxious to be a member of Almack's? You see what noble ambition will make men attempt: that den is not yet opened, consequently I have not been there, so for the present I am clear upon that score.

"I suppose your confounded Irish politics take up your whole attention at present. If they could but have obtained the absentee tax, the Irish parliament would have been perfect. They would have voted themselves out of parliament, and lessened their estates one half of the value. This is patriotism with a vengeance. I have heard nothing of your peacocks' eggs. The duke of Northumberland tells me if they are put into tallow or butter that they will never hatch; I mention this to you, as worthy of your notice.

---

[1] *See* Vol. I., p. 430.

[2] Oliver Goldsmith.

[3] James Townshend, lord mayor of London, 1773.

[4] Wife of Topham Beauclerk, and daughter of Charles, duke of Marlborough.

[5] The "Literary Club," London, founded in 1764, of which Beauclerk was an original member. Lord Charlemont became a member of the club in 1773.

"Mr. [Horace] Walpole promised me to send you a drawing of his frames, but he has been so much engaged with lord Orford's affairs that he has probably forgot it; I will put him in mind of it the next time that I see him.

"There is nothing new at present in the literary world. Mr. [William] Jones of our club is going to publish an account in Latin of the eastern poetry,[1] with extracts translated verbatim and in verse; I will order Elmsly to send it to you when it comes out; I fancy it will be a very pretty book.

"Goldsmith has written a prologue for Mrs. Yates,[2] which she spoke this evening before the opera; it is very good; you will see it soon in all the newspapers, otherwise I would send it to you.

"I hope to hear in your next letter that you have fixed your time for returning to England; we cannot do without you. If you do not come here, I will bring all the club over to Ireland to live with you, and that will drive you here in your own defence. Johnson shall spoil your books, Goldsmith pull your flowers, and Boswell talk to you; stay then if you can.

2, ii.—"I cannot tell you how much I am obliged to you for your very friendly letter. I did not suspect that you were one of the many that think the misfortunes of your friends is a sufficient reason for renouncing them. But ill health produces bad spirits, and anything that revives them does great good to the body; nothing can do that more to me than hearing from you that you still honour me with the same friendship which you shewed me formerly.

"I am much obliged to you for your present. I hear the ship is arrived, but they are not yet come home. I send you no politics. The newspaper is at present as good authority as any. It tells the events of the day, and as for any schemes in future, I believe the ministry have none. Lord Carlisle was named first commissioner, as a proof, I suppose, of the wisdom of the ministry, but I hear to-day that he will not go. All to whom they have offered it have refused, so much for that project. I am very sorry to hear that your health is so indifferent; you work too hard at your politics and vex yourself about them. Let the ministry alone and they will ruin themselves completely; they have ruined the country already, so that is out of the question.

"Our club flourishes very much; you flattered us last year with a chance of seeing you. Independent of the pleasure I should receive, I wish you would come; the journey would do you good. I am so much better this year (by having left off all medicine except laudanam, of which I take 400 drops every day) that I shall be able sometimes to enjoy your company, which was not the case for these two years last past. Charles Fox misrepresents me; I am very regular."

3.—CHARLOTTE BROOKE to CHARLEMONT.

i.—[Dublin, No. 20, North Great George's-street.—"I have two apologies to offer for this intrusion on your leisure; first, that I am the child of a man who once was honored with your friendship,—and next, that that man[3] (though no more), yet still living in his works, lays claim—as the spirit of departed genius—to the remembrance of those to whom genius was ever most dear. The author of 'Gustavus Vasa'[4] and the 'Temple of Hymen'[1] is now rejoicing in those happy regions where patriotism and friendship meet their reward, and glow with their purest fire; but his memory, his works, and his child still remain—it is only as his child that I presume to request your lordship's attention while I lay my situation before you.

---

[1] "Poëseos Asiaticæ commentariorum libri sex." London: 1774.

[2] Anna Maria Yates, who made her first appearance at a Dublin theatre about 1752.

[3] Henry Brooke, who died in 1783, was author of the "Fool of Quality," etc.

[4] Tragedy, published in 1739.

"To a single individual, and a female, a moderate fortune affords a genteel independence, and that I possessed at my father's decease; but the unhappy failure of Captain Brooke[2] sunk the greater part of it, and the small remainder I have just now lost by the bankruptcy of a trader in whose hands it was placed at interest; so that I really know not to what way of life I best may turn for support.

"Born in the latter years of my honored father's life, and sent into the world, as I suppose, for little other purpose than to smooth the pillow for his reverend head, my constitution was hurt almost in childhood by the anguish of unavailing sympathy, of seeing, without the power of considerably alleviating, the pains and the misfortunes of his declining age. Thus is my frame of body unfitted for exertion—and my mind also, from the education I received, lies but too open to the wounds of adverse fortune, my weaker sex more readily imbibing the feelings than the philosophy of my father.

"Thus have I stated my little claim to your lordship's influence in my favour with the respectable society of which you are the head. I am informed that in consequence of the dissolution of the navigation board, by a bill lately passed in our house of commons, the house in which they met, and in which your academy now meet, will, it is generally presumed, be given to the Academy for their sole use, and that, on the resignation of Mr. Baggs, to whose care the house was committed by the navigation board, a successor must be appointed. I know not whether I might be deemed an acceptable successor or not, but I beg leave to submit it to your lordship's consideration."

ii.—[Dublin,] May 29, Dorset Street.—"I have already done myself the honor of assuring your lordship that either your advice or opinion should decide me: though you have not favoured me with the first, yet since you have given the last, it is enough to engage my acquiesence; had I been earlier apprized of your lordship's sentiments, I should then, as now, have conformed to them.

"Such is my present situation that the favour I requested (though trifling in itself) was to me an object of importance; but if it was a matter of ten times the value, and this moment offered to my acceptance, I would decline it rather than oppose your lordship's inclination, or disturb the peace of your society.

"To your lordship therefore I resign my claim, and heartily wish that any future candidate for the favour of your Academy may respect its repose, and desire its welfare, as sincerely."

4.—WILLIAM BROWNLOW to CHARLEMONT.

Armagh.—"Moore made his entry this morning with a grand cavalcade and band of music; all his freeholders and followers attended, and really it was a formidable appearance. He is the man of the people, and protector of his country. We dropped in without any escort. We won the best side of the court and first tally. It was impossible, from the crowd of the court, to do business regularly, and we polled but ten each. He called upon a captain McCullagh to be his joint candidate, an American loyalist of very indifferent character, and the poor man had not one vote; Moore's seconds were all sunk. Sir Capel proposed him, and squeezed out with much pain a sort of speech that was intended to be severe, but proved an abortion. He has for his council Molyneux, Hawkshaw, and Dobbs. We are much afraid of Acton. Stewart is a very bad manager, but his agent is very clever and much our friend. Tomorrow Livingston exhibits. I am certain he is anxious to obey your lordship's commands, and will lead his men to the field with éclat. We have enlisted councillor Pollock of Newry, who came to vote for us, as our lawyer; it was too fatiguing for us and our friends to encounter three lawyers. Pollock is very sensible, but I would rather have had Dobbs. The time of writing this is so much stolen from my sleep, and I am really tired, so wish your lordship good night."

---

[1] A "fable" in verse, in praise of Lord Charlemont.

[2] Henry Brooke's brother, Robert Brooke, a distinguished officer in the service of the East India Company. After his return to Ireland, in 1775, he endeavoured to establish a cotton factory in the county of Kildare, on the failure of which he obtained the appointment of governor of St. Helena.

5.—EDMUND BURKE to CHARLEMONT.

"I do interest myself very sincerely in every business which your lordship does me the honour to recommend to my care. Captain O'Brien's near relation to your lordship, the respectable family he belongs to, and his good character, are more than enough to make me much in earnest for his success in all his pursuits. I have besides the pleasure of some acquaintance with him, and from thence I have conceived an high opinion of his merit. I have not been once in town since your lordship was here, but the moment I can give myself a day in London, I will make the enquiry you wish, and will immediately acquaint you with the result of it.

"It will not, I fear, be directly in my power to serve captain O'Brien in a manner equal to my wishes. I have lately received a favour from sir Geo. Colebrooke,[1] who has within a few weeks made a relation of mine second supercargo in a Mocha and Bengal ship, so that I cannot with decorum or effect trouble him for some time to come. I am persuaded that a letter from your lordship to lord Rockingham in favour of captain O'Brien, stating his pretensions and wishes, would be of use. Sir Geo. Colebrooke will defer a good deal to lord Rockingham's recommendation. I do not think that anything less than a company of Europeans, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, can be an object to our friend. This might, especially in case of a war in the East Indies, be a matter worth his seeking. Anything else would fall very far short of his ideas.

"I will certainly attend to Mr. Pitt's bill. I have heard nothing directly from lord Rockingham since I saw you; but on the whole, notwithstanding many drawbacks, I find that he grows better. I think he is well enough for your lordship to write to him on this business; and perhaps I may be better able to forward it in this manner than if I had been the original proposer."

6.—REV. ROBERT BURROWES[2] to CHARLEMONT.

December 21.—"I beg leave to send the account of the [Royal Irish] Academy (such as I could with a great deal of trouble make it out) to your lordship. It will be pleasant to our new treasurer[3] to hear that there is reason to suppose one year's rent, viz., the year 1794, has never been received from the treasury. I have followed Mr. Wade in charging but 4 per cent. on 1,000*l.* interest. Though eleven hundred pounds was ordered to be laid out in paying debentures, one of those debentures was ordered to be sold to defray the expense of rebuilding the house. The sum therefore on which interest is to be charged is but 1,000*l.* in this account and, though I think I shall be able to satisfy Mr. Weldon and lord Conyngham, the executors, as to the equitable claim of the Academy for 5 per cent., I do not think, following Mr. Wade, that I ought to charge it. One year is by law allowed to the executors before the balance can be claimed, and I should recommend the adjusting what the additional sum for interest amounts to, after which I shall apply to the executors amicably, as I apprehend by such step the additional interest may be got even for that part of the amount which has been heretofore audited, whereas any other mode could only affect the subsequent account from the last settlement, and it might admit some doubt whether such former accounts audited do not bar any claim for more than 4 per cent. for the subsequent time. The handsome manner in which Mr. Weldon seemed disposed to support the liberality with which the late treasurer[1] would (had he lived) have settled all Academy business, induces me to request your lordship will not, if possible, permit any offensive step being taken or any harsh resolution appearing on their books. As I am obliged to leave town tomorrow, your lordship will excuse this very long letter. I hope to return in less than three weeks. It is too much to expect during these short days a letter at Omagh from the president, but perhaps you may order some secretary to write. I hope to bring up my essay on Goldsmith[2] finished against the next meeting of the polite literature committee."

---

[1] Chairman of the East India Company.

[2] Secretary of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, 1794–96.

[3] Colonel James Blaquiere.

7.—Lord Carnarvon to Lord Ailesbury.

"It would give me great pleasure to be able to give your lordship any useful information respecting the places of public education in Germany. I sent my son in the first instance to Leipsick, because it was at that time less frequented by English than any other foreign university and had some professors of eminence, but he found both the professors and students so very recluse and so little inclined to mix with strangers that he saw very little of either, and all the advantage he derived from that university was the assistance of a very learned man whom he took as a private assistant to his studies whilst he stayed at that place. My son says that Göttingen is certainly in point of character the best university in Germany, both from the attention paid to the education of the young men and from the abilities of the professors. At Brunswick there is no university, but there are some men of learning who give lectures on various subjects. There are several English at Göttingen, but my son informs me chiefly men of moderate fortune, more men of study than dissipation; during the few days he was there he saw some of them of very good manners, who seemed principally occupied with their studies. The lectures everywhere are delivered in German. I conclude there can be no difficulty in getting to Göttingen by the Hague; my son is just come from thence. He will very shortly have the honor to pay his respects to your lordship at Tottenham park, that he may, as far as he is able, answer any questions respecting the German universities. I am, however, of opinion that, if lord Charlemont determine on a German university, he will find Göttingen by far the best for lord Caulfield."

---

[1] Right Hon. W. Burton Conyngham, treasurer of the Royal Irish Academy from 1785 to his death in 1796.

[2] "On the poetical character of Dr. Goldsmith," read at the Royal Irish Academy in 1797, and printed in its "Transactions," vol. vi., p. 71.

8.—FRANCIS CAULFEILD to [CHARLEMONT].

July 9.—"You have heard, no doubt, of an unfortunate riot that happened at Cashel, under the direction of captain Brooke, of our regiment. I am brought unluckily into the scrape, being reported to lord Rothes as absent from quarters without leave, and in consequence of it am now under arrest in this town. The truth of the matter is, that I had general Montague's leave when I left quarters, but was taken so ill at Eyrecourt that I could not return within the limited time. The Speaker has been so kind as to promise his intercession with lord Rothes to give me my liberty, and I beg that you will be so kind as to try your interest also with his lordship. As (between ourselves) I think I have been treated with very great rigour by lord Drogheda upon this occasion, I must confess I shall not be any way happy while I am under his command, so that I would give anything to procure an exchange into any other regiment in the service, nay, would give up all my hopes of promotion and quit entirely rather than continue long under him. I beg you will not mention this last, however, to anyone."

9.—CHARLEMONT to ADDINGTON.[1]—'The lady's last stake' by Hogarth.[2]

December 30.—"Lord Charlemont presents his compliments to the Speaker, and will answer Mr. Harding's queries as well as at so long an interval of time his memory will permit. The picture was painted for him by his friend Hogarth, in what year he cannot precisely recollect, but believes that it was one of the last performances of this great master. The exact year may, however, be probably ascertained from the records of the Haymarket Theatre, as the dog therein introduced is the portrait of a lap-dog belonging to the signora Mingotti, then first singer at the opera. Hogarth set no price upon the picture, but lord Charlemont ill repaid his pains, to the best of his recollection, by a bill of one hundred pounds, enclosed in a complimentary letter. The husband's letter, the greater part of which was not meant to be legible, contains the following words:—'My dearest Charlotte, . . . your affectionate Townly.—I will send the remainder of the note by next post.' The picture over the chimney was, according to Hogarth's information, meant to represent a 'virtuoso landscape,' such as, decorated by a long Dutch name, the connoisseurs of those times eagerly and dearly purchased at auctions. At the request of Mrs. Hogarth, lord Charlemont gave permission to Mr. Livesay to copy this picture in order that it should be engraved, and should be extremely sorry that whatever emolument may arise from the sale of the intended print should pass into any other hands than those of Livesay or of the widow. Lord Charlemont earnestly desires that the Speaker would entreat Mr. Harding not to suffer these hasty lines to appear in print. Of the matter, he is at liberty to make what use he pleases, but the words are by far too incorrect for publication. The figure '9' in the date, which might tend to ascertain the time of the painting, cannot be made out with certainty. Perhaps also the date might have been arbitrary. The shades are on the original accordingly brown or black instead of green, with spot of yellow light in one corner."

---

[1] Henry Addington, speaker of house of commons, England, 1789.

[2] *See* Vol. I., p. 443.

10.—CHARLEMONT to LORD AILESBURY.

"Suffer me to re-echo your patriotic alas! and to assure you that I also most sincerely feel and lament the abject situation to which this so lately flourishing empire is now reduced. Great has been the fall, indeed, great and precipitate! Yet might the sad reverse have long since been foreseen; the malady has long been hovering over us, and even in the midst of our prosperity the symptoms of declension were but too apparent. Various causes have concurred to hasten on the dangerous crisis, that almost universal corruption of manners, which is ever the forerunner of the decline of empire.

'Hoc fonte derivata clades,
In patriam populumque fluxit.'[1]

"But it may be said, and with much shew of reason, that, though it should be allowed that our manners are horridly depraved, those of our hostile neighbours are little better, and that, if this depravity should prognosticate ruin to us, the same symptoms must be supposed to indicate to them the same fatal effects. To this, however, it may, and, I believe, with truth, be answered, that, though violent disorders be always attended with danger, they are more or less dangerous according to the constitution of the party affected; and it would not, I should suppose, be difficult to prove that a degree of depravity, which would ruin us, might yet be borne without immediate peril by a nation otherwise circumstanced. Virtue is the principle upon which a free constitution is founded, and if ever that foundation should totally fail, the superstructure must inevitably fall to ruin. But the groundwork of despotic government is of a different nature, and though corruption should pervade every part of the state, the empire, however impaired, might still remain undissolved, as the basis, the principle on which it was built, might yet be entire. But this is too nice a disquisition for a letter, and particularly so for me, who am scarcely able to write. During the whole course of this summer, I have been tortured by a violent return of my old and inveterate enemy, the rheumatism, and though I be now somewhat better, I am still so much affected that writing is painful to me. The accounts you give me of lord Bruce are highly pleasing to me, and I join with you in thinking that he is better anywhere than in England for the present. Have you any thought of the academy of Turin? If it remain upon the footing on which it stood in my time, it is certainly the most desirable academy in Europe, from its being so intimately connected with the court, and so immediately under the inspection of the king himself. Surely there seems to be a providential design of humbling the overweening pride of England, when such a wretch as our old acquaintance, . . . is a cause of fear and perhaps an instrument of destruction. . . . I have but four volumes of the Herculaneum Antiquities, which were given me by his metropolitan majesty, whose munificence, being exhausted, stopped there. Some volumes, I do not know how many, have since been published."

11.—CHARLEMONT to BEAUCLERK.

"Your experienced partiality towards me, and my thorough confidence in your justly founded opinion of the love I bear you, assures me that you have not attributed my long silence either to negligence, laziness, or forgetfulness, but that, on the contrary, you have done me the justice to believe that some invincible obstacle could alone have prevented me so long from answering your very kind and friendly letter.

---

[1] Horace, odes: iii. 6. 19.

"In your last you were, I think, a little smart upon our Irish politics and patriotism. You abused us for our limitation bill and for our intended tax upon absentees, and seemed to insinuate that our self-denial in these two acts savoured strongly of that genius for blunder which has often been imputed to us. I am not indeed much surprised that any one who writes from London should conclude that every one who votes against his own particular interest may be deemed guilty of an egregious bull; but, though we are very far from being virtuous, we are not, however, quite so far gone in the refinement of modern politics as you are on your side of the water, and there yet remain some few among us, too few indeed, who might be induced for the public utility to give up some small private advantage. Don't tell me that this appears ridiculous to you—indeed it does not. For though a sentiment of this kind would be laughed at at Arthur's and perhaps hooted out of St. Stephen's chapel, yet you, my friend, upon cool consideration and when not at Almack's, will most certainly approve of it.

"What wretched beings would this too fashionable principle of giving up nothing to the public make of us, supposing it pushed as far as it will go. If every one was to act according to what his passions prompted him to deem his own emolument, without any regard to others, is there a single crime against society of which he would not be guilty, any criminal gratification which he would ever refuse himself? Society would be at an end, and we should be reduced to the state—if such state ever existed, which I do not believe—of unsociable savages, each man waging continual war, offensive and defensive, against all his fellow-creatures.

"It may perhaps be said that laws would restrain us—a weak curb indeed are laws without morals, witness the shoals of wretches who every week die gallantly at Tyburn, and the much more numerous shoals of those who deserve, but are above the same fate!

"I have yet a thousand things to say to you, but I see you yawn. My trite morality has set you asleep. Man was born for society—without it he can have no enjoyment, and without morals it cannot subsist; and what are morals but the giving up our own partial pleasure to the benefit of the whole?

"But whither am I going? I thought to write a few lines and I have prattled away a volume. See what it is to write to you. The pleasure of talking with you is a temporary cure for all my ailments, and I could go on for a sheet and an hour longer, if prudence with regard to myself, and a little consideration for your time and patience, did not luckily restrain me.

"I have a cargo of stones ready to send to you, and only wait to add some specimens of the Giants' Causeway which I daily expect. My most affectionate compliments to all my brethren of the club, and particularly to Johnson, Reynolds, and Goldsmith: this last need not, I am sure, be jealous of the 'School for wives'[1]—worse stuff I never read."

12.—CHARLEMONT to CHARLOTTE BROOKE.[2]

"My idea with regard to the present question, which will not, I trust, long continue to agitate our society, as such discussion is wholly repugnant to the nature and genius of the institution, has been from the beginning, and still is, that no such office as that of housekeeper is at all necessary, and that the clerk of the Academy alone should have lodgings in the house, to take care of our papers, books, etc., with such salary as it may be thought proper to allow him, as clerk, but by no means as housekeeper. Having thus stated my opinion, I must beg leave to decline hazarding any advice upon an occasion where you alone are competent to judge, but only wish to assure you that, both on your father's account and on your own, I have every good wish towards you, and that in the present matter of dispute my objection is to the office, not to the candidate. I wish you also to believe that it gives me much concern to find myself unable to assist in what appears to be your desire, but as president of the Academy I can have but one object. . . . That the Academy should employ a housekeeper without salary, appears to me an impropriety so great that I am confident it could not long subsist."

---

[1] Comedy by Hugh Kelly, acted at Drury lane, 1774.

[2] *See* pp. 82, 360.

13.—Charlemont to Edmund Burke.

i.—"Sensible of the interest you take in all that concerns your friends, and confident from a thousand instances of kind partiality that I may flatter myself with the pleasing assurance of being one of that respectable number, I seize this first moment of leisure to inform you that after an attempt to make our passage, which was frustrated by a violent storm, and after being a second time at sea for thirty-one long hours, we at length arrived in health and spirits, the one unimpaired by our perpetual feasting, and the other exalted by the delightful recollection of our friends' kindness, and of the more than honourable reception we have met with.

"The prince's answers have been generally, though, wonderful to say, universally received, as they ought—few, however, were they who dared to attempt contradicting the general acclamation. Fitzwilliam made some vain and foolish objections to returning an answer, but soon looked silly, and waived his fruitless opposition. The Speaker was cross and not over respectful, objected to reading from the chair, but was compelled to an unwilling obedience. The answers, for it was found more convenient, as perhaps it was more respectful, to send one from each house, were yesterday framed, and will this day be transmitted to lord Southampton.

"We are now busily employed in endeavouring to repair the ill effects of our absence, and hope the best, though some country gentlemen are, as usual, impatient and not very tractable. The Castle [of Dublin] is exerting itself 'per fas et nefas.' Peerages are expected to counteract us in the lords, and such honest peers as have estates in Ireland, none others ought, if they can be spared, to attend. Dismissions are boldly talked of, and I think it might be necessary that it were understood that, in case of a change, the martyrs to their duty would be replaced, and retaliation made. But I am called away. Above all, find, if you can, an opportunity of laying my humble duty and respectful acknowledgments at the feet of his royal highness, and endeavour to express what I am totally unequal to explain, the sentiments of gratitude, of duty, and, if I may hazard the expression, of ardent affection, which my heart feels for the most accomplished, the most endearing, and, what is still more, for the best of princes. All this, I say, endeavour to express, for highly as I think of your abilities, I doubt that in this attempt alone you will find them inadequate. I should be ashamed upon such a subject to feel what could be expressed. Adieu.

"In the commons their address passed unanimously, its success being insured by its weakness. That of the lords, of which, I trust, you will not disapprove, was combated, but carried by twenty-six to fifteen of the peers present.

13, ii.—"By a letter which I have this day received from a brother of the unfortunate Mr. Burroughs,[1] whom you have so kindly and so charitably befriended, I am taught to know the full extent of his and my obligations to you, and cannot allow myself a moment's delay in returning you those thanks which are so justly your due. For though in relieving the miserable and meritorious you do but follow the bent of your genius, yet, as I flatter myself that friendship for me has in this instance shared with your natural propensity, and helped to induce you to favour a gentleman who has many other claims to my regard besides his misfortunes, you have most certainly merited my warmest acknowledgments, and my gratitude ought, if possible, to be proportionate to the pleasure and honour I receive from that friendship. Thus have I endeavoured, though without success, to express my feelings for your goodness towards me, but if in this I have failed, how can I possibly attempt to speak the acknowledgments of a dutiful and grateful heart towards that exalted personage,[2] who has been graciously pleased, with a delicacy peculiar to himself, unpetitioned by me, to favour and most essentially to serve this unfortunate gentleman, merely because he was informed by you that I interested myself in his welfare. Here indeed expression fails me, and I have no other means left but to entreat of you, as far as you are able, to convey to his royal highness some idea of the feelings of a heart which, without this fresh instance of his condescending goodness, was already devoted to him, so thoroughly that, excepting my God and my country, it held nothing dearer or more sacred. Tell him, that from a long acquaintance with me you know that I have a heart, and when he is once convinced of this truth, his own feelings, better even than your words, will teach him to conceive how sensibly I must be affected by this, and by every other part of his conduct towards me."

13, iii.—"When you shall be acquainted with the bearer, Mr. O'Brien, my brother-in-law, and, what is much more, my dear friend, you will, I am confident, love him, and do him all the service in your power for his sake and for your own. In the meanwhile permit me, encouraged by the privilege of old friendship, to recommend him to your notice, and to beg that you would listen favourably to his case, which I think a hard one, and that you would assist him with your advice and furtherance in his present most reasonable pursuit.

"I wish you joy on the late events, which I need not tell you have been highly pleasing to me. I long to know the consequences, which must be important. You know my love for some of those who are likely to come in, and my utter dislike of some who will probably go out—particularly 'pour le dernier de tous premiers.'"

13, iv.—"I take advantage of the opportunity of a safe hand to convey to you my warmest acknowledgments for the favour of your unreserved letter, from which I have received a pleasure almost equal in degree to the high honour conferred on me by the confidence of such a correspondent. Neither can any favour be more flattering to me than your wish for my approbation of your conduct upon a late trying occasion, when a man of an ordinary mind might have been affronted out of his purpose; and this kind wish of yours gives me the more pleasure, as I have it in my power, with the utmost sincerity, fully to gratify it, confident as I am that it was not only essential to the public advantage, and to your own honour, but a positive point of duty to act precisely as you have done. To agree with you in sentiment is to be certain of the rectitude of my own opinion, and it is therefore needless that I should express my satisfaction at finding that our sentiments exactly coincide respecting the late transaction on this side of the water. Indeed, I am confident that the principal promoter of that weak and shameful measure, so notoriously miscalled the amnesty, is now perfectly of our opinion, and most heartily wishes, as every man who acts upon wrong principles must finally do, that, instead of deviating into the crooked paths of policy, he had boldly proceeded in the strait, open, and safe road of moral rectitude. Why he should have chosen to assign as the cause of his return to us the narrower motive of private friendship, rather than stand upon the broad basis of public principle, I do not well conceive. But be his motives what they may, he has now acted manfully, and deserves applause, if not as having sacrificed his emolument to the public, at least as a martyr to friendship. You see I write to you in perfect confidence. Perhaps he might have thought that private obstacles to an intended relapse would have been more easily obviated than public ones.

---

[1], [2] *See* p. 91.

"Yet he will, he must, make a great king. His present dissipation, his eagerness in the pursuit of pleasures, by which he must be satiated, is only the activity of a mind which cannot remain inactive. Such a mind must have employment. Other and better pursuits will succeed to those which now occupy him, and, when involved in that perpetual importance of business which will be necessary to his station, he will be as impetuously eager in the performance of his royal duties as he now is in his youthful sallies. Torpid sloth is, indeed, the only deadly, incurable disease of the mind, while a love of action need only change its object to grow into a virtue; witness our friend Fox, whose passion for gaming instantly gave way to the political duties of the minister. Violent agitation was necessary to his existence; and when not occupied by the interest of nations, the gaming table was his only resource. But I must now conclude. It is difficult to say how far the topic on which I was engaged might have prolonged my letter, but, luckily for you, it is called for."

14.—CHARLEMONT to EARL CAMDEN.

"I had intended to have had the honour of waiting upon your excellency today, but have been prevented by a violent headache, a complaint to which I am but too liable, and which almost precludes me from writing. In this situation, or perhaps indeed in any other, it would be vain for me to attempt duly to express my gratitude for the anxious kindness with which you have laboured to gratify my feelings upon a late most interesting occasion—I must therefore content myself with saying that as nothing could have given me more real concern than to have found myself compelled to do that which would have been displeasing to your excellency, so do I proportionably feel the most sincere pleasure in finding, through your active and persevering goodness, those obstacles removed which might have necessitated me to act in contradiction to your wishes. One thing, however, I must say on my own behalf, that, at all events, nothing should have induced me to resign my command till such time as the present rumours of invasion, whether founded or otherwise, should have been entirely blown over.

"I think it my duty to inform your excellency that in this transaction, according to all the information I have received Mr. Dawson has acted with fidelity, activity, and good sense, and I have the pleasure also to say that many of my friends have strenuously exerted themselves, particularly lieutenant Johnston, who, though surprised into the former signature, had in case of defeat prepared a protest which would, I believe, have been signed by many, and which I here take the liberty of enclosing, to evince that I was not singular in those ideas respecting the country which I had the honour of communicating to you. I should however have advised, as the most proper measure, the converting this protest, as far as relates to the city of Armagh, into an humble address and petition to your excellency. I ought most assuredly to apologise for the tediousness of this letter, but to you I know such apology is unnecessary, more especially since your trouble from me is not yet at an end, as my feelings will most certainly compel me to take the earliest opportunity of personally assuring you, etc."

15.—CHARLEMONT to W. CAMPBELL, D.D.—Presbyterian interests.

[1787.]—"The lord lieutenant[1] having signified to me that he was now at length able to see me, I yesterday waited on him at the [Phœnix] Park, where he now resides. I found him in bed, and indeed very ill. After having expressed his concern at having been disabled from speaking with me before, he told me that upon examining carefully into the matter I had recommended, he found that he should be able to increase the salaries to 25 pounds a year—that the conduct of the dissenting clergymen during his administration had very well merited such bounty from government, neither did he entertain any doubt of their continuing to deserve it, but that he was sorry to be forced to tell me that there were some important reasons which made it necessary to postpone for some time the settlement of this matter, but that the gentlemen concerned might be assured that, as soon as those reasons ceased to operate, the business should be done. He even mentioned to me these reasons, but as I am not at liberty to repeat them, I must content myself with saying that they are not of such a nature as can be in any way derogatory to the character or which can in the slightest degree injure or offend the feelings of my friends.

"I am extremely sorry for the delay, though at the same time I am pleased that the sum is fixed, as I have now little doubt that the augmentation, though postponed, will take place. I wish most heartily that I could have told to you that everything was done, but in transactions with ministers, a species of business in which I never before have had the least experience, I find that patience is absolutely necessary. You may make whatever use of the intelligence your prudence will suggest to you, provided it be not made too public. Though I believe that I am right in the sum above mentioned, yet, as the duke's illness prevented him from being as clear as he otherwise would have been, and precluded me from asking any question of explanation, I may possibly [be in error]. But if so, it is undoubtedly on the right side, as I am positively certain the sum cannot be less, though from some circumstance it may possibly be more."

16.—CHARLEMONT to BERNARD FRANCIS CAULFEILD.

"Some time ago I wrote to inform you of the horrid disaster[2] which has happened in our family, and now most unwillingly find myself obliged again to alarm your feelings and my own by mentioning once more that dreadful event; but a circumstance which has arisen upon my inspection into my poor brother's affairs, as his executor, renders it absolutely necessary. I find that prior to his leaving London he had lodged in bank there the sum of six thousand eight hundred and ninety-four pounds, fifteen shillings, and ninepence, which I understand was your proportion of the effects of my late lamented uncle William. This sum is, I have the pleasure to acquaint you, perfectly secure, and, whenever you shall please to demand it of me, shall be directly paid. And of this I thought it necessary to take the first opportunity of informing you, lest you should imagine that the money had been lost with my poor brother, as much of his own effects, I fear, was. So far as I can judge, he has scarcely left effects sufficient, exclusive of his wife's small fortune, which is settled, to pay his debts, much less to provide for his two remaining orphans, James and Eleanor. These, however, I shall from henceforth adopt as my own, and, with the assistance of their grandfather, whose situation is by no means affluent, shall endeavour to make for them the best provision I can consisteut with my circumstances, and with the duty I first owe to my own children. I am sorry, my dearest uncle, to trouble you upon this melancholy subject, but, for the reason before alleged, I thought it indispensably necessary. Give me leave to assure you that you have not upon earth a more dutiful relation and friend."

---

[1] Duke of Rutland.

[2] "At one sad stroke [in November 1775] I have lost my brother [Francis Caulfeild, M.P. for borough of Charlemont] and the greatest part of his family. The ship on board of which they were was wrecked in her passage from Parkgate, and all on board her perished."—*MS. letter of Charlemont to lord ——.*

16A.—CHARLEMONT to J. CAULFEILD.

[1763.]—"Your letter, which I some time since received from Germany, has not, I must confess, given me all that pleasure which letters from you ought always to afford me, and that only from one disagreable reason, that I find it absolutely out of my power to comply with the request which you therein make; yet I hope, and make no doubt, that when you have heard and maturely weighed the reasons that induced me to refuse myself the pleasure of bringing into parliament a person so near and so justly dear to me, you yourself will be so far of my opinion as to believe that nothing less than a principle of duty to my country and of friendship to you could have forced me to deny a request which you are so well entitled to make. I must beg that, in justice not only to me but to yourself, you would be thoroughly persuaded that I can never entertain the least doubt of the honest independency of your principles. I cannot hesitate in believing that you are steadily of opinion that in a member of parliament every motive, nay, every duty, must yield to the indispensable bond of the public service. But then, consider what would be the necessary consequence. You are now in a course of life where court favour is absolutely necessary to promote and raise you. A ministry may possibly be wrong, and when they are it is highly probable that you would think them so. Your honesty then would most assuredly incline you to give your vote according to the dictates of your conscience. What would then be the consequence? Your dangerous and glorious services in the field must give way to the safe and inglorious services of others who blindly and implicitly will obey their leader, and act against every principle of conscience and of duty. I should not urge this argument if I had not by disagreeable experience known it to be but too infallible. If my brother had never been in parliament, he would have been most certainly much higher in his profession than he now is, and if I were to be instrumental in procuring you a seat there, I might find myself reduced to the disagreable alternative either of seeing you act against your own, and against my conscience, or of accusing myself as the cause of your not being promoted in your profession according to your right and to your merits. The former I am confident never could happen, but the latter infallibly must, and would always be to me a just and sufficient cause of concern; so that my esteem for you, my thorough confidence in your honesty, and my desire of promoting your interest, are the real causes why I must absolutely deny what you seem so ardently to desire.

"The person I have fixed upon for this important trust[1] is Annesley Stewart,[2] whose situation in life is such as to make him absolutely independent. Add to this his being our near relation, and, what is still more binding, my having innumerable obligations to him, and I hope you cannot fail to applaud my choice. My uncles are both of my opinion."

17.—CHARLEMONT to SIR WILLIAM CHAMBERS.[3]

"I have received and thoroughly considered your designs for the lodge, of which in general I appprove exceedingly. The front is just as I could wish it, but I should be glad to have a design for the garden-front also, which by the present disposition of the plan, if rightly comprehended, would not, I believe, look so well, on account of the too great projection of the break, and the return of the cornice of the wings, which I fear would not have a good effect. I would also have some changes made in the plan, viz., what is there intended for a stable (*b*), I would have changed into a dining-parlour, and would have it enlarged by making the breadth what is now the length, that is to say, I would have it made proportionably long to its breadth of two-and-twenty feet, by which means it will make an excellent eating-room, and the break in the garden front will be so much lessened, which I think will be an advantage. I would also have a door of communication between it and the drawing-room (*a*), and another from the study (*c*). It will, I believe, be best lighted from the side, and the chimney may be opposite the windows, but this I leave entirely to you. The kitchen wing must be enlarged in the same proportion, as an eating-room should always be very lofty. I believe there can be no room over it, but I would have it coved, and should desire a section with the cove marked. The stables I intend to build in a covered situation at some distance from the house. So much for the lodge: now with regard to the casino, I must ask you some questions which I beg you would answer as soon as possible. How is the freeze of the doorhead to be ornamented? with oak-leaves, as in the engraved elevation, or, as the freezes of the window-frame, with fasces or reeds bound together? For my own part, I should prefer the oak-leaves, as richer and more varied from the rest.

"How are the angular recesses to be paved? With plain, white Portland, or chequered black and white, or with marble? In the section of the saloon there is one thing that I wish could with any propriety be altered. I mean the two false doors, which not only crowd a small room with five doors, but take up the place of necessary furniture, chairs or sofas. This is a nice point, and I should be glad you would consider of it. I have not received your sketch for the parquetted floors, nor the design for the ornamenting the boudoir with flowers, etc., nor Munt's Gothic design, all which I beg you would expedite for me. Have you seen our friend Leland? Apropos, I have a favour to ask you on his account, that you would, through Reynolds, make him acquainted with [Samuel] Johnson, whose acquaintance he greatly longs for."

---

[1] Membership for borough of Charlemont.

[2] Sir Annesley Stewart of Fort Stewart, Donegal, was M.P. for borough of Charlemont from 1763 to 1797. He became a baronet on decease of sir William Stewart, earl of Blesinton, in 1769.

[3] *See* vol. i., p. 433.

18.—CHARLEMONT to LADY LOUISA CONOLLY.—Attainder of LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD.

[1798.]—"When your ladyship, in your goodness, shall reflect upon the affection I have ever felt for the unhappy object of our present regret, an affection which even his misconduct has not been able to obliterate, and shall duly estimate the respectful love I have ever borne towards the family of which he was a member, you will, I am confident, entertain no doubt of the real concern with which I find that his guilt is now become so notorious as to render it almost impossible for a man of public feelings to hazard any measure in his defence.

"The wonderful abilities and laborious endeavours of his counsel, Mr. Curran,[1] have not been able to make out for him any case, but the proofs to which I principally allude are contained in the report[2] from the secret committee of the house of commons, which has now been publicly read, and is ordered to be printed, and which must be allowed authentic, as the information proceeds, not from perjured informers, but from the voluntary confession of accomplices.

"Under these circumstances I find myself involved in the most distressing difficulties. On the one hand I am pushed forward by the fond remembrance of an old affection, and by my ardent wish to obey your ladyship's commands and to act in conformity with the desires of a family which I have always loved and respected, while on the other I am forcibly restrained by a consciousness of the weakness of our cause; by the dread of acting from partial and not from public motives; by the improbability of meeting with any support, and by my shameful inability to express myself in public, so as to give any plausible colour to an opposition which, if left unaccounted for, would undoubtedly be discreditable to the opponent. Of this my unfortunate dilemma, the difficulties of which are farther increased by the miserable state of my health and spirits, I have thought it my duty to inform your ladyship, in order that if, as will too probably be the case, and as I have great reason to fear, the causes already mentioned should disable me from proceeding in a manner conformable to your wishes and to my own, I may obtain a pardon from your goodness, at the same time assuring you that on this, as on every other occasion, I shall carefully watch any opportunity which may arise of proving how sincerely, etc."

19.—CHARLEMONT to the EARL OF DARNLEY.[3]

"In pursuance of your lordship's commands signified to me in the letter with which you have honoured me, I have endeavoured, as far as I was able, to retrace the event to which you allude, and can only say that, though not gifted with a very retentive memory, I perfectly recollect having been consulted upon the subject of a letter[4] to be written by Mr.

---

[1] "Speech of John Philpot Curran, in defence of lady Pamela FitzGerald and her infant children, at the bar of the house of commons in Ireland," August 1798.

[2] Report from the committee of secrecy appointed to take into consideration the treasonable papers presented to the house of commons of Ireland. London: 1798.

[3] John Bligh, fourth earl of Darnley of Athboy, co. Meath.

[4] *See* page 302.

Conolly to the prince of Wales, purporting to contain the sentiments of some gentlemen who thought alike upon public affairs, and were dutifully attached to his royal highness. I also recollect assenting to the transmission of this letter, which your lordship, then upon the eve of your departure for England, was to be requested to carry. Of its being sent to you I know nothing, but from what you say must conclude that, by some accident, it never reached your lordship's hands. I am extremely sorry that this business should have given you so much trouble."

20.—Charlemont to Dundas.

"The goodness of his royal highness is boundless and perpetual, neither will my weak abilities furnish me with terms to express my gratitude. I must therefore entreat that you would assist me in laying at his feet my most dutiful acknowledgements for the honour and favour of his precious pocket-book, the contents of which must ever be dear to me, as a striking proof not only of his magnificence but of his taste, and as a lasting memorial of that palace. I have received the highest honour and the greatest pleasure from the condescending graciousness of the best and most amiable of princes. If your better judgment should not deem the liberty too great, I would wish that you could find a proper opportunity of laying before his royal highness, the duke of York, my most sincere and humble felicitations, not only for his precious safety, but still more especially for that incomparable conduct,[1] which must force even the malignity of party to applaud him, and which clearly evinces him to be not only an illustrious prince, but a perfect gentleman, a character that the greatest princes have been proud to annex to their loftiest titles. However proper and indeed necessary it may appear that I should apologize for the freedom with which I request your kind intervention in these to me most important commissions, I will not trouble you with any excuse. I know by experience that you feel a pleasure in obliging, and my knowledge of your attachment to the illustrious personages whom through you I wish to address, assures me that you would willingly convey to them the devotion even of the humblest of their servants."

21.—Charlemont to Lord Fitzgibbon.

"The hurry always attending departure, my own convalescence, a term which it scarcely deserves, and, above all, my daughter's illness, must plead my excuse for not having performed the task [2] with which your lordship has honoured me with all the accuracy it deserved and I desired.

"I return the Armagh list, which seems not perfectly correct, with a few remarks, which perhaps a more prolonged inquiry might have increased, but those of the other gentlemen whom your lordship means to consult, will amply make up for any deficiency in mine. Respecting the Tyrone list, I have not sufficient knowledge of that county to justify me in hazarding my opinion of individuals, and must therefore leave this entirely to those gentlemen with whom your lordship means to advise, among whom there is none who will give you better or more sincere counsel than my friend, James Stewart."

22.—Charlemont to John Forbes, M.P.

"The prince's business, on the success of which my whole head and heart and soul are set, the more eagerly as it appears to me to be at the same time the business of my country, will, I am sanguine enough to hope, succeed to our wishes; and yet, as every possible machination is exerting against us, nothing on our side should be left undone to 'make assurance doubly sure.' It has occurred to me, and my idea has met with approbation, that if Mr. Pelham[1] would take his seat in our house of commons on the first day of its sitting, not to make the motion—for you will readily conceive why that must not be—but merely to approve in a few words, it would in all probability insure success. I need not tell you why. You are too well acquainted with the susceptible nature of those who must, of necessity, contribute to our majorities in both houses, not to be aware of the wonderful effect which will be produced by the presence of one who has been possessed of the magnetic powers of official influence, and who, as it is generally believed, will shortly resume his attractive station. Many also there are who waver in doubt of the prince's real sentiments. If, say they, we were thoroughly assured that his royal highness really wished, as we are told he does, but who are we to believe? Let but some one appear on whom we can thoroughly depend. Let the way be pointed out to us by a sure guide, and we shall know our road, and certainly follow it. This language I myself have heard, and the comical perplexity of self-interest has exceedingly diverted me. I mentioned this my idea to Grattan, who told me that he would immediately communicate it to you, but as, you know, he is sometimes dilatory, I have thought it better to write myself. All he has communicated I highly approve, but have added a few circumstances which he has promised to communicate, one in particular, that the liberation ought most certainly to be extended to the country as well as to the city."

---

[1] *See* page 99.

[2] *See* page 389.

23.—CHARLEMONT to GRATTAN.

i.—October 26, Sunday, 4 o'clock.—"Utterly neglecting all other business, I have waited at home every morning since I received your letter in anxious expectation of the interview you promised me, judging from its infinite importance to me, and from the ardent eagerness with which I longed for it, that it could not be indifferent to you, and that consequently you would seek it as soon as possible. In this hope, however, I have been deceived and disappointed, as I often have been when I have judged of others' feeling from my own.

Tomorrow will open a scene of hurry which will make it more difficult to find time for this to me so necessary meeting, yet still I flatter myself that, as from my letter you must have perceived how anxiously I wish it, you will contrive matters so as to afford me an hour's uninterrupted conversation, which for many reasons, public and private, is now become essentially necessary."

23, ii.—[1798.]—"If not hurried away to my post in the north, where my son and I have three numerous and excellent corps, I certainly mean to oppose the bill of attainder[2] in its principle, and did mean to have more particularly combated that part of it which affected lord Edward,[3] prompted thereunto by an old affection, which even his misconduct has not been able to erase, by my love and respect for his family, by my ardent wish to oblige that best of women, lady Louisa,[4] and by my thinking the measure harsh and cruel. But alas, during the course of the long proceedings in the house of commons, his guilt had become so notorious, that with all my desire to palliate his offences, I cannot consistently with my feelings take any part in favour of crimes so pregnant with the most horrible mischief. You may easily judge of the impossibility of supporting his cause, when the abilities of Curran, who defended him with all his might for more than three hours, were not able to obtain one single vote in his favour even among those who opposed the bill as violent and unconstitutional; how then can I undertake an opposition, in which I should be certainly single and unsupported, without the possibility, from my shameful inability to express myself in public, of giving to it that plausible colour without which it must be highly discreditable to the opposed. You well know my regard for Mr. Fox, and you may assure him, with my most affectionate compliments, that since to comply with any wish of his would afford me the highest pleasure, I will carefully watch every opportunity of serving the memory and family of his departed friend, but indeed I fear none such can arise. Meanwhile, I shall, from principle, vote against the bill in all its parts, and consequently against that part in which Edward is implicated."

---

[1] Thomas Pelham, chief secretary to lord lieutenant of Ireland 1783–4, 1795–8, and M.P. for Carrick. *See* "Documents relating to Ireland, 1795–1804." Dublin: Dollard: 1893.

[2] The act of attainder was passed as cap. 77 of 38 George III.

[3] Lord Edward FitzGerald.

[4] Conolly.

24.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

i.—[1794.]— . . " though I sincerely join with you in thinking that the offence loudly called for the strong arm of the law, I cannot avoid being concerned for the fate of Hamilton Rowan,[1] as I know him to be possessed of many good and honourable qualities; yet his dangerous eccentricity in politics is undoubtedly such as to have rendered, in these times at least, legal reprehension absolutely necessary. I could, however, have wished the time of his confinement to have been lessened, and, indeed, before the sentence, wherever I could have any hope of success, gave my opinion most freely to that purpose. The punishment is not, however, quite Scotch; and, as to a second trial, I have been assured by lawyers, not court lawyers, that it could not have been granted without involving the consequences of dangerous precedent. I believe the jury was a very respectable one.

"The proceedings against Rowan were, I believe, commenced immediately after the offence, though the tediousness of law forms, and some mistakes in the original indictments, protracted the decision."

24, ii.—[1794.]—" From not having been able for some time past constantly to read my friend Joy's book [2] of knowledge, I am totally ignorant of what you mean by 'Belfast politics.' [3] Of the better half I have always approved, though the remainder has, I fear, been mischievous in the extreme. Yet whatever has been partly inscribed to you must be of a nature to afford me pleasure; and, independent of the book's contents, the very uniting of our names must not only be honourable, but, what is still better, in the highest degree satisfactory to me. If, also, as I suspect, this same unknown book should prove to be a collection of the tracts occasionally published by the worthy B[ruce],[4] his honouring one with an address cannot fail greatly to oblige me, as I know of few men for whom I have a more thorough esteem. But why has it not been sent to me? For heaven's sake procure it for me.

" Jehpson [5] indeed did well—much better than the newspaper indicates. His success afforded me much delight. He is an excellent young man, of sound and firm principles; his talents, also, I know to be of the first rate. But success in debate is always precarious. He is now, however, established, and certainly will go on improving. Thank you for your kind epigram; how fortunate are you in these evil times on which we are fallen to be able to preserve your liveliness and good humour. Had I been of the disputing party at Mount Stewart, I should probably have differed from all the disputants; but this is a point the discussion of which is much too weighty for my head, and would be too tedious for my eyes."

---

[1] Sentenced in February, 1794, to imprisonment for two years and a fine of five hundred pounds.

[2] Belfast "News Letter."

[3], [4] *See* pp. 234-5.

[5] Richard Jephson.

24, iii.—"By writing a long letter to England, my poor eyes are so weakened that I can possibly give but a few words when my wish would be for a long conversation. Yet few words are sufficient, since I perfectly agree with your admirably expressed sentiments upon the present wonderful crisis. Nay, such is my agreement that I have hazarded the liberty of transcribing the political paragraph of your excellent letter, and sending it to my English friend as a specimen of the opinion of my northern countrymen. For heaven's sake, inculcate the same doctrine as far as your extensive influence extends, as it may be important that the people should be alive to the transactions of their parliament. Pitt's views are obvious, and wicked in the extreme, but his power is probably at an end. That unlucky abstract proposition did much mischief, and had perhaps better be avoided here, but if it be brought forward, we must decide; with regard to the rest, powers and occurrences must determine us, as no victory must be allowed to our opponents."

25.—Charlemont to the Earl of Halifax.

[1761, September.]—"From the accounts brought by an express this morning, it is imagined that the queen is by this time landed at Harwich, and consequently the wedding will in all probability be celebrated to-morrow evening. As we have heard nothing as yet with regard to our walking in the procession, we of the Irish peerage[1] are not a little embarrassed, and must again have recourse to your excellency for your protection and advice. I am really ashamed of the trouble which I have given you, but trust in your goodness."

26.—Charlemont to Johnston.—Private.

"The foregoing is a sort of official letter, a transcript of which I have sent to Macan, but to you I must add that you would really and essentially oblige me by taking upon you the command of the Knappagh[2] corps, as I should be sorry indeed that by my necessitated defalcation so many brave men should be lost to the service of their country.

[Enclosure.]—"To Johnston and to Macan.—Prepared but not sent. Armagh having not been proclaimed.

'With real concern I write to inform you that I have found myself under the disagreeable necessity of resigning the command of the Armagh corps of yeomanry, and this I have, however reluctantly, been compelled to do merely because my feelings would not suffer me to hazard the necessity of acting in a military capacity against my countrymen under the harsh provisions of a law, the operations of which ought, in my opinion, to have been reserved to the most extreme necessity, and of which the penalty and disgrace have not, as far as my information has led me to conceive, been merited by all the several proclaimed parts of our county in its present improved situation, and more especially by its capital, the city of Armagh—an opinion in which I trust my countrymen will evince by their future conduct that I have not been deceived. My firm and unaltered persuasion, however, of the great utility of the measure adopted by government for raising yeomanry corps, and my dread lest a service so essential to the defence of my country should in any degree suffer by my enforced resignation, have induced me warmly to recommend you to succeed me in my command, and as you have been one of those who, perhaps from better information than mine, have signed the requisition to government, there can be no reason for your declining the offer if the lord lieutenant should think proper to comply with my desire."

---

[1] *See* vol. i., p. 15.

[2] In county of Armagh.

27.—CHARLEMONT to the COUNTESS OF LONDONDERRY.[1]

"Though ill health and hurry of important business wholly disable me from the power of collecting and clothing my thoughts as upon such an occasion I would wish, another post must not pass without conveying to your ladyship my most fervent thanks for the high favour you have conferred by suffering me to retain in my possession so real a treasure as your ever dear and ever revered father's letter, which, exclusive of its intrinsic value, is rendered to me truly inestimable from the favourable mention therein made of my name by a person whose slightest approbation confers the highest and most lasting honour, whatever your kind partiality may think of it. The commendation also is of the nature the most precious to my heart. To know accurately and precisely the sentiments and interests of my country, and honestly to communicate them where it might be advantageous that they should be known, is a praise as far exceeding that of the partial lord Wycombe as utility surpasses ornament. Indeed, madam, I am poor in words to thank you. The favour is not greater than it is unexpected, since even my experience of your goodness could exalt my expectations no higher than to the hope that you would pardon the impertinence of my hint.

"Accept also my most sincere acknowledgments for the perusal of the letter, which I here inclose. The criticism is just, deep, candid, and liberal, and though the conclusion drawn of the probable effects of that extraordinary work be more favourable than what the event has shewn, still it must be allowed that there was at the time reason to suppose that the publication might have been followed by some good consequences. To reprobate the manner in which the French system was then pursued, and the abominable actors in that tragedy, was certainly the part of an honest man, and possibly the work might have been useful, if the prejudice and passion of the author had not throughout so glaringly appeared as to prevent even his truths from making the smallest impression.

"I intimately knew and loved [Edmund] Burke. He had an excellent heart, and an ingenuity almost superhuman, but his judgment was by no means equal to his ingenuity. He wrote from his heart, the warmth of which perpetually overpowered the faculties of his head; from this source were derived his prejudices, which were inveterate and unconquerable. But indeed what your ladyship says is perfectly true, and contains the best apology, not only for the critic, but even for the author, namely, that the events of this age are such as to mock all human speculation."

28.—CHARLEMONT to RICHARD MARLAY, D.D.

"No, I will not enter into argument upon the topic which makes a principal part of your last letter, and that for many excellent reasons, viz., Imprimis: because I have so very much the best side of the argument that it would be cowardly to attack you with so much advantage, and unfriendly to lead you into a debate where, with all your cleverness, you must make but an indifferent figure. Item: because our arguments are generally warm, and I feel myself rather more inclined to warmth in this than I should be in almost any other; and, if we must grow quarrelsome in debate, I rather choose that it should be viva voce than in writing, because in the former method we shall be sure to be reconciled as soon as we are tired of talking or have no more to say. Item: because I think it a good maxim between friends never to dispute about anything that is worth disputing about. Item: because it would perhaps be as difficult for me to persuade you that sugar was good with tea, as it would for you to induce me by argument to like my tea without sugar. Item: because it is now a fortnight since I received your letter, and the disputative spirit has of consequence had time to cool, and has resigned its place to a much better spirit, the spirit of friendship. Item: because I have commonly observed that a propensity to disputing about any point often implies that we are not firmly fixed in our own opinion concerning that point, in which predicament I certainly do not imagine myself to be, for, in fact, every dispute always implies a possibility of doubt, which I can by no means allow. Item: and, finally, because were you to tell me that you had been assured, and consequently believed, that the temple of Minerva at Athens was no better nor more excellent than St. Mark's church upon Lazars' Hill,[1] I, who have seen and thoroughly examined said temple, would certainly never dispute with you, who have never had any opportunity of being informed by your own observation, that whoever told you so must either be a fool or a liar, that he must either have been deceived himself, or must willingly and grossly imposed upon you; and I should expect that you would give credit to my testimony, particularly as I flatter myself for all these very excellent reasons, and for a great many more too tedious to insert, do I decline the contest; not but that I clearly foresee that this matter will be productive of many friendly disputes and of much interesting conversation between us, nor do I, notwithstanding all I have urged, by any means refuse to enter the list, when we can amicably and conveniently contend without incurring the trouble of putting our arguments into writing; a method of controversy which, though strongly recommended by Murphy,[2] I will leave to those as furious as hungry polemical writers, who expect to get a dinner by printing their otherwise unpardonable disputations—yes, I will, in the aforesaid more convenient way, dispute with you upon the theme till my eye-balls crack. Nay more, to inflame your bile, and to rouse your controversial faculties, I will send you enclosed another poem upon the same subject as the last."

---

[1] *See* p. 306.

29.—CHARLEMONT to the EARL OF MOIRA.

i.—"When I am about to speak in behalf of Ireland, and to utter my complaints in her name, to whom can I address myself with more propriety, or with better hope of success, than to my dear lord Moira? His goodness will pardon an intrusion which could only be prompted by my love for our mutual country, and his influence, of which if I could doubt I should despair of the empire, will be exerted as he, upon whose judgment I implicitly depend, shall see occasion.

---

[1] Now part of Townsend Street, Dublin. *See* "Calendars of Ancient Records of Dublin." Dollard, Dublin: 1892–94.

[2] Rev. Edward Murphy. *See* vol. i., p. 451.

"The defenceless state of this island is that which now compels me to trouble you. Daily our forces are sent away, and, when those now under orders shall have embarked, I do not believe that three old regiments will remain. Some new ones indeed have been sent over, which may possibly be good for something when their old men die and their boys grow up to manhood. Our partial militia may also in time become soldiers, possibly to be depended upon. But in the meanwhile, France, with demoniac strength, devoid of pity either for herself or for others, and careless of loss, is exerting every frantic nerve to wreak her revenge upon the British islands; and, as she is undoubtedly too well acquainted with all our internal affairs, will naturally attack us in the weakest part, levelling all her impious force at that portion of the empire where she hopes to find neither men nor, I fear, competent commanders. The internal situation of the country is also but too favourable to her designs. Every information assures us that the mob of the south are generally disaffected, that they have imbibed French ideas which they do not understand, and are now only kept from outrage by military force. Their joining with an enemy I should not fear, as probably their numbers would rather be an incumbrance than an additional strength, but these semi-barbarians have not as yet purged away the savageness of their Celtic origin. With some reason, perhaps, but with still more newly acquired rancour, they detest their gentry, and even priestcraft, that last and worst succedaneum to reason and law in depraved and untutored minds, has well-nigh lost its influence over them. Massacres would accordingly take place, and French cruelty would be imitated and emulated. But what may we expect from them, when even the counties bordering upon that of the metropolis are infected by the same disease. The assassinations, and other horrid disorders of Meath and Louth, are too notorious to need repetition. In the north, indeed, appearances are better than, considering the monstrous imprudence of our absurd and headlong administration, I could have expected. I tell your lordship with much satisfaction that on that fast-day so memorable for your admirable orders, the meeting-house at Lisburn, a suspected town, was unusually crowded with Dissenters. The topic of the sermon was the superior excellence of the British constitution, and an exhortation to defend it with life and fortune. The discourse was well received, and the congregation departed content and edified. This is assuredly a change for the better, and has, I believe, been principally effectuated by the atrocities of the French, working upon the minds of a sensible and civilized people. Yet even in the north, discontent and a consequent republican spirit have gone abroad, and, though things are better, they are not well. Calumny and misrepresentation have infinitely increased the evil, yet still not without some foundation. How indeed could it be otherwise? A spirited people has been insulted by harsh laws, scarcely constitutional, and by still harsher conduct. It may have been necessary to check the town of Belfast, where, however, the majority are well minded; but, once checked and rendered inoffensive, the mildest conduct would surely have been the best, and the most conciliatory measures ought to have been pursued. Instead of which the streets of this great and important town, which pays in revenue an hundred and twenty thousand pounds annually, were scenes of perpetual military riots, in which the townsmen were not always to blame. While general White commanded there he acted prudently and well, but he left the command, and disorders hourly increased. It is far less offensive to national spirit to hang legally than to insult wantonly.

"In this situation, which I have described for your lordship's eye only, is Ireland to be left without a regular defence? Is the father of the family, in order to protect his elder daughter against every chilling blast by costly furs, to leave his younger naked, to bide the pelting of the pitiless storm? May not this be styled partiality, and ought not the sons of the slighted daughter to interfere by representing her forlorn situation? If well informed, the paternal care would probably not be deficient, and it is with this view that I am blinding myself to trouble your lordship.

"Not many years have passed since Ireland was perfectly protected. Her sons were all in arms, breathing the spirit of patriotism and of loyalty, and forty thousand men, though probably unfit to bear the fatigues of long campaigns, would certainly have defended her against any sudden attack. Under the idea of volunteers certain bands were incorporated totally opposite in principle to the original institution, a bad effect, which was not unlikely to spring from a good, but extraordinary cause. It was undoubtedly necessary that these bold intruders should be crushed, together with all their abettors; and upon this occasion my advice was, in proceeding with every legal rigour against these new corps, and all others who should associate with them, to distinguish from them with some degree of applause, the old, faithful, and meritorious servants of their country. This advice, to prevent a division in parliament, was partially adopted in the proclamation then issued, but both advice and proclamation were quickly departed from, and the consequence has been discontent, and unaptness for any future service, however necessary.

"But, indeed, I have made this strange rambling letter much too long both for you and for myself, and luckily for your lordship my poor weak eyes refuse to write any more. Pardon me, I could not avoid laying before you this very imperfect sketch of our present situation, as before one whose patriotism will, I know, interest him in the protection of that land which has the honour of calling him her son. Upon your judgment, however, I entirely rely, because I know your heart, and with every sincere and ardent wish for your prosperity and success, both public and private, I will here at length conclude."

29, ii.—"By a letter from lord Ailesbury, I am informed of your lordship's great kindness in conveying to the prince of Wales your wish that his royal highness would be pleased to recommend my son to the protection of the duchess of Brunswick, and, while I feel it an indispensable duty to return my most sincere thanks for so exalted a favour, I labour under the absolute inability of finding words adequate to express that gratitude, of which I know no other means to make you sensible than by beseeching your lordship to consider the extent of obligation conferred by you on the feeling heart of an affectionate father, by thus procuring for his beloved son the greatest of all honours and benefits; since what can be more truly honourable, what more really beneficial to the opening life of a young man, than that, through lord Moira, the protection of the prince of Wales should be obtained? Your kindness also in promising to convey to his royal highness my most humble acknowledgments for this his gracious condescension merits all the thanks I can bestow. I am thus assured of performing in the best possible manner, a duty which I could not myself have attempted with any prospect of success. Give me, however, leave still further to encroach upon you, by intreating that, if you shall not think it improper, you would be so kind as to intimate from me to the prince that nothing but absolute inability from want of health should prevent me from procuring myself the honor and infinite pleasure of attending at his approaching nuptials.[1] With this circumstance, indeed, if it can be communicated without impropriety, I would wish he were acquainted, as the whole tenor of his condescending goodness towards me would seem to render such attendance upon this joyful occasion, if possible, as indeed it is not, a positive duty.

"And here let me express my hope that the right of the Irish peerage[2] to make a part of the procession at the royal nuptials will not in the present instance be overlooked. At the king's marriage, it fell to my lot to be an active agent in prosecuting this claim, and, not without much difficulty, my endeavours were successful, as will be found by an inspection of the council books, on which the names of all who walked have been recorded. This circumstance I mention to your lordship as to one who feels himself, I am confident, strongly interested in everything which can anyhow affect the honor of Ireland."

30.—Charlemont to Viscount Powerscourt.

"I have time to write but a very few lines, but hope in a very little time to make amends for the shortness of my letter by conversations as long and as frequent as possible. Congratulate me, my dearest friend, upon my being at length able to tell you, that in a fortnight at farthest I hope to see you in London, a pleasure which will be still further increased if I should find you settled in Mount-street. Not Christmas holidays to a schoolboy, nor a fat sinecure to an old curate, nor the happy end of a sessions to an intriguing minister, were ever more pleasing than my present prospect is to me. I am sick of Ireland, and of almost everything in it, and shall now leave it with the pleasing reflection that I have done what little public service was in my power, or in other words, for it is indeed the same thing, that I have been happily instrumental in not a little plaguing the primate; but of all this I shall reserve the full detail to our happy meeting."

31.—Charlemont to Sir Joshua Reynolds.

"Relying upon your goodness and kind partiality towards an old friend, I take the liberty of recommending to your patronage and protection the bearer of this letter, a young man who, with those very few advantages which this town affords, has shewn, as I think, no inconsiderable genius for painting, but who possesses one qualification in the highest degree, and that too not a trifling one, an ardent desire to excel. His name is Pye, and he aspires to the honour of becoming a student in the royal academy, which advantage I beg that you would procure for him, and, if his diligence should be as great as I hope and trust it will, I am confident that his being recommended by me will be an additional inducement to you to shew him that countenance which will be of the greatest service to him in his pursuit. I need not tell you that I know him to be a worthy, modest, good young man, since you must be certain that if I had the smallest doubt of his worth, nothing could induce me to recommend him to you; neither is it necessary that I should inform you how much I have his interest and welfare at heart, since the act of friendship I am now performing in his behalf is the surest testimony of my regard and value for him. Whatever favour you may shew him I shall reckon among the number of those kind marks of your goodness, which I shall ever gratefully remember. . . . The Venus is safe arrived, and delights everyone who sees her. I have the pleasure of thinking that by this importation I shall in a great measure contribute to reform the taste of my country. As soon as possible I shall discharge my pecuniary debt towards you—that of gratitude never can be paid."

---

[1] Solemnized on 8 April 1795.

[2] *See* vol. i., p. 16.

32.—CHARLEMONT to MARY, MARCHIONESS OF ROCKINGHAM.

i.—[1788.]—"The honour and favour of your ladyship's most obliging letter should not have remained so long unacknowledged, had not my receipt of it been delayed till within these few days, the lady to whom it was intrusted having spent some time at Bath on her way to Ireland—and, now that I have set myself down to answer it, I confess myself at a loss for terms to express my grateful sense of your goodness towards me. But you are satisfied with your own benevolence, and do not require my thanks. There is indeed a degree of goodness which gives up its claim to thanks by going beyond them. Nothing can be more kindly imagined than your intention of sending me a cast of the busto, as I shall by that means be in possession of the ever dear resemblance much sooner than I otherwise could have been. Yet, as I have been informed by all those who have seen it that the likeness is striking, I must take the liberty of intreating your ladyship, since you have so kindly granted me the liberty of procuring a copy, to desire my old friend Burke, who will, I am confident, gladly take the trouble, to set Nollekens at work for me as soon as possible, as I would wish for a monument so durable as would hand down to my posterity the memory of that affection, which must probably end with my life, whose memory I am desirous should long outlive me. Your ladyship need never apologize for giving me a detail of anything which concerns you, since nothing can be more perfectly interesting."

32, ii.—"After a long and fruitless attempt to convey to your ladyship some idea of my gratitude for your unremitting kindness towards me, I find that upon this head I must remain silent, and can only console myself under this painful necessity by the consideration that such acknowledgments as could be expressed in words would be wholly inadequate either to your goodness or to my feelings. If, indeed, it be true that favours ought to be estimated in proportion to our regard for the person from whom we receive them, how truly valuable to my heart must that goodness be which proceeds from one whom I must ever esteem as all that is left of the dearest and kindest friend I ever had, or ever can have.

"After this just effusion of genuine gratitude, it may seem somewhat singular that I should venture to make a request, but it is too much our nature to encroach, and I can only beseech your ladyship that if my request be improper it may be peremptorily refused. There is, I am told, in whose hand I am not informed, a striking resemblance in marble by Nollekens of the dear object of our eternal regret. If liberty could be procured for me to have a copy made of that bust by the same statuary, I should receive it as the first of obligations. But if in this I ask anything which may be either improper or troublesome, I have only to beg that your ladyship would think no more of the application, and would kindly ascribe my presumption to its true cause."

32, iii.—Londonderry.—"The much more than kind, the friendly note, with which your ladyship has honoured me, should not have remained so long unanswered had not my absence from Dublin prevented my receiving it till now.

"My heart is too full to allow me to express the extent of my gratitude for the dear, though melancholy present. Indeed, though I were able, I would not wish to explain my feelings upon this occasion, since, by so doing, I might irritate and injure those of my kind benefactress. Neither can such explanation be necessary. Your generous attention, by doing justice to my sentiments, clearly proves that they are not unknown to you, and could only have arisen from a perfect conviction that I should receive and feel it as on every account I ought to do. Let it then suffice to say that nothing could be more acceptable than that with which your goodness has favoured me, excepting only some opportunity of proving, at the hazard of my life, with what sincere gratitude and unlimited respect, and, if I may allow myself the expression, with what unalterable affection, I have the honour to be, etc."

32, iv.—"Your ladyship's goodness to me knows no bounds, and I feel the honour and favour of your letter far too sensibly to be able to thank you in terms satisfactory to myself. The kind manner also in which you are pleased to accept and give weight to the trifling tribute of my ever grateful remembrance confers an obligation upon me which can only be repaid by boundless gratitude; and if, as you are so kind to say, the constant, inviolate, and most respectful attachment of one who boasts as the highest honour of his life a firm and reciprocal friendship with the most amiable and estimable of men can afford you any degree of comfort or satisfaction, I am happy in the certainty that nothing can ever invalidate your undoubted claim, founded as it is not only on your own intrinsic desert, but on those exalted merits which are now placed beyond the reach of time or chance, and which no change can ever impair."

33.—CHARLEMONT to HON. ROBERT STEWART.

i.—"However I may be addicted to philanthropic philosophy, it must, I fear, be confessed that self-interest is by far the most powerful stimulus to activity. Such, at the least, is the principal motive which induces me to answer your letter as speedily as possible, in order that no time may be lost in fixing and confirming you in your most kind and munificent intention respecting the manuscripts,[1] which, spite of my eyes, have already delighted me, and which, when copied in a larger hand, I shall reperuse with more care, and consequently, if possible, with more pleasure. Friendship is, I find, as skilful in overcoming prejudices as Mr. Eden, lord[2] I don't know who, was said to be[3] . . Your arguments on the India question are, I confess, strong and weighty, yet without the interference of the aforesaid deluder, I greatly doubt whether I could persuade myself that a right acknowledged and admitted on all sides, but which was never to be practically asserted, is in effect any right at all. You do me justice in supposing that I perfectly agree with you in your sentiments respecting the caution which every Irishman should observe where the interests of Great Britain are essentially endangered. Indeed, it is impossible that in this particular he should differ from you, whose first wish ever has been the freedom of his country, and his second the perpetuity of her connexion with the sister kingdom. It always has been and ever will be my opinion that no project for the particular advantage of Ireland ought to be pursued, if the general interest of the empire of which she is a part should be essentially injured by it; but then, take notice that this liberality of sentiment should be mutual, and its effects reciprocal. Has that hitherto been the case? Surely no; and perhaps, especially in commercial matters, never will be. All traders are jockies, and England is indeed a knowing one."

---

[1], [4] *See* pp. 145, 162, 190.

[2] William Eden, created baron Auckland in peerage of Ireland, 1789, and in English peerage, 1793.

[3] *See* vol. i., p. 439.

33, ii.—"So full are my heart and head with the effects of my late delightful study, that, were I not writing to you, they would both of them overflow in praise of the manuscripts and of their writer.[1] But propriety condemns me to contain myself and counteract my feelings, and to you I shall only say that Haliday's eulogy was scanty and insufficient. It is generally believed here that the present candidate for the empire of France will take a different part from that which his father was likely to pursue. If so, much blood will be spared, and the sickly constitution will be suffered naturally to expire from its own innate defects of organization. For my part, I greatly applaud the wisdom of the young prince. Wantonly to assault an enemy already dying of a decay would be absolute madness, since, instead of hastening his dissolution, a lucky wound might very possibly contribute to his cure. How have you escaped from Haliday? Perfectly well, I doubt not, for where love is the cause of anger, the effects of this latter can neither be dangerous nor durable. Be, however, upon your guard in your northern conversation. I do not wish you to speak what you do not think; but I do most sincerely wish that your sentiments coincided with those of the majority of your constituents. Remember the excellent precept of lord Camden, that English politics should be totally forgotten by an Irish member of parliament. But, if I were any longer to continue this letter, my affection towards you would make me grow impertinent. . . As you directed, I have sent your papers by the mail coach; let me know that they have been duly received, as I shall be extremely anxious for their safety. What would I not give for copies of them?"

34.—CHARLEMONT to HORACE WALPOLE.—Works of Hogarth.

"As I have the best reason to be confident that to put it in your power to oblige is at all times to give you pleasure, my letters are usually the vehicles of request. In the present instance, however, as indeed in all others, I must beg that I may be positively refused if a compliance with any desire should be in any degree disagreeable or inconvenient. Mr. Livesay, a painter of whom possibly you may have heard, has been employed by me to perfect my collection of the works of your Hogarth. I call him yours because you have established his fame by that account of him, in which you have secured credit with posterity for his excellences by candidly acknowledging his imperfections. Two or three of his prints are not to be met with, and Livesay will desire leave in my name to make sketches from the originals which are in your possession. This request would seem sufficient for one letter, and yet I cannot rest here. My audacity must add a still more important one. The maxim is as true as it is trite, that bounty usually creates importunity, one reason of which I take to be that we are the more apt to ask when we hope to have our desires gratified. You have, as I am informed, printed a new edition of the 'Mysterious Mother,' with notes. Your kind bounty gave me the former, and therein lies the whole of my pretensions. I say no more, for, in truth, I am ashamed of having said so much—though a beggar, I am not an impudent one. If, however, most sensibly to feel the merit of that work, and to entertain the most entire esteem and grateful affection for its author can any way excuse the presumption of my more than insinuated request, no man, I am bold to say, has a better apology."

---

[1] *See* p. 190.

35.—LETTERS from CHARLEMONT.

i.—[1788.]—"I have read your letter with all that heartfelt satisfaction which we always feel on finding our good opinion of those whom we love justified and fortified by their conduct, and you may be assured that no other subject whatsoever could have induced me to hazard a doubt respecting the perfect principle of the duke of Portland or Mr. Fox; but where Irish constitution is at stake, I am all alive to jealousy.

"With regard to the evidence to be produced to parliament, I am perfectly sensible that the intervention of an Irish state physician might be productive of many embarrassments, yet still I think that the mere intercourse of speaker with speaker would scarcely be sufficient. I do not like any interference of the British parliament, and perhaps should be less offended with a correspondence between [privy] council and [privy] council. But this matter I freely and without fear confide to the prudence and patriotism of you and our other friends, nothing doubting that whatever evidence is produced will be authentic and parliamentary.

"Whether lord Buckingham has the powers you mention, I have not been able to discover with any degree of precision, but am rather of opinion that he has. From all that I can gather, I have reason to believe that no such powers will be exerted, as many circumstances concur to persuade me that he will remain here to meet the parliament, unless he should prematurely be recalled, a measure which I continue to deprecate, and which certainly cannot take place, nor ought he to be thought of, till the regent is first appointed. Respecting the dispositions of parliament in the important point of differing from England, it is difficult to speak with certainty. At first a full spring tide flowed in favour of the prince,[1] but you are well enough acquainted with our shabby members to estimate the effects that may be produced by English majorities, and by the intrigues of the castle [of Dublin]. My opinion, however, is that still anything may be carried for his royal highness, though the idea is, and certainly not an ill-founded idea, that to give him powers here, without which he has accepted the regency in England, would be paying an ill compliment to the propriety of his acceptance there. For my own part, the probability, which your letter seems to insinuate, that the prince will accept under the intended limitations, gives me the highest pleasure, as, had any other regency been appointed in England, we should have endeavoured, and, I believe, succeeded, in appointing his royal highness here, and I need not explain to you the consequences to which such a separation of the executive power might have led.

"Respecting our people, of whom I can speak with less uncertainty than of their representatives; as far as my intercourse and influence have extended, I find them almost universally for the prince, though there is much difference of opinion on the abstract question unfortunately agitated in the English parliament. In proof of this I send you enclosed an abstract of a letter from my friend Haliday of Belfast, but with whose influence you are well acquainted. But for heaven's sake, let us have nothing to do with that unlucky abstract proposition. Whatever my sentiments may be upon the subject, I cannot but perceive that it has done much mischief in England, and might be highly prejudicial here.

---

[1] Of Wales.

"And yet, if such difference be the sentiment of parliament, as my own opinion would induce me to wish, it ought certainly to take place, since otherwise we should seem to act a subordinate part. You are already in possession of my private sentiments respecting the above mentioned abstract proposition, yet its having been agitated and popularly decided in England may render it necessary not to vary here from the English decision, if it should be brought forward, as it possibly may, in spite of us."—*Not addressed.*

35, ii.—"Ashamed and vexed at the riotous and scandalous proceedings which have lately taken place in a county on the civilization of which I have ever prided myself, and wishing by every legal and constitutional means to contribute, as far as I am able, towards putting a period to such shameful transactions, I do hereby require of you that, whereas it has always been my desire that my tenantry should be treated by you with every possible lenity, you should, however, in the present case proceed with all legal severity against any such of my tenants as shall be anyhow concerned in the tumults or riots above alluded to; and in so doing it is my positive direction that no partiality be shewn to any sect or party, and that no distinction whatsoever be made between Protestant and Papist."—*Not addressed.*

35, iii.—"In one of those very agreeable evenings which some years ago I had the honour and pleasure of passing with you at the Turk's Head,[1] I happened to mention, as a matter of singular curiosity, a certain district in the county of Wexford, known by the name of the barony of Forth, where a colony of English had settled so early as in the reign of Henry the second, and where they had, even to this day, kept themselves so far unmixed with the native Irish as to have in a great degree preserved, not only the peculiarity of their manners, but a language also peculiar to themselves, and perfectly distinct both from the Irish and from the English, as now spoken. This matter you then seemed to think worthy of examination, and desired me to procure for you, if possible, a specimen of the language; which I then promised to do. My promise you have probably forgotten, but, as it is the duty of the promiser to have the better memory, I have been ever since endeavouring to perform it, though in vain, till very lately, when I have had the good fortune to meet with a gentleman of that country, who has not only procured for me the ballad[2] which I now send, but has taken the pains to make himself so far master of the language as to have translated it and in some degree explained it with a sort of commentary.

"If, then, the specimen should afford you half an hour's amusement, my pains will be amply repaid, but at all events I shall have the satisfaction of shewing you that, notwithstanding our long separation, you are ever in my memory, and that I am, in spite of absence, with the highest esteem," etc. . . .

"As the subject of the ballad is a 'hurling match,' it may be necessary that you should be informed that hurling is a country sport in Ireland, which much resembles the English cricket, being played with a large ball, and a sort of bats, which are called 'hurls' and sometimes 'sticks.' In Irish they are called 'commanes,' which is, I believe, the only Irish word in the ballad."—*Not addressed.*

---

[1] In Gerrard Street, London, first meeting place of the Literary Club, founded in 1764.

[2] Not in the collection. It appeared in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, vol. ii., 1788.

35, iv.—"Nothing can so agreeably flatter both my heart and my pride as to be kindly held in your lordship's remembrance; and consequently the book, which I yesterday received by the hands of Mr. McMahon, has afforded me far greater pleasure than could have accrued either from its own intrinsic value, or from my expectation of being much entertained by its contents. And, indeed, some such consolation (as that of being remembered with affection by the man whom of all others I most esteem) was now more than ever necessary to me. In addition to the sad situation of my beloved country, which, though recovering from the effects of internal commotion, is now threatened by foreign enemies, and still more by the fatal machinations of some among those whom she has ever deemed and wished to deem her best friends, I have now to struggle with a most excruciating malady, which renders me scarcely capable of writing even to you. Perpetual sickness has now succeeded, and is still accompanied by perpetual vexation; and this latter is, if possible, aggravated by the consideration that, if not stimulated and exasperated by the madness of our pretended physicians, our convalescence would speedily have been changed to perfect health. But why should I torment both myself and you with these gloomy reflections? No, let me rather conclude a letter, which I am unable to prolong, with the comfortable hope and expectation that we shall yet be able to struggle through our present calamities."—*Not addressed.*

36.—STATEMENT BY CHARLEMONT ON EDUCATION OF HIS CHILDREN.

"I leave to my dearly beloved wife the tuition of my children, a bequest which I well know is the dearest I can leave her; let her educate my daughter in such a manner as to render her like to herself, and she cannot fail to be happy in contributing to the happiness of some worthy man. Respecting my son, as his being well and properly educated will not only be important to himself and to his family, but may also in some degree contribute to the prosperity of that country, the welfare of which has ever been the dearest object of my wishes, and as, from her sex, it is impossible that my wife, unassisted, should be a competent judge of the nice and difficult progress of a male education, I do hereby request and direct that she should at all times, upon this important subject, consult and advise with my dearest friends, sir Lucius O'Brien, baronet, (the right hon. Henry Flood, and Henry Grattan, esq.,)[1] and I most ardently conjure my aforesaid friends, by that friendship with which they have ever honoured me, by their regard to my memory, and, above all, by their affection to their country, that they will take the trouble of contributing their advice towards the education of this my beloved son, so as that by their care and prudence he may be made an honest, virtuous, and religious man, a good citizen, and a real, firm, and useful patriot, and may be rendered, as far as his abilities will reach, fit for that rank in the state to which his birth entitles him. And though it may seem superfluous, considering the care to which I have recommended him, to add any hint of my own, yet in this most important, and to me most interesting matter, I cannot avoid intimating my earnest desire that he may be made thoroughly acquainted with the constitution and with the laws of his country, an early and thorough acquaintance with these excellent institutions being the very best means to inspire him with an ardent affection towards that country, and to enable him effectually to defend its rights.

---

[1] The names within parenthesis were struck out in the MS.

"I desire also that he may be early exercised in the art of public speaking, as well to give him a facility of expressing his sentiments, as to divest him of that foolish and evil bashfulness, which has rendered his father a less useful member of the community than perhaps he otherwise might have been.

"With regard to the principles of religion and of morality, the only sure foundation of virtue and of happiness, it is not only unnecessary, but might even be deemed impertinent, that I should hint anything concerning them; confident as I am that my friends join with me in a thorough persuasion that they are the first and fundamental parts of education, without which it is impossible to conduct a child into the road of virtue, or to render him either a good man or a good citizen."

37.—LORD CLANRICARDE to CHARLEMONT.

"I have been entirely confined by a most severe cold, which still continues very troublesome, and will certainly prevent my attending the house on Monday next, according to a summons which I have just received; and as I am informed that parliament will then adjourn for three weeks (before which term expires I shall certainly have left Ireland), I wish to inquire from your lordship whether, as there is no prospect of my attending the house again, under these circumstances it might be agreeable that I should send immediately to your lordship the proxy which you have done me the honor to accept from me during my absence. I am as yet so ill informed of the rules of parliament, that I do not know whether any application for leave of absence is necessary, previous to my granting the proxy. Should it be so, your lordship would greatly oblige me in taking the trouble to have the customary form attended to; and by having the application to the house pass through your lordship, an idea would be conveyed to the public that I was not a deserter from the cause, which, of all crimes, is the last of which I would incur the suspicion. I was much mortified that my indisposition prevented me from being a spectator of the review on Monday in the park; I had, however, the pleasure to see all the corps as they passed by my windows, when I viewed them with a critical though not an unfriendly eye, and can with truth assure your lordship, that high as my expectations were of their appearance from public report, the reality went far beyond them."

38.—FITZGIBBON to CHARLEMONT.

May 6, Ely Place, [Dublin].—"I take the liberty to send your lordship lists of the magistrates now included in the commissions of the peace for the counties of Armagh and Tyrone, and request that you will, when your leisure will allow you, return them to me with your lordship's recommendation of such of them as in your opinion are fit and proper persons to be entrusted with the authority of magistrates. And if your lordship should find the names of any persons in the lists which I send who you do not think are fit for the situation, I trust you will strike your pen across them. Your lordship will also very much oblige me by mentioning the names of any gentlemen who will act, and whom your lordship will recommend as proper persons to be included in the new commissions which I mean to issue to these two counties."

39.—EARL FITZWILLIAM to CHARLEMONT.

[1795,] March 24, Dublin Castle.—"I shall be proud to be marked by your lordship's countenance in the last public act I shall perform officially;

it will be an honor to me that you testify to the public a continuance of the good opinion you have so often expressed that you entertain of me. Will you have the goodness to permit me to point your lordship out to the chancellor as one of the lords it will be most agreeable to me to have sent to attend me to the house, whither I am going today to give the royal assent to the bills returned from England."

40.—HENRY FLOOD[1] to CHARLEMONT.

i.—May 30.—"I have just had a loss in the borough of Callan that makes my ground there more ticklish than I could wish. I shall endeavour to repair it, but beg and entreat your lordship will if possible see lord Shannon and talk to him as wholly from yourself of the folly of the Sp[eake]r's supporting A[ga]r in the county after his conduct, and of not joining me or being neutral at least. That if any delicacy of something like engagement stood in the way, that was removed by A[ga]r's revolt from him; and that to make it still clearer he might propose this alternative to Ag[a]r, that if he joined against his uncle and secured Callan to me, he might go on with him, but if he would embroil the county by the contrary conduct, that he must break off.

"I beseech also that your lordship will see Henry to know for me explicitly whether he will come into parliament for lord Longford's borough or not, and if not that you will let me know that I may fix finally with lord Long[for]d on that subject. The county looks well, but I must secure a seat against all chances, however impossible almost."

40, ii.—[1775, March —, London.]—"I return you a thousand thanks for your kind letter, for I do not think it the less kind because it scolds a little. I am conscious I deserve it, not, however, from any error of intention I hope you will believe. But to suffer the indolence of Bath, or the business of London, or any earthly thing, to give but the appearance of a pause in that ardent and unalterable attachment which I bear you, and which you so perfectly deserve from everybody and peculiarly from me—so to have done I confess to have been wrong, and to deserve a more severe reproof than you give it; if I can call the sensibility your lordship expresses a reproof, which I ought rather to consider and hold to my heart as a fresh and an amiable instance of that friendly indulgence which you have always shewn me. I write in a crowd, and am blundering and blotting every line. My apology was awkward I know; how could it be otherwise? and yet I protest it was the fact I was drawled on, I don't know how, from day to day, till I contracted a sort of listlessness from habit. But be assured that neither in that nor in my last letter had reserve the smallest share, which to you I should consider as a crime. You are the only person to whom I have communicated some things, and to whom I would leave nothing uncommunicated that did not belong to others, and which had not come to me under confidence and secrecy.

"As to the affairs of this country, you know very well how little the difference is between a man's being here and in Dublin as to any knowledge of those matters which you would give a farthing to hear of—I mean the great line of measures, or of men, that may portend any change. There were many symptoms of something like some change in the beginning of the winter, and many rumours of that sort, which have rather sunk. And yet there are people now who see alterations approaching. For my part, I confess myself to have been so often mistaken by the appearances of the political sky that I give up being weatherwise, and shall never believe any barometer till the event has verified its prediction. The opposition seems wonderfully deficient in union, perseverance, generalship, etc., etc. I really cannot account for what I see. The times don't aspire to a passion, at least in public matters. Listlessness is the ton.

---

[1] M.P. for Callan, in county of Kilkenny, from 1776 to 1783. *See* vol. i. p. 440.

"The ministry go to one point well enough together, viz., the business of the crown, and yet in everything else there is as much and a more open appearance of mutual dislike than I remember amongst the component parts of it. Lord Weymouth[1] succeeds lord Bristol, and it is said that lord Rochford wished it. Is not that odd? Young George Grenville moved the other day a bill to take away the Chiltern Hundreds in effect from the minister; but his bill contained so many provisions for members vacating their seats, that the remedy seemed to me to be worse than the disease. The house treated him with great esteem, however, and the minority was very respectable. Last Wednesday,[2] Burke made a motion of conciliation towards America. His idea you will see in the papers. His performance was the best I have heard from him in the whole winter. He is always brilliant in an uncommon degree, and yet I believe it would be better he were less so. I don't mean to join with the cry which will always run against shining parts, when I say that I sincerely think it interrupts him so much in argument, that the house are never sensible that he argues as well as he does. Fox gives a strong proof of this, for he makes use of Burke's speech as a repertory, and by stating crabbedly two or three of those ideas which Burke has buried under flowers, he is thought almost always to have had more argument.

"The lords and commons are differing about the fishery bill. Perhaps it may be lost. There is great talk here of favours to be done to Ireland, which I hope will not prove abortive. As to trifles, it would be absurd for her to look for or accept them, and I have said so without reserve. You grieve me with the account you give of things in Ireland. But I request that your lordship will be more particular, for I protest to you I am totally ignorant of them. I have not seen even the Irish papers, and sir John Blaquiere and I do not converse upon any kind of business. Not that I have the least quarrel to him, but not seeing any use in such a correspondence, I have declined it. There was something so strange in his sending over the privy counsellor's letter as he did, and in other liberties; all I believe perfectly well meant, but not equally agreeable that I found it necessary to put this stop. This to yourself if you have not heard it before, which I profess I thought you had, as your lordship thinks that I have heard those things which displease you. Along, however, with your arraignment of government, I beg that you will send our friend Langrishe's[3] defence. I should be heartily sorry that it should be necessary to be less friendly to lord Harcourt than we were. But if public duty compels, I have nothing to stand in my way. . . .

"Have you talked with Ponsonby lately? What do he and his friends think and say? What [is the][4] state of parties as far as it can be collected now? You see I lay in for another letter. I should think that you might judge a good deal by conversing freely with William Ponsonby. It is worth the while."

40,iii.—[1788,] January 12.—"A thousand thanks to you for your letter, every part of which I know how to value. I should long since have answered it, but that I wished to give an account of what was done here on the regency question; I hoped every day to be able to do so. Such strange delays, however, happened, and it is even now so far from its end, that I cannot hope to tell you anything satisfactory about it, before you will have met the marquess of Buckingham in parliament. Next Wednesday is the soonest that we shall go into the resolutions in the committee of the whole house, on which, after they shall be agreed to by the lords, a bill is to be formed. If we don't get through the resolutions on Wednesday, which is not improbable, it will take another day in the committee and after that another on the report, besides some intermission, as the debates will be long and the sittings very late. The house of lords will take some time with the business, and then possibly the bill will be again debated in all its stages,—a pretty long business.

---

[1] As secretary of state.
[2] 22 March 1775.
[3] *See* page 399.
[4] MS. damaged.

"It is supposed that you will adjourn for some days. Will you think the certified copies of the evidence of the physicians here will be sufficient and parliamentary, or will you send over a committee? For God's sake let me know. Nothing that favours the rights of parliament can be disagreeable to your lordship, and the parliament of Ireland is entitled to the same with the British parliament. The right of the prince, or any other right save that of the two houses, is completely given up, and is thought to have been an unlucky suggestion. By the way, Mr. Fox is not well, though not as ill as party makes him. There is scarce believing a word one hears; terrible calumnies are scattered on all sides. The queen does not escape, nor even the king on the subject of past accumulations. I am more charitable than lord Chesterfield, for I don't believe half of what I hear, and I don't hear half as much as others. I entreat to hear from you on what you are likely to do."

40, iv.—November 27, Chief Point, near Waterford.—"I received yours just as I was stepping into my chaise for this place, where I got at five o'clock, hoping to sail this evening, but the wind is so high and so contrary that the packet does not sail. You won't say it is a judgment. I feel all your lordship says, but most, and most willingly, that which manifests your old partiality to me. By my application to you, which I return your lordship many thanks for entertaining, you see that I do not wish to avoid the possibility of attending the Irish parliament, but, in its present total relaxation, I find no impulse of duty to it, so that if I were not to be in London, I doubt I should remain at Farmley.[1] In England I am more a spectator, which is less irksome than to be an actor in a lifeless, useless drama. I cannot have so great a pleasure as hearing from your lordship. When convenient, direct to Berners'-street, Oxford-road, London."

40, v.—December 20.—"I am in the most mortifying state in the world. I set out a fortnight too soon, just after the first paroxysm of the gout was over, hoping to mend on the road, and wishing to get here a few days before business began. I was kept near Waterford three days by high and contrary winds in a wretched, cold hotel. I was three days and nights in a storm at sea, and ever since have had the most inhospitable weather to encounter. A relapse, the consequence of all this, has kept me a prisoner to my room.

"Yesterday the commons did not go through with the report, which is but a preliminary step when gone through. It cannot go to the lords, therefore, till Tuesday next. If they concur, a bill will be requisite, and it is not likely that that should be ready till the week after next, so that I hope to be in at the death. For God's sake, how does our country feel on this? I think I can conjecture your lordship's feelings.

---

[1] Flood's residence in county of Kilkenny.

"There is a deal of cabal and negotiation going forward. I hope to have a line from you, before the decision.—Confidential."

41.—GRATTAN to CHARLEMONT.

"I did intend to have gone to you yesterday, or this day, to have mentioned what I have not until just now disclosed to any of my family. I mean my intention of marriage.[1] I need not tell you the lady, but rather the reason of my silence. I did not speak on the subject explicitly till last week, and not knowing till then her intentions towards me I thought silence prudential. I own I feel a sheepishness always on the subject of marriage. I therefore, on principle, aim at silence and expedition. My only excuse for not disclosing this matter before is that I did not till now mention it to colonel Marlay, and my chief excuse to him is that I did not before mention it to lord Charlemont. It might have been awkwardness, but not a want of confidence—not a want of the most rooted eternal affection . . . "

42.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

i.—"I heartily agree with your lordship that we have only rolled the stone towards the summit, and that it must tumble back, should the popular hand be removed from it, to the breaking of shins at least, and I am afraid the labours of Sisyphus are but the prototype of ours, only that we will take a little rest between hands. In truth, after the black ending of last sessions, it would be no easy matter to prevail on the people to take Milton's[2] advice:—

'———— nor bate a jot
Of heart or hope; but still bear up, and steer
Right onward.'

"While they had a confidence in parliament they would have done everything they were bid. They have lost that and will do nothing, but port helm and bear away for the next harbour. I shall not be surprised if a certain new-made colonel succeeds your lordship, as our reviewing general.

"Our gentry (I speak in confidence to your lordship, I should be undone were I known to utter these sad truths) possess a fine stoical apathy with respect to public concerns—few, very few of them would give up a good hunt or a good bottle to attend a county meeting, were it merely to serve their country, and not some election purpose. Our merchants indeed pour out fervent aspirations for the new modelling, not of Poynings' law, but the sugar duties, and think as little about the eternity of the mutiny bill as that of their own souls. The common people follow their leaders, and flock to the banners of the king of Ulster as readily as to those of a Stewart or a Brownlow—in short, we are no better than our neighbours, and your lordship knows what a shabby race the British are at present. Our late growths of patriotism, without as well as within doors, were the productions of a hotbed rather than of the native soil and climate—they were hasty sprouts, looked well, but wanted both flavour and substance. Even then our meetings, like his majesty's forces, figured much more on paper than in their shoes. Even then it was but heavy and forced work. Your lordship will judge of their real insignificance, when I can say without a blush, except for my betters,

---

[1] Henry Grattan married in 1782.

[2] Sonnet xxii.

'——— quæque ipse miserrima vidi
Et quorum pars magna fui.'

"But enough—and too much—of generals. Were it possible, my lord, to effectuate county meetings during the present requiem of public spirit, something more particular would be expected than what your lordship suggests. Such indefinite instructions would be thought to leave the members pretty much to themselves, many of whom, if you will believe them, voted for the perpetual clause, thinikng it no harm. Even our own immaculate conception! the mutiny bill, Poynings' law, the sugar duties, must all be specified. Were the meetings numerous, each point would be disputed, but the last would meet with the warmest support. All people are fonder of bread than of freedom except the common beggars, and whom are we to instruct? I speak of these two counties . . . of one thing I am certain, that it would be dangerous to attempt this business at the assizes; the proposition, if at all listened to, would be opposed. It would run a risk of being rejected in the county of Down (lord Hillsborough[1] is a minister), and in this county it would run no risk of anything else. My lord Antrim keeps up a perpetual succession (let the bishops look to theirs) of good Tory sheriffs, and they take care to have grand juries that will neither disgrace them nor any of their makers—except one, whom they are easy about."

42, ii.—"Our four committees of the union societies have been in close divan for some nights past, in consequence of an express from their brethren in Dublin notifying the gracious disposition of the governing powers to accede to the wishes of the Papists, provided they will relinquish the scheme of holding a general convention of delegates, in order to convey with energy their universal, at least their very general will to the legislature. This is asserted to be the reason of these so frequent meetings, and I believe is, though I am not honoured with the confidence of any individual of the fraternity. It is also said, that while this fair prospect of success brightens the countenance of the popish part of these unnatural associations, it has produced a very different effect on the faces of the protestant dissenters united with them, from an apprehension that these new allies of the old religion will now be satisfied, and will give themselves little trouble either about them or a reform of parliament. Such, my good lord, are the reports flying about here, and I have troubled your lordship with them, in hopes of learning from you whether such a treaty hath been actually opened. We hear, too, that they have sent young Burke[2] a-packing from Dublin, looking on him as a spy from the British minister.

"If you ever cast your eye on the 'Northern Star' (a star I should be loath to steer by), you must be astonished at the many lying reports and inflammatory publications which it shamefully scatters abroad. These, however, are swallowed by the multitudinous mass with the utmost avidity and plenary credence; in consequence, a spirit of riot and misrule seems to be strongly fermenting therein—how it will end God knows. But in the meantime, I am assured that an apprehension of impending confusion in this country is drawing much cash from it to England, and that some of our own people are sending their own cash thither as to a more secure place; and that this is beginning to hamper the national bank, as well as all private ones, in their operations, by infusing a spirit of distrust, or at least extreme caution, a most unfortunate circumstance in a country growing in manufactures and in commerce, and which wants little but capital and confidence to rise to great eminence in both . . . "

---

[1] Created marquis of Downshire in 1789.
[2] Richard Burke, junior.

42, iii.—November 13.—"In the cover of my official dispatches, I have just to tell you that yesterday noon the honorable Simon Butler[1] and Mr. Hamilton Rowan did me the honour of leaving cards at my house, as I was then in the country; they are to dine this day with the 'Unitas Fratrum,' and then hasten to Dublin, as Mr. Hamilton expects his trial to come on this term.[2] I had a few minutes conversation with them in the street, and was pressed to pass the evening where they did, but was unfortunately engaged.

"You inquire in your last about our new society, of which I have the honour to be the most unworthy president, for, to my shame be it spoken, I have been but once in the chair since I was nominated to it. I found sundry members there whose characters, whose principles, and whose spirits I did not like. I hate even witnessing altercation, and I am grown too indolent to mind any business but my own; yet this book-society does much honour to the sans-culottes of Belfast. It originated many years ago among some sensible and reading mechanics, who, by paying a crown at first and one shilling monthly, had got up a tolerable collection of good books before the society was known of out of their own walls. On taking steps for a public library in this town, we first heard of them, and very readily associated with them. On becoming members, we paid two guineas, as every new member now does, with one shilling monthly, and as the society is so numerous as one hundred and fifty or sixty, your lordship sees a very considerable fund for the purpose established. What we want is a public room and a librarian, both which objects we are in hopes of accomplishing. I was early disgusted by an attempt of some of our profound statesmen to render it a political as well as a scientific society, in which they were with some difficulty baffled"

42, iv.—"Last night brought intelligence of the death of one of our representatives, and I believe a very honest one, Hugh Boyd. He was hurried off at Coagh by a rapid fever, an event which, I suppose, will hurry over lord Spencer Chichester, and that he will come in for the county without opposition; indeed, a perfect though gloomy indifference as to elections is prevailing in these parts universally—and no wonder.

"I have surely lived long enough. I have seen the bright dawn of Irish liberty and the lowering clouds which so completely overcast it. I have seen the light of British freedom expire, with such faint struggles as a candle makes in the socket. We, however, have the advantage of our neighbours, it being much better that our mouths should be sealed up than we should be sent to Botany Bay for speaking."

42, v.—Belfast.—"I am writing on Friday, our market day; but all business in the streets, the linen-hall, and at Change, has been put down by dragoons, etc., with the warlike marquis at their head. Espionage flourishes as well here as in France under the old government, or in England under the new one; in consequence of this blessed system the town was carried, sword in hand, at a very early hour, and five or six United Irishmen have been taken up. I am told forty-two have been informed against by a disguised corporal—not all here; some have been secured at Lisburn, some respectable linen-drapers seized on their way to our market. The confusion, you may believe, is great, and the timid women are sorely frightened. I am thankful that I have none of that description, but my old faithful religious housekeeper, who is at her prayers.

---

[1] Son of viscount Mountgarret, and founder of Dublin society of "United Irishmen."

[2] Rowan was tried in the king's bench, Dublin, in January 1794. *See* p. 376.

"The good people of this town early exerted themselves to be discriminated from those whose principles they did not like—to no purpose; they were confounded in one common mass, and the town reprobated and devoted without exception. As to amity to the constitution, they no longer behold it in Britain as what is intitled to respect and love, much less in this proconsular province; it is not a leak in the vessel which strikes their imagination, but a desperate pilot steering with a crowd of sail for the rocks, with a corps of stupid or drunken officers, not only not opposing, but applauding his manœuvres. I meant to have qualified all this nonsense, but I must set out for Shane's Castle. Depend upon it, my lord, never was so great and unnecessary an insult offered to the civil power as has been witnessed this day. The ordinary magistrates and constables could and would have the business done as well, and quietly. I shall say nothing of the treatment of this town; it has not been near so bad as what was experienced in the year '93, when General White boasted that he was empowered to destroy the town, 'funditus,' and the 38th regiment and the artillery were ready and well disposed to have effectuated the measure. Speaking as a Belfast man, what is it to me whether I am to be destroyed by an unconstitutional government, or an illegal mob? Get the 'Northern Star' of this night—you will find there no unfair account of this day's proceeding."

42, vi.—"Depressed in spirits, perplexed and confounded by the strange and terrifying aspect of the times, I have not had energy enough to address you for a great length of time—for to what purpose? Why torment you, who are not on a bed of roses, with my groans? But I am now stimulated to revive a much prized correspondence by the hope that it may be productive of some public good.

"Drinking a glass of wine, on Saturday evening, with my friend H. Joy, I found he had been in Armagh at the time of the county meeting. Much did he say in praise of your son; regretting that the petition which his lordship had to offer, equally firm and decided with the one adopted, but more temperate, had not been preferred. Now, as a meeting of this county is appointed for next Monday, I should be very glad of a copy of the rejected one, as I think it might be helpful to us in framing ours, and you may be certain I shall make no indiscreet use of it. Whether a meeting of the county Down will be graciously granted by the sheriff (who is [lord] Downshire's slave) is not yet known; but he declared ante manum he would not accede to the requisition. One very respectably signed (amongst others, by twelve of the grand jury) has been presented. Lord de Clifford, it is true, declined signing it, by which he has lost (and he could not well afford it) more respectability than the paper.

"We see nothing here but an organized system of espionage, scandalously encouraged, supported by military fury and ending in Bastilles—in short, taking luxury and corruption into the account, a striking though not a lively—our people are not monkeys—image of France under the old regime. This I ventured to hint in a long letter I had the presumption to write to his excellency many weeks ago, in consequence of an assertion in a very short one I had just been honoured with from his lordship. I shall transcribe the paragraph in mine, which, I fear, has offended him, as he has never noticed it or me since.

And if your lordship could have the patience to read it, I shall at some future day send you a copy of the whole:—

"'Would to heaven, my lord, that something conciliatory had early been attempted, instead of those exasperating measures which have been progressively pursued both in and out of parliament, and which, some think, have scarcely left one feature of the constitution discernible. Whether anything in this way, which I know would be more congenial to your lordship's feelings, would now do, I cannot pretend to say; but humanity and justice—which is ever the soundest policy—magnanimity, seem all to plead for the trial. The alternative is too horrible to think of.'

"I shall send this by a private hand. Wafers and sealing-wax are no longer securities for post-letters, and I know not now what is treason, what is sedition; but I know I am too old to wish to be shipped on board the tender.[1] This goes, after all, by post, the time of my friend's arrival in Dublin being uncertain. I have just seen the sketch of the Down petition—short and pithy, and on the whole not much amiss."

42, vii.—"Now that the elections are happily over, O'Connor[2] has recovered his liberty, and, it is said, our other bastilled gentry (whose most inexplable crimes were their zeal and activity in support of freedom of election, and their exposing the encroachments of power, civil and military) will get out. I am told his excellency has expressed great concern that the Monaghan militia (still here!) should have erected themselves into (not licensers but) extinguishers of the press; yet that was a masterly and well-timed coup-de-main. The people have been kept in wholesome ignorance ever since with respect to all governmental and military outrages, except what few Irish truths they can pick up from the 'London Courier.' I wish we could pick up any facts with respect to the Malmesbury negotiation, which, though slow, will probably be sure, if it be true that the 200,000*l.* ridiculously voted for the support of Portugal (more was sent, I believe, on occasion of the Lisbon earthquake) was remitted under cover to the French directory.

"Fain would I, my dear lord, avert my eyes and my thoughts from the surrounding gloom. . . Yet, God knows, she never designed me for a politician—I am not even a quidnunc.

"We have peace here at present. 'Where they turn a country to a desert, they call it peace,' saith Tacitus. This town is not quite a solitude, but it is much deserted; our once busy quays are almost totally so. Before this blessed war, we had thirty-two West India-men; now we have just one! But when a union takes place, to which our omnipotent minister seems to point, we may possibly have a couple." . .

43.—EARL OF HALIFAX to CHARLEMONT.

"Lord Halifax presents his compliments to Lord Charlemont, and is much obliged to his lordship for the pamphlets he has been so good as to send him.[3] He will not fail setting out immediately on notice of the council being appointed, which he takes for granted will be to-morrow or Wednesday. He left orders with his porter to give him the earliest notice, but will nevertheless (for fear of accidents, as he is seldom summoned but to cabinet councils) expect to receive a summons from lord Charlemont."

---

[1] Government ship for prisoners.

[2] Arthur O'Connor.

[3] *See* vol. i., p. 442.

44.—REV. EDWARD HUDSON to CHARLEMONT.

i.—October 17.—"The business I mentioned to your lordship increases with tenfold rapidity. For my part, I expect nothing but evil from it in this part of the country at least. Already have its baneful effects begun to appear at Kilrea, where the parties have had two or three encounters; however, I still have the satisfaction to hope that my own corner will be the best behaved. Both parties seem to place much confidence in me, and I think half my time is taken up in advising them to what I know is best for both. At the same time I have reason to fear that in some places a counter-association is preparing, if not going on, under the old title of 'Defenders,' but this I will soon know more of. The measure your lordship speaks of has reached us, and is received with as much apathy as if it were a negociation between the Creeks and Cherokees. Politics, which so lately constituted the good of a province, would not now make a snack for a Presbyterian minister. I have long believed a union to be a favourite measure with those on the other side of the water, and if they bring it forward now they will have nicked the time, and Ireland will be suspended as a trinket from the chain of the British minister's watch. In fact, my lord, all pride of spirit (which within due bounds is as necessary to a nation as an individual) is dead amongst us. I have written these few lines in a hurry to catch a man who I hear is going to Ballymena."

44, ii.—"The result of my inquiries is briefly this: every man whose opinion is worth asking is decidedly against the measure, and their dislike of it is heightened by observing that the disaffected in every part of the country seem delighted with it. These latter hope (I fancy) it will in the end separate the two countries, and I vow to God I fear it will—which is, I think, the strongest objection to it. However, this, and indeed all other questions, have been swallowed up for some days in the fears of a rising. On Sunday last all the yeomanry received orders from general Goldie to be ready at a moment's warning to turn out on permanent duty. Ours did not wait to be put on pay, but voluntarily sat up for three successive nights. My own opinion for two months past has been that mischief has been carrying on very near as actively as ever, and this opinion I am now more decidedly of than ever. Accounts come to me from almost every part of the country of meetings and swearings. The 'D[efende]rs'' oath has taken place of the 'United' one, and this is taken not only by Catholics but P[resbyterian]s. What do you think of a probationer (a young Presbyterian preacher) being converted to the Catholic religion by the friar, which certainly was not the least of his 'miracles'? I have just time to tell your lordship a circumstance which has made a very deep impression on my mind. The truth of it you may positively rely on. A man who has a very large influence in a neighbouring county (especially amongst the C[atholic]s) was lately liberated from confinement, and after taking a tour through his old associates gave this account: that he found them keen as ever, and even talking of a rising, but that for his part he had declared he could not be concerned, as friends had entered into weighty security for him. Within ten days after I had this account, I learned that this same person dined near Ballymena with a select party of five officers of distinction, prime leaders in the rebellion. That something of consequence is evident to me from this—that one of the colonels had debauched another of them some time ago. Yet for the good of their country they dined together very amicably. I wish you may read this."

45.—RICHARD M. JEPHSON to CHARLEMONT.

"You will no doubt receive an account from lord Caulfeild of the event of the meeting of to-day. Ever since the requisition was signed he has been full of anxiety of the most amiable kind, lest an act of his should by any possibility lead to any mischief. I can assure you without flattery, that through the whole of the business he conducted himself in the most manly and sensible manner. The turn which the business took did not call upon him to say much, but what he did say was said with readiness, with firmness, and without embarassment. Of his speaking before the meeting of magistrates, I have received a very favourable account indeed. Though the meeting of the county cannot be said to have had the most desirable issue, yet I think, on the whole, and considering the extreme violence of the temper apparent in the majority (which was much greater than I could have believed), it may be said to have had a favourable conclusion. The address which lord Caulfeild proposed was drawn up between him and me from his instructions. The doubtful point of introducing the request for the dismissal of ministers was determined by his own judgment, after a most painful hesitation upon its propriety and upon its entirely coinciding with your wishes. I never saw worse generalship than was shewn by the Gosford party, who seemed to be represented by James Dawson and colonel Sparrow; they had nothing prepared to offer to the meeting but a resolution so general that it would have been perfectly ridiculous to have suffered it to pass as the result of a meeting so solemnly called. And though Sparrow declared he would sit no longer in the chair after it was rejected, he yet suffered himself to be prevailed on against his own intention to put the question on the violent address which did pass, and afterwards to sign it as sheriff. I am afraid the miserable style and composition of it will be laughed at in England.

"As the assizes are near a conclusion everywhere, I begin to be uneasy for fear I am outstaying my time. I seldom see a newspaper, and when I do, cannot discover when any business of consequence is to be brought forward in the house of commons. I should take it as a great favour if your lordship would be so kind as to let me know when you think the reform or any other question will be likely to come forward. I don't know when lord Caulfeild means to return, but I presume it will not be for some time. I should have written to you before, but as I knew that you were in the daily habit of corresponding with him, I thought you might like to be saved the trouble of an additional letter in answer to me, as I know that is a trouble you are good enough never to spare yourself.

"I hope you have heard a good account of the dispute between Samuel Turner and lord Carhampton. It is too long to do justice to it in a letter."

46.—SIR HERCULES LANGRISHE[1] to CHARLEMONT.

"I should long before this time have acknowledged your lordship's kind remembrance from Wolsley Bridge, but as your letter was dropt from the wing of flight, I could not attempt writing at you, until I was informed where your lordship had perched. The most interesting accounts I can entertain your lordship with must naturally be those of the hot wells, which you have doubtless formerly seen, and which are nothing altered in water or company at this day. The wells are situated about two miles down the river from Bristol (a large commercial city remarkable for affording and manufacturing the best woollen night-caps in the world), subject to all the incommodations which may be expected in a little wet, dirty, much frequented village, for much is it frequented at this season. The sick come here in search of health ; the sound, in pursuit of pleasure ; the idle, to meet idleness ; the clergy, to be absent from their duty ; the great, because it is the fashion ; and the little, because the great come. There are no cards played here ; nor are there long rooms for the accommodation of the ladies. Though the company at present is very brilliant, consisting of an Irish earl and his lady (whose taste can make anything elegant, and whose society any place happy), an English lord of the bedchamber (whose picture your lordship may have seen in Dublin), lady Betty Germain, general Sinclair, sir John Cope, the bishop of Sodor and Man, Mr. Sheridan, Mrs. Bettesworth, nine Irish bishops, twelve deans, and three archdeacons without their wives.

---

[1] M.P. for Knoctopher, commissioner of barracks and of revenue.

"My last letters from Ireland say that the prudent, yet vigorous interposition of lord Townshend has finally put an end to the quarrel between alderman Faulkner and Gorges Howard.[1] The truth of it is that they all dined together the other day at Faulkner's, and agreed that the dinner should be the common contribution of the three parties ; which was accordingly the case. Howard supplied the drinkables, Faulkner the eatables, and Lord Townshend the rest of the entertainment. As for Mr. Flood, you may be assured he is the greatest huntsman and the idlest man alive. We may truly say, 'the child may rue that's yet unborn the hunting of his day.' For it entirely prevents his turning his thoughts to that great and important work which your lordship has so much at heart. I have entreated, accused, and abused him in vain. I hope your lordship will add your spur, which may be sharper than mine. The board of works and superintendency of their accounts have so entirely taken up my time, as to prevent my attempting any state ballads or fugitive pieces of Irish story since I had the pleasure of seeing you. I suppose your lordship has been informed of Jack Beresford's promotion. It is, as I hear, this : Allan[2] (not Mr. Allen[3] of Bath) had an employment in the customs (he was taster of wines), the emoluments of which were the voluntary contribution of the merchants, which amounted exactly to nothing. This burden government have eased the merchants of, and substituted in its place salary of 1,000*l.* per annum, which is granted[4] to Beresford for his life and his son's. Our friend Marlay, I daresay you know, is in possession of an entire 1,000*l.* per annum in the church, and intends taking Lord Ely's new house in Hume-street,[5] as soon as the lawsuit shall be determined against him. The same letters mention that as country sports prevent our friend from undertaking his exposition of our Parva charta of sir Edward Poynings, that sir Edward Newenham has kindly undertaken it, which will answer as well. Lord Shannon's history the newspapers tell your lordship. Their story is possibly premature, but certainly probable. I beseech your lordship, if the little parcel you carried with you [be] not printed, that you will keep it carefully for me. I can't tell you why I am anxious about its preservation (as I really have no parental connexion with it), but I have a particular reason for being so. The harvests are good and the weather pretty favourable in Ireland, but we have lost some of our inhabitants, the greatest part of our money, and all our credit. I dare say your lordship's patience has by this time paid pretty sufficiently for your rash step in provoking me to a letter. I have initiated my friend (I mean my lord Townshend's friend) Faulkner in the prolixity, unimportance, and illegibility of my narrative."

---

[1], [2] *See* "History of the City of Dublin," ii., 1859, pp. 24, 44, 55.

[3] Ralph Allen.

[4] In 1772.

[5] Dublin.

47.—MALONE to CHARLEMONT.

i.— . . [books] belong to Mr. Daly, and I request you will be so good as to send them to him—Apollonius Rhodius, 'Maison rustique,' two volumes quarto, the 'Mirror,' three volumes duodecimo. I have kept a very exact list of your plays, by which means you will, I believe, not find any duplicates among them, unless where a former copy was imperfect, but I have not been equally exact about the small volumes of old poetry. I beg therefore, when the present parcel arrives, you will make out a list of all such old parts as I have sent to you before and now, lest I should hereafter purchase them a second time. Lord Surrey certainly translated the first book of Virgil. You seem to be in doubt about it; but if you look into Warton's History of English Poetry, you will find the editor and printer particularly mentioned. Pray let me know whether you have Lydgate's Troy book or history of Troy,[2] folio, as, if you have it not, I can get you a good copy.

"I am very glad to hear that Flood has thoughts of publishing his thoughts on Poynings' law. Surely, no time can be so proper as the present, when Ireland is going to have a new constitution, or rather to vindicate and establish her old one. It would have peculiar weight here, because they affect at present to treat our claims as novelties, grounded merely on the present distressed state of England, though it might be easily shown that we have at all times contended for them, and only submitted to the hand of power. A person here has thoughts of publishing all the works of sir John Davies.[3] Among them is a remarkable speech that he made on being chosen speaker of the house of commons of Ireland in 1612, in which he lays down some very false positions relative to Poynings' law and the Irish constitution. Now as his authority is considered as very weighty, would it not be a good way of introducing Flood's thoughts to annex them as a comment or refutation to Davies's speech? If he would transmit them to me, I would take care to have them printed correctly, either in that way, or any other that he chose.

"Almon's successor printed your protest according to the corrected copy, in his 'Remembrancer' for February. I suppose you have that pamphlet sent to you. I beg you will let me know whether there is anything in it that you would wish to correct, that Dodsley may have it right in his annual register.

"The papers have already informed you of the surprising revolution in the political world here; most of the changes have been given correctly. Burke has been taken good care of; he is himself paymaster. His son [4] is his deputy, a very valuable place, and his brother [5] one of the secretaries to the treasury, a place worth 5,000 a year. It seems very extraordinary that Dunning [6] should not be attorney general. I have heard it accounted for in this way: Wallace, whom he has a particular enmity to, has got a patent of precedence before any other

---

[1] Published at Edinburgh in 1779–80.

[2] "The hystory, sege and dystruccyon of Troye. Emprynted by Richard Pynson," London, 1513.

[3] A volume of "Historical tracts" by sir John Davies, edited by George Chalmers, was published at London in 1786.

[4] *See* page 394.

[5] Richard Burke, senior, barrister, subsequently recorder of Bristol.

[6] John Dunning, baron Ashburton, died 18 August 1783.

lawyer at the bar; and Dunning did not choose to come in under him. He has taken, therefore, only the office of chancellor to the duchy of Lancaster, with a promise of succeeding lord Mansfield in the king's bench and a peerage. The new administration have not yet entered on their new plan of reformation, except in the board of trade, which is abolished, as well as the office of secretary of state for the colonies.

"Would I could follow the very friendly advice you give me in that part of your last letter that more particularly relates to me! You are mistaken in imagining that what I mentioned to you is a recent business; it happened near a year ago, and my feelings are exactly the same now as they were then. Without pretending to any extraordinary refinement, I do really think that studying the wishes and gratifying the inclinations of a person to whom the heart is sincerely attached, is one of the greatest pleasures this world affords. All our pleasures in some degree satiate but this. It is, I know, a current opinion in the world, that possession abates the edges of affection; but, for my own part, I think it absolutely false, and have found that an intimacy of many years served only to increase instead of diminishing mine. Having had some experience of such feelings, you will not, I am sure, be surprized at my calling my present situation a most uncomfortable one; and it is rendered still more so from a certainty that my heart is for ever shut against any other attachment. However, I still cherish a hope of that kind, in spite of the experience of so many years. In the meanwhile, life is passing away. But in this, as in everything else, we go on relying on to-morrow and to-morrow; till at length death drops the curtain, and puts an end to all our speculations."

47, ii.—[John Nichols, nephew and successor] to an old printer of the name of Bowyer,[1] lately dead, who was a second Aldus, and reckoned one of the best Greek scholars in England, being himself a man of learning, he gave his nephew a literary education. He has taken infinite pains about Swift. He has examined all the original letters (of which so many collections have been printed within these few years) which are now deposited in the British Museum, and on collating them with the printed copies, he found that Dr. Hawkesworth and the other editors had taken most unwarrantable liberties with them, mutilating and suppressing passages ad libitum. When he applied to me on the subject, which I shall just now mention to you, he shewed me several sheets of paper which he had covered with these omitted passages, and which he had been at the pains of transcribing from the originals. By an attentive perusal of Swift's 'Journal to Stella,' he has discovered him to be the author of many little pieces in the time of queen Anne, which have not yet been inserted in his works; and he has procured almost all the original editions of Swift's political pieces, as they were published in threepenny and sixpenny pamphlets, by which he has been enabled to correct many errors. But there are a few papers which, after all his researches, he has not been able to meet with; and he requested me to write to Ireland in order to get some intelligence about them. A complete edition of Swift is so national a work that I am sure you will be ready to contribute to it, yet I fear it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to procure the pieces he wants. The titles of them are as follows:—

"1. Ode to king William, when in Ireland—1690. 2. A ballad on the Westminster election—1710. 3. 'Dunkirk still in the hands of the French,' price 1*d*. 4. 'A hue and cry after Dismal,' etc., price 1*d*. 5. 'Peace and Dunkirk, being an excellent new song on the surrender of Dunkirk,' price 1*d*. 6. 'It's out at last or French correspondence, clear as the sun,' price 1*d*. 8. A pamphlet alluded to by Mr. Ford (vol. 19 of Swift's works, page 59) as containing the words 'The uncertain timorous nature of the ——.' 9. A narrative of several attempts which the Dissenters of Ireland have made for the repeal of the sacramental test, from a paper called 'The Correspondent,'[1] annexed, about the year 1733, to the second edition of the 'Presbyterians' Plea of merit.'

---

[1] William Bowyer, died in November 1777. Editions of Swift's works, edited by Nichols, were published at London in 1801, in 19 vols. 8vo., and in 24 vols. 18mo. in 1804. Hawkesworth's edition in 22 vols. 8vo. appeared at London, 1755-68.

"Mr. Nichols imagines numbers 3, 4, 5 and 6 to be part of the seven penny papers, mentioned by Swift to Stella, Aug. 7, 1712. I don't believe there is any likelihood of meeting any of these things or of getting any intelligence concerning them unless old Dr. Lyon[2] (the librarian of St. Sepulchre's) be yet alive.

"Affairs seem to be here in as bad a state as in Ireland. Nobody has any money, and I believe we shall very soon learn to live entirely upon air. Persons of the largest fortunes can't raise a shilling on the most undoubted securities; even at Almack's and Whyte's the stock books are shut, and no business done. Yet the talk of war seems to die away, or rather so profound a secrecy is observed, that no one knows whether there is to be one or not. I suppose it will depend in some measure on the operations of the American commissioners, for if the people of America should be so weary of the burthens of war as to be induced to treat, without the concurrence of the congress, matters may yet be healed.

"If you should happen to see lord Southwell soon, I beg you will let him know that I yesterday received a letter from him, and will take the very first opportunity of making the enquiry he desires, and as soon as ever I have learnt how the matter is, that I will write to him. I mean to enquire about it this day.

"It is, I am sure, full time to conclude this unconscionably long letter, which I fear has tried your patience. If you should hereafter have any commands for me, be so good as to direct them to me at No. 55, Queen Anne-Street, E., and be assured that you cannot do me a greater favour than by giving me an opportunity of shewing how sincerely I am, etc."

48.—Richard Marlay, D.D., to Charlemont.

"I am ashamed that I have been so long without writing. I have no good excuse to make, so I shall not endeavour to varnish over my fault by bad apologies, but plead guilty, beg for mercy, and promise to grow diligent. I am told Mr. St. Leger is a great favourite with the pope. . . . Is John Henry at Rome now? Is he as fine a gentleman as ever, as conceited and as full of himself as he was in his native country, or is he more affected since he has trod on classic ground, seen every court, heard every king declare his royal sense of operas or the fair? What an unaccountable thing it is, that a person who does not want sense should make himself ridiculous by his vanity, or how can vanity and good sense meet in the same person; and yet we find they often do. I believe it is owing to self-love, which intoxicates the brain and gets the better of the understanding, and makes men say and do many things which they imagine will raise them in the esteem and opinion of the world, but which in reality make them despicable, and become (as Pope says in his character of the duke of Wharton) most contemptible to shun contempt. Don't you think I have canted through this page very finely? made a very serious dissertation on vanity. Could Whitfield have swaddled with greater gravity? In a letter or two I shall preach you a downright sermon, and set you to sleep as effectively as the profound sonorous doctor Bradford would at the Round church, or the heroic Palliser in the college chapel. I hear Burton has left you and is on his way to Ireland. I expect to see him much improved. Though he had always a great deal of good humour and good nature, he was in many things very childish and ignorant; but if he has tolerable sense, and has lived with you for a year, he [may] be altered for the better."

---

[1] At foot: "Mr. Gardiner has some numbers of the 'Correspondent' in 1733. Were these Swift's?"

[2] Prebendary of St. Patrick's cathedral, Dublin, died in 1790.

49.—SIR LAWRENCE PARSONS to LORD CAULFEILD.

"I send you an abstract of a letter written by your father to a friend of his who had just then called his county, and who wished for some testimony of your father's opinion. If you think it can be of any service in your county, you may shew it to whom you please, but do not give a copy:—

"'As nothing has ever affected me with more painful astonishment than the shameful apathy and consequent silence of the country at the present desperate crisis of our fate as a nation, so have I experienced few more real pleasures than in having found by the public papers that a meeting of your county, at least, has been called—a pleasure which, though principally derived from my ardent zeal for the public service, is still farther increased by my friendship for you, as I am too well acquainted with your sentiments to doubt for a moment that such call has been in the highest degree satisfactory and flattering to your feelings. Neither can I entertain the slightest apprehension that the result of any meeting of Irishmen will be other than the firm and spirited condemnation of a measure[1] replete with every disgrace and danger to their country. Never, indeed, were my beloved countrymen so forcibly called upon as at the present emergency maturely to form their opinions, and to speak aloud the dictates of their hearts. Their ancestors call upon them from their graves to preserve those national rights which they have transmitted to them. Their children from their cradles, with mute but prevailing eloquence, beseech them to defend and to protect their birth-rights. Their country calls upon them with a more awful voice, not by their silence to betray her dearest interests, or by their supineness to leave her enslaved whom they found free. Thus invoked, is it possible that Irishmen shall remain silent? . . .'

"There is no end of the turnings-out talked of, and some said to be done.—lord Carhampton, the prime serjeant, sir H. Langrishe, Mr. De Burgh, the Speaker's son, and even Toler. The prime serjeant is, I believe, certain."

50.—PUBLIC PRINCIPLES OF THE ORDER OF ST. PATRICK.

Original Members: a. b. c. d. e. f., etc.
Grand Master: Lord C[harlemon]t.—Secretary: ———

"That each member of this order wear a medal either of gold, silver, or brass, as he shall think proper, with two figures, on the one side, of Britannia and Hibernia in the closest ties of friendship; on the other, the figure of an Irish Volunteer, with this motto: 'For my country.' The medal to be suspended from the third button-hole of the waistcoat by a blue ribband.

---

[1] The Legislative Union.

"That there be meetings of this order on every Saint Patrick's day, and also on the first Monday in every month, and that this meeting be called the Grand Union and always held in Dublin.

"That any person wishing to be a member give in his name to the secretary, and at the meeting following to be balloted for, one black bean in seven to exclude, and no ballot to be had unless seven members are present.

"That no person, though so admitted by ballot, can be a member until he comes in the uniform of an Irish Volunteer and goes through the manual exercise.

"That the grand master shall have the power of granting to any member of the grand union a patent for holding a union in any other part of the kingdom, and that the person to whom he so grants it shall have the power of choosing six persons who do not belong to the grand union to form such other union. Any member afterwards to be admitted to go through the same forms as laid down for the grand union. The secretary to keep an exact account of the order in which the grand master so appoints other unions.

"That each union shall annually return its numbers on Saint Patrick's day to the secretary of the grand union.

"That fines for non-attendance, and the application of those fines, be settled by each union for themselves.

"That the expence of meeting be settled in the same manner; but that the union shall always dissolve, after a bottle of wine a man, or a similar portion of any other liquor.

"That as harmony and concord are the basis of this order, any member refusing to comply with the determination of the majority present shall be expelled, and any dispute arising between two members, at the meeting of any union, must be referred to the members there present, on pain of expulsion.

"Secret:—'I do swear that I will inviolably keep the secrets that shall be communicated to me respecting this order. So help me God.'

"Then the secretary shall tell him that he is not to reveal that he has taken an oath, and that this declaration be also a secret, which, after having read, he will repeat aloud:

"'I do, in the awful presence of my God, declare that I will in every situation, and by every means in my power, support the constitution of Ireland, consisting of the king, lords, and commons thereof, and that I will ever oppose any attempt to bind Ireland by any other legislature on earth.'

"The secretary will then tell him that the members of this order shall distinguish one another by the following signs: putting his right hand on his left breast under his waistcoat, denoting fidelity to his country, and immediately after raising it to his left shoulder, as an emblem that he has a musquet to support the rights of Ireland.

"These being performed, the person becomes a complete member."

51.—James Stewart to Charlemont.

[1785,] October 10, Killymoon.—The duke of Rutland's conduct[1] is, indeed, very surprising. I thought him a man of so much honor that he would have considered the declarations made to you as binding as a

---

[1] *See* page 25.

promise could be, and that he possessed firmness enough to overcome, on an occasion like the present, every objection which could be thrown in the way. The turn which this business is now taking grieves me chiefly because it will vex you; but let me entreat you not to suffer it to make too much impression. If the duke persists in that paltry apology he has made, he will justly forfeit your esteem; but he is not to feel your resentment. You were certainly right in preserving your temper, and I hope will continue to do so in any future interview you may have with him. Having engaged only to recommend the measure, he has broken no promise, though he has deserved, and his confusion when conversing with you showed that he condemned, as a man, the part he was acting as a minister.

"If, then, he chooses to persevere in it, leave him to his own feelings, but do not let it trouble you. Perhaps reminding him as you did of former conversations and his own reflections on the situation he must in consequence appear in, may have a proper effect, and induce him to act more becoming his character. But, act as he may, the Dissenters, I am sure, will be grateful for the trouble you have taken, and proud of having such a patron. A plain statement of the transaction will be the best explanation to them; and this, if you please (should it become necessary), I will undertake, with the assistance of Campbell,[1] who is, I believe, the only one of their body to whom you have ever written on this business; and as in all your letters you expressed yourself with doubt about the event, their disappointment ought not to be great. Indeed, I believe they are prepared for it by the long delay, and by thinking less favourably than we did of the duke of Rutland.

"I have now given you honestly my opinion of this matter, and a line from you to tell me that it no longer disturbs you would make me very happy."

---

[1] William Campbell, D.D.

INDEX TO VOL. II.

A

A Chaste Maid in Cheapside, by Thomas Middleton; 280.
A just view of the British Stage, by Hogarth; 27.
A Masquerade, by Hogarth; 27.
A———, Mr., of the co. of Armagh, his name among the patriots; 345.
Abercorn, Lord, house at Baronscourt, burned; 291.
Absentee tax; 359, 366.
"Abstract proposition," the; 386.
Academy, Royal Irish; 32, 61, 67, 81, 227, 274, 277(*n*).
  subscription to; 52, 55.
  progress; 54.
  medal struck in honour of Lord Charlemont; 71.
  —— its artificer; 136.
  the first volume of Transactions; 75.
  honour conferred on Burke by; 126.
  no honorary member except Burke; 194.
  essays read before; 287, 363.
  its habitation; 361.
  finances; 362, 363.
  Secretary of; 362(*n*).
  Treasurers of; 362, 363.
  no housekeeper necessary; 367.
Acheson:
  Sir Archibald, Lord Gosford; 133(*n*).
  Major; 346.
Acton in the co. of Armagh, letter dated at; 346.
Acton, ——; 362.
Adamo et Eva; 274.
  edition printed at Perugia, 1641; 313.
Addington, Henry, Speaker of the British House of Commons; 364.
Addison's "Angel," alluded to; 208.
Adjustment Bill, the, in the Irish Parliament; 23, 26, 31.
  views of the Northern counties as to; 27.
  proceedings necessary to prevent its passing, resolutions against; 28.
  "this reprobated bill"; 31, 34.
"Administration" in England, surmises as to its policy; 214.
"Administration" in Ireland, charged with disingenuous tactics; 49.
  has had a victorious session; 55.
  conduct at Armagh pitiful; 140.
Admiralty, the, reception of the proposal of a telegraph by; 288.
Aeronautical experiments; 2, 3, 37, 38.
"Agaceries"; 63.
Agar:
  the name of; 76.
  Mr., parliamentary candidate; 390.
Ahoghil or Aghoghill in the co. of Antrim, nocturnal meetings at; 340.
  outrages at; 351.
  loyal meeting of the parishioners, declaration at; 352.
Ailesbury, Lord, letters to, education of his son, &c.; 363, 365.
  mentioned; 237, 268, 381.
Aldborough, Lord; 55.
Algiers, Dey of, action against France; 169.
Allan, Mr., taster of wines; 400.
Allen:
  Mr., print publisher, Dublin; 35.
  Ralph, of Bath; 400.
Almack's; 359, 366.
  the stock books shut; 403.
Almon's successor; 401.
Althorp; 231.
America:
  effect of its example in Ireland; 6, 180, 184.
  an ornament worn by natives of; 81.
  emigration to, from Ireland; 275.
  motion of conciliation towards; 391.
  N.W. coast of; 30.
  war with, discussed; 251, 252.
American:
  claims, a commissioner for; 106.
  constitution, opinion as to its character, &c.; 183, 197.
Americans, political wisdom of the, alluded to; 9.
Amicus, a letter to Charlemont on the state of Irish affairs, signed; 312.
Amulet of gold, an impression sent, 68.
Anarchy, the spirit of, discussed; 283.
Andreini, Giambattista, author of *Adamo*; 280, 313.
Andromana, by Shirley; 104.
Anketell, Captain, of the Benburb Volunteers; 79.
Anne's (Queen) farthing, its rarity; 60.
Annesley, the name of; 76.
Anstruther, Col., commanding at Ballymena; 335, 340.
Antiquarian Society, Secretary of the; 33.
  subscription, &c.; 53.
  prints published by; 237.

Antiquities of the Via Appia; 237.
Antrim:
  county of, a requisition for a meeting expected; 28.
  —— day fixed; 31.
  —— assizes of, expected to testify their abhorrence of certain measures; 59.
  —— "great swearers"; 128.
  —— a county meeting suggested; 129.
  —— the conduct of, disapproved; 137.
  —— election for; 225.
  —— its disgraceful apathy, &c.; 226, 275.
  —— deputy governors of; 215.
  —— effect in, of French successes; 273.
  —— state of affairs in, described, outrages, &c.; 320, 340, 341, 345, 347, 348, 351, 352, 353.
  —— the Rebellion in; 325, 326, 327, 328.
  —— Orange party in; 337.
  —— grand master of; 337.
  —— nocturnal meetings in; 340.
  —— proceedings of a friar in; 340, 341, 398.
  —— legislative union universally reprobated in; 347.
  town of, panic from a reported intended attack of Orangemen; 273.
  —— rash charge of dragoons at, mentioned; 324.
Antrim folk criticised; 259.
Antrim, Lord, keeps up a succession of Tory sheriffs; 394.
Antwerp, citadel of, said to have capitulated; 204.
Appollonius Rhodius; 401.
Archæologia; 60.
  plates in; 64.
Archball, Mr., at Madras; 176.
Archdall, Rev. Mervyn, editor of *Monasticon Hibernicum;* 104.
Archer, a Dublin bookseller, a successful sale by; 194.
  mentioned; 262.
Ardee, co. Louth, Orangemen at; 322.
  letter dated at; 343.
Aretino, comedies of; 354.
Arezzo, Guido d'; 274.
Argenis, by John Barclay, mentioned; 75.
Armagh:
  Archbishop of, appointed not from recommendation but from character; 257.
  city of, letters dated at; 1, 3, 15, 16, 18, 68, 361.
  —— conduct of the Volunteers of; 18, 69.
  —— assizes at, character of the grand jury; 18.
  —— a meeting of freeholders of the county, called; 27, 29.
  —— the peace of; 70.
  —— riot between Roman Catholics and Volunteers near; 78, 79, 83.
Armagh, city of—*cont.*
  —— assembling of Volunteers in cathedral of; 78.
  —— Charlemont unable to attend the review at; 138.
  —— excepted from proclaimed parishes; 289, 377.
  —— burgesses address the Lord Lieutenant, promising to prevent disturbances; 290, 292.
  —— state of the county corps at; 305.
  —— meeting at, in opposition to the Union; 346.
  —— an election at; 361.
  —— protest of, to be converted into an address; 370.
  county of, assizes of, views as to certain public measures; 59.
  —— relations between Protestants and Catholics, outrages in, &c.; 69, 70, 76, 78, 83, 102, 105.
  —— state of the county described; 74, 78, 100, 102, 105, 305.
  —— Lord Charlemont's efforts to pacify; 76.
  —— whether to be for ever scandalized by rejecting a Brownlow; 125.
  —— will certainly "instruct"; 127.
  —— Charlemont's resignation of the lieutenancy of; 133, 134, 139.
  —— indignation in the county, &c.; 134.
  —— Charlemont's friends in, kindly angry; 136.
  —— precluded from declaring their statements; 137.
  —— reply from Charlemont to the freeholders' address; 137.
  —— address of the freeholders to Charlemont, mentioned; 138.
  —— effort of the Government to prevent the grand jury addressing Charlemont; 138.
  —— address of the grand jury; 139, 140, 141.
  —— militia of; 206.
  —— parliamentary candidature for; 248.
  —— disturbances and outrages in; 265, 266, 275, 276.
  —— apathy of the people in regard to elections; 275, 276.
  —— raising of county corps in; 285, 286, 287.
  —— parishes proclaimed in a state of disturbance; 289.
  —— military outrages in; 310, 311.
  —— yeomanry; 315.
  —— Armagh boys gallantly charge the French; 335.
  —— sentiment in, as to the Legislative Union; 345, 346, 396, 399.
  —— commission of the peace in; 389.
  Volunteers of, preparations to receive their "beloved general," their condition, &c.; 141.

Armagh list, the; 374.
Army:
  Regiments:
    1st, in India; 14.
    32nd; 216.
    20th Sepoys; 14.
Arran, Earl of; 24.
  action on the Unlawful Assembly Bill; 217.
Art of Painting, by Du Fresnoy; 189.
Art of Poesy (Puttenham's); 61.
Asenbourgh, Fort, in Ceylon; 15.
Asiatic Researches; 194.
Assignats in France; 150, 170.
Assizes, the, suggested proceedings at, as to the Adjustment Bill; 23, 26.
Astle, Thomas, of the State Paper Office; 280.
Atkins, Mr., erects a theatre at Belfast; 190.
Atkinson:
  Dr., of Hillsborough, made a knight; 58.
  William, "captain commandant of the armed Orangemen of Antrim"; 337.
Aubert, cook and clerk of the kitchen; 61.
Aubrey, John, *Lives of Eminent Men* by; 254.
  manuscript lives of poets, &c.; 267, 277, 278, 310.
Auckland, Lord; 253, 384(*n*).
Austin, Mr.; 106.
Avignon, exhibits a scene of savage barbarity; 167.
Aylesbury, Lord. *See* Ailesbury.

B

B——e, Marquis de, views on French affairs; 153.
  his bullying letter to the Assembly, mentioned; 153.
Baggs, Mr.; 361.
Ballad on a hurling match referred to; 387.
Ballimena. *See* Ballymena.
Ballooning, experiments, &c.; 2, 3, 37, 38.
Ballyatwood, letter dated at; 234.
Ballymacaslan Volunteers become Orangemen; 322.
Ballymahon; 129.
Ballymena, people attending at, to take the oaths; 301.
  proceedings of the Kerry Militia at; 301, 302, 304.
  state of, described; 305, 319, 322, 324, 340, 347, 351, 352.
  the priest and dissenting clergyman at; 320, 340.
  the rebel army at; 327, 328, 329.
  mentioned; 215, 398. *See also* Portglenone.
Baltinglass, near Castledermot; 103.
Baudello; 349.
Bandon:
  cause of the peculiar hatred of the Roman Catholics there; 8, 9.
  speech on the Catholic question at a town's meeting; 9.
Banks established in the counties, probable effect of the French alarms upon; 205.
Banks, Sir Joseph, attendance at his levée; 32.
Bann, River, order to burn all boats, &c., on; 334.
Bantry Bay; 292.
  appearance of the French off, its effect on Irish affairs; 303.
  French fleet anchor in the Bay; 311.
Barbadoes, infection at; 223.
Barberini, Francesco, nephew of Urban VIII.; 349.
Barclay, John, his "*Argenis*"; 75.
Baretti, Giuseppe, or Joseph, death of; 104.
  letter of thanks from; 359.
Barnard, George, Ulster King-of-Arms; 24.
Baronscourt, Lord Abercorn's house at, burned; 291.
Barret, the family of; 108.
Barrier treaty; 211.
Barristers in India, conditions, prospects, &c; 111.
Barry, Lord; 65.
Bartolozzi, Francesco; 27.
Bastile, the. *See* Paris.
Bath; 138, 383, 390.
  letters dated at; 140, 143, 144, 159, 282.
  an opinion concerning; 141.
  Lord Howe insulted at; 243.
Bayly, Mr., native of Ireland, estate in S. Carolina restored to; 1, 2.
Beaconsfield or Beconsfield, letters dated at; 22 57, 105, 126, 144, 184, 196.
  mentioned; 276.
  Lord, suggested as a title for Burke; 253.
Beauclerk:
  Topham, letters from and to; 359, 365.
  Lady Diana; 359.
Beaufort, Dr.; 279.
Beckford, Mr.; 36.
Bective, Earl of; 24.
Bedford, Duke of; 209.
  Burke's attack on; 273.
  political negotiations; 279.
Belfast:
  an address from, referred to; 5.
  Lord Charlemont's declaration at; 16.
  to be induced to follow a certain plan; 23.
  a requisition for a meeting at, expected; 28.
  constant pre-eminence in patriotic measures, &c.; 28, 31.
  list of public enterprises being carried forward, as the White Linen Market, &c.; 38, 39.

Belfast—*cont.*
- struggle against Manchester; 38.
- petitions for a Police Bill; 43, 44.
- some court faction in; 44.
- Parliament petitioned for regulations for porters, carmen, &c.; 44, 45.
- to be ready to petition against the Riot Act; 48.
- a hasty meeting at, against the Riot Act; 50.
- style recommended for the address from, to the Lord Lieutenant, on visiting; 57.
- visit of the Lord Lieutenant to; 58, 59.
- "the paltry oligarchy, the Corporation"; 58.
- —— changed views of the people with regard to; 96.
- the real people of; 59.
- entertainment of Lord Camden at; 71.
- opinion at, on the Regency question, &c.; 89, 95, 96, 97, 100.
- chief magistrate of, called the "Sovereign"; 96.
- deplorable politics of Charlemont's friends in; 100, 110.
- distinguished for Whig principles; 114.
- a town's meeting for the purpose of thanking Grattan and the minority; 117.
- —— the resolutions will serve as a universal pattern; 121.
- inquisitions of the clergy at, a tale without foundation; 130.
- Whigs of, forming themselves into a Society; 140, 141.
- advancement of the town—a new meeting house and a new theatre, &c.; 144.
- "Mal Catholique" at; 179.
- Society of United Irishmen in; 160, 179, 180.
- —— will not visit the Whig Club; 196.
- Catholic gentry at; 180.
- new Catholic academy projected at; 180.
- the prop of Ireland, become its battering ram; 186.
- a motley meeting at, alluded to; 186.
- Charlemont's opinion of, &c.; 186, 191, 195, 198, 225.
- loyal illuminations at, destruction of property by the mob, &c; 194, 195.
- "Catholic Ambassadors" at, proceedings of; 208.
- disturbances at, conduct of the dragoons, &c.; 211, 212, 213.
- evidences of French Revolutionary sympathy at; 212, 245.
- the volunteers disembodied; 212.
- a literary society at; 223.
- disloyal sentiments entertained at; 244, 245.
- action regarding the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam; 258.

Belfast—*cont.*
- Charlemont urges Haliday to persuade the inhabitants to sign a certain paper, &c.; 282, 283, 285.
- decay of Charlemont's influence at; 283.
- inhabitants pledged not to sign any declaration without a general meeting; 284.
- effect of the alarm of invasion upon; 295.
- urged to petition against the Magistracy Bill; 296.
- outrageous action of the military in, trade at a stand, &c.; 300.
- Orange demonstration at; 303.
- officers of, alone call attention to the wrongs of Ireland; 303.
- military outrage at; 310.
- spread of the Orange party at; 322, 323.
- "the incomparable declaration of the inhabitants of," mentioned; 326.
- state after the rebellion described; 330, 331.
- all business stopped by the attack of the military, &c.; 395, 397.
- treatment of the town by Government; 396.
- mentioned; 54.

- Academy at, thriving condition, &c.; 50.
- —— the Principal *in articulo mortis*; 117.
- Book Society; 395.
- Convention in; 6, 7.
- High Constable of; 337.
- Irish Jacobins at; 236.
- Northern Whig Club at, its establishment; 110, 114, 116 (2), 118, 119, 120, 121, 125.
- —— its influence invoked with regard to the Dublin mayoralty; 127.
- —— Resolutions, &c., of; 131, 136, 140, 142, 181, 202.
- Presbyterian congregation at, minister of; 235(*n*).
- Public library at; 395.
- *Sun* Inn at; 75.
- "United Irishmen," Society formed at; 160.
- —— their "declaration"; 160–162.
- —— members seized by the dragoons; 395.
- Volunteers of, proper and moderate conduct of; 18.
- —— satisfactory character of their resolutions; 19.
- —— to settle matters for the summer review; 34, 37, 39.
- —— a heavy expense to keep up; 38.
- —— march two-and-twenty miles at night to support a resisted sheriff; 45.
- —— the ceremony of receiving the General (Charlemont) in the streets; 55, 56.
- —— celebrate the French Revolution; 70.

Belfast, Volunteers of—*cont.*
  —— Colonel of the Belfast battalion; 75.
  —— conclusion of their review, disappointing to Charlemont; 127.
  —— should not be silent; 129.
Belfast Newsletter; 71, 376.
  "Thoughts on the British Constitution," in, authorship of, &c.; 235.
Belfast Northern Star; 208, 396.
  proprietors prosecuted; 236(*n*).
  feast on the calamities of their country; 244.
Belfast Politics, or a collection of the Debates, &c. of that Town; 234, 376.
  its origin and contents described; 235.
Bellewstown, co. Meath, review of Volunteers at; 5.
Bembo's letters; 349.
Benburb Volunteers attacked by the Roman Catholics, riot, &c.; 78, 79, 83.
Bengal; 12.
  payment of regiments out of revenues of; 73.
Bennet, William, Bishop of Cloyne; 250(*n*), 253.
Bentinck, Lord Edward; 209.
Beresford:
  Jack, his promotion; 400.
  Hon. William, Bishop of Ossory, &c.; 250(*n*).
  the name of; 76.
Bernard, Castle, co. Cork; 8.
Berni, new-wrote "Orlando Inamorato"; 64.
Berwick, Rev. Edward, chaplain to Lord Hastings, &c.; 131.
"Beteem," the word used by Shakspeare; 51, 54.
Bettesworth, Mrs.; 400.
Bibliographia Antiqua, by Fabricius; 197.
Bibliotheca Græca, by Fabricius; 194, 197.
Bird *alias* Smith, James, his confession, mentioned; 317.
Birmingham, riot at, burning of Dr. Priestley's library, alluded to; 142.
Bisset, Mr., building a church at Loughgall; 266.
Black Forest, the, Charlemont's visit to; 308.
Blackall, ——, fine oration at Lurgan; 21.
  ready to speak; 28.
Blackwater foot, the ferry at; 291.
Blaquiere:
  Sir John; 122.
  —— relations with Flood; 391.
  Colonel James, treasurer of the Royal Irish Academy; 362.
Blaris, camp at, mentioned; 328.
Blessington, state after the Rebel rising; 331.
Boccaccio, first folio translation of; 61, 64.
Boisrobert, Cardinal Richelieu's companion; 355.
Bolton, Baron; 4(*n*).
Bombay; 110.
Bonus, Mr.; 227.
Book sales, prices obtained, &c.; 33, 52, 53, 124.
"Booth, Wilkes, and Cibber," plate of the print found; 35.
Borland, one, sentenced to transportation at Warwick assizes; 106.
Boswell, James; 62, 360.
  his *Tour*; 31.
Botany Bay as a place for transportation of convicts; 259.
Bourke, Joseph Dean, Archbishop of Tuam, death; 250.
Bousfield, Benjamin, of Lakelands, letter from; 258.
Bowyer, William, an old printer, a second Aldus; 402.
Boyd:
  Andrew, letter from Tanjore, relating Indian experiences; 12.
  Hugh, death of; 395.
  Robert, meeting at Armagh against the Union; 346.
Boydell's:
  edition of Shakspeare, its history, &c.; 51.
  Shakspeare prints; 197.
  Milton; 197.
Boyle, the name of; 76.
Boyne Water, effect on the Roman Catholics; 80.
Bradford, Dr., at the Round Church; 404.
Bray; 331.
Brayfield, ——; 113.
Brest fleet; 337.
Bridport, Lord, movements of the fleet under; 292, 351.
Brighthelmstone (Brighton); 96, 251, 254, 307.
Brissot, M., of the French Assembly; 165.
  address to his constituents, translated by William Burke, &c.; 230, 237.
Bristol, hot wells in a village two miles from, fashionable company at, described; 400.
  manufactures woollen nightcaps; 400.
Bristol, Lord, a conversation with; 131.
  mentioned; 391.
Bristow, Captain, of the Rasharkin Yeomanry; 334, 341.
British Constitution, the; 139, 142, 144, 184, 185.
  the only one firmly established; 182.
  Lord Guildford's dying injunction; 204.
  delegation, the peculiar principle of; 218.
  vindicated in a series of letters in the *Belfast News Letter*; 235.
  attacks on; 252.
British House of Commons votes money to be applied by Irish Parliament, its aim discussed; 297.
British Critic; 276.
British Librarian (Oldys); 54, 61.

Brooke:
  Charlotte, *Reliques of Irish Poetry* by; 82.
  —— letter from and reply; 360, 366.
  Henry, author of "The Fool of Quality"; 360(*n*).
  Robert, captain in the E. I. Co.'s service; 361.
  Captain; 364.
Brown:
  "Capability"; 238.
  Captain, of the Belfast Volunteers; 56.
"Brown cloth gentleman, the," a friar, proceedings in Antrim; 340, 341, 398.
Brown's system of gardening, referred to; 241.
Browne, Rt. Hon. Denis, M.P. for co. Mayo; 339.
Brownlow:
  the name; 393
  Mr.; 16, 117, 346.
  William, of Lurgan; 201.
  —— recovery of health; 244.
  —— letters from; 21, 27, 361.
  —— views as to a further protest against the Adjustment Bill; 26.
  —— mentioned; 29, 120.
  —— parliamentary candidature for Armagh, opposition to; 125, 248.
Bruce:
  Lord, son of Lord Ailesbury, education of; 363, 365.
  Dr.; 191.
  —— head of the Academy at Belfast; 180.
  Stewart; 307.
  William, D.D., Minister of the First Congregation of Presbyterians at Belfast, work on the British Constitution by, its origin, &c.; 235, 236, 376.
  —— connexion with the address of the Protestant Dissenters [to the Lord Lieutenant]; 258.
Brunswick:
  Duchess of; 381.
  education at; 363.
Bryan, William, Herald of the Order of St. Patrick; 24.
Buckingham, Marquis of; 23, 24, 85.
  Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; 65.
  his administration and character discussed; 66, 386.
  quod vult, valde vult; 350.
Bunbury, Henry, artist and caricaturist; 27.
Buonaparte, General; 315.
Burgoyne, General, in India, put under arrest by the Governor; 15.
  death; 197.
Burke, Edmund; 15, 61, 88, 124, 179, 188, 203, 229, 255.
  correspondence with Charlemont; 22, 42, 50, 57, 88, 89, 93, 98, 100, 105, 126, 142, 143, 184, 362, 367.
Burke, Edmund—*cont.*
  his charge, speech, &c., against Warren Hastings; 34, 55, 72, 74, 241.
  visit to Ireland; 43.
  a bust of, for Charlemont; 57.
  his place in the new Whig Administration; 82.
  his attachment to Charlemont; 87, 88.
  makes one of his best speeches, on the Regency; 88.
  attention to W. Burroughes; 91, 92, 93.
  visit to the Prince of Wales, described in a letter to Charlemont; 93.
  views on the removal of the lord lieutenant, the character of Mr. Ponsonby, &c.; 93.
  opinion on the Prince of Wales, &c.; 98.
  views on politics in England; 99.
  improper for him to exert himself in the common routine of opposition; 101.
  his particular province, the East Indies; 101.
  opinion of Lord Kenyon; 101.
  reflections on party, the French Revolution, &c.; 105, 106.
  a saying of, when Lord North was asleep in the House; 121.
  his later conduct criticised; 121, 122.
  honour conferred upon, by the Royal Irish Academy; 126.
  Paine's pamphlet in reply to, criticised; 137, 139.
  effect of his pamphlet; 140, 180, 208.
  apostrophised; 142.
  his views as to events in France; 143.
  "Burke" and "Mackintosh" under one roof of good calf's skin; 144.
  differences separate him from Fox, intention to retire from politics; 184.
  allusion to his son; 185.
  executor of Sir J. Reynolds; 187.
  causes of the breach between him and Haliday; 192, 193.
  letter to Haliday; 193.
  the only honorary member of the Royal Irish Academy; 194.
  "the youngest man of his age"; 197, 198.
  a revisal of "The Sublime and Beautiful" suggested; 197.
  inconsistent conduct; 204.
  proceedings in Parliament; 209.
  consulted by Pitt on French matters; 222.
  effect of his brother's death upon him; 230.
  grief at the death of his son, &c.; 253, 276, 277.
  tract in reply to his pamphlet on the French Revolution, referred to; 258(*n*).
  a letter of, criticised, &c.; 270, 271.

Burke, Edmund—*cont.*
  his attack on the Duke of Bedford; 273.
  Thoughts on the prospects of a Regicide Peace, mentioned; 276, 277.
  negotiations with Fox described, &c.; 279, 283.
  death of; 281.
  an estimate of; 378.
  motion of conciliation towards America; 391.
  his oratory criticised; 391.
  made Paymaster; 401.
Burke, Richard, son of Edmund, epigram on Lord Rockingham's bust; 129, 130.
  visit to Ireland on a political mission; 186, 204, 394.
  Deputy Paymaster to his father; 401.
Burke, Richard, Recorder of Bristol, brother of Edmund, death of; 230.
  one of the Secretaries to the Treasury; 401.
Burnell, Henry, author of *Langartha*; 65.
Burroughs:
  William; 85, 214, 368.
  —— letters to Charlemont; 87, 91, 110, 176, 232.
  —— Charlemont's kindness to, effects of his friendship, &c.; 91, 92, 176.
  —— his voyage to India, described; 110.
  Mrs.; 93.
Burrowes, Rev. Robert, secretary of the Royal Irish Academy, letter from; 362.
Burton, ——; 404.
Butler:
  P., an Irishman, member of the legislature of South Carolina, letters; 1, 2.
  Samuel, author of *Hudibras*, personal characteristics; 202.
  Hon. Simon, son of Viscount Mountgarret; 395.
Byng, Mr.; 61.
Byrne, P., Dublin; 293.
Byrnes, the; 76.

C

C——, Mr., a conversation with, as to the motives of mankind; 10.
Cadell:
  ——; 59.
  T.; 83.
Calcutta, letters dated at; 110, 176, 232.
  Literary and Antiquarian Society established by Sir W. Jones at; 112.
  a description of; 113.
  the Bar at; 177.
Callaghan, Mr., print publisher, Dublin; 35, 37, 41.
Callan, borough of, the Parliamentary seat; 390.
Calm Observer, the; 223, 226.
  its authorship discussed; 225.
Calvinistical doctrines of the Reformation, revival of, among Irish Protestants; 11.
Cambridge, a visit by Malone to; 60.
Camden, Lord, entertained at Belfast, on his dismissal; 71.
  letters to, on state of France; 145, 162.
  his idea of engravings to the works of Shakspeare; 224.
  Charlemont's opinion of; 225, 264.
  mentioned; 227, 296, 307.
  Lord Lieutenant, riot at his arrival; 259.
  Charlemont's intercourse with him as Lord Lieutenant, letters, &c.: 264, 265, 282, 283, 286, 289, 292, 297, 318, 319, 369.
  an ecclesiastical promotion by, approved; 270.
  plan for county corps in Ireland; 282, 284, 286.
  answer to the Armagh address; 292.
  has the circumstances of the great loyalty of Ireland recorded; 293.
  opinion of his character and administration; 293.
  a letter from Haliday to, referred to; 297.
  disclaims the military outrages in Armagh; 311.
  correspondence with Sir L. Parsons; 318.
  precept for Irish members quoted; 385.
Camden, Lady, visits Lord Charlemont; 265.
Campaign, The, by Addison, referred to; 208.
Campbell, William, D.D., at Armagh, letters to Charlemont from, on the subject of a Government grant to Presbyterian ministers, &c.; 1, 3, 7, 15, 16, 68, 78, 370.
  mentioned; 406.
Cape Clear, French fleet off; 291.
Carangooley, a fort in India; 13, 14.
Carclea, townland in Armagh, military outrages at; 311.
Carhampton, Earl of, Commander-in-Chief in Ireland; 285, 399.
  opinion of Mr. Edgeworth's telegraph, &c.; 288.
  opens a letter of Charlemont's by mistake; 296.
  turned out; 404.
Carleton, Hugh, Chief Justice, dissertation on plays of K. Henry VI., mentioned; 59.
Carlisle, Lord; 108, 360.
Carlisle, Lord, Letters to; 259.
Carlton House, finishing of; 53.
  a visit to; 91, 92.
  demon of discord descended upon; 274.
Carnarvon, Lord, letter on German universities; 363.

Carnatic, the; 14.
Carolina; 113.
Carolina, South:
  British property in, confiscated; 1.
  legislature of, restore an estate, to evince friendliness to Ireland; 1, 2.
  the only native of Ireland in; 1.
Carretto, Galeotto del; 313.
Carrickfergus; 23.
  garrisoned by the Belfast Volunteers in the '45 rebellion; 212.
  the famous tailor in gaol at; 299, 320.
  an execution at; 306.
  disaffection in the neighbourhood; 324.
Carter, Mr.; 104.
Carton, letters dated at; 261, 305.
Carysfort, Lord, letter to Charlemont giving his views on the Catholic question; 6.
Cashel, a riot at; 364.
Castledawson; 324.
Castle Forbes, seat of the Earl of Granard; 338, 341.
Castlereagh, Lord, alarm at the state of Ireland; 279.
  a certain paper which the Belfast men decline signing; 282.
  pardon bill for the Irish Rebels; 327(*n*).
  —— mentioned; 337. *See also* Stewart, Robert.
Castlereagh, disturbances at, action of the military; 215.
Catholic pamphlets, the, reason of no answer being made to; 179.
Catholic question in Ireland; 6, 9, 16, 17, 19, 160, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 187, 202, 207, 208.
Caulfeild:
  Lord; 83.
  Lord Francis William, letter on his dissipation, from his father to; 268.
  —— his conduct in Armagh commended; 269.
  ——, M.P. for Armagh; 280.
  —— a petition prepared by him, not adopted at Armagh; 297, 398.
  —— first appearance in Parliament; 316(2), 321.
  —— project of a meeting in Armagh; 344.
  —— proposed to be sent to a German university; 364.
  —— protection of the Prince of Wales given to; 381.
  —— letter to; 404.
  —— *See also* 2nd Lord Charlemont.
  Bernard Francis, uncle of Charlemont, letter to; 370.
  Charles; 76.
  Eleanor, daughter of Francis; 371.
  Francis, letter from; 364.
  ——, M.P. for Charlemont, himself and family wrecked and lost; 370.
  —— the surviving orphans of; 371.
  George, Recorder of Oxford; 205.
  James; 76.
Caulfeild—*cont.*
  James, son of Francis; 371.
  —— letter to, in reply to his request to be member for Charlemont; 371.
  Dr. James; 205.
  John, letter to Charlemont; 76.
  Thomas; 76.
  Sir Toby; 205.
  Wade; 76.
  William; 205.

  small numbers bearing the family name; 76.
  an entry from the parish register of St. Mary Magdalene, Oxford; 205.
Cavendish, Lord John, his place in the Whig Administration; 82.
Caxton's *Recuyell*; 33.
Cecil, Robert, "grandson of a man who kept a carriers' inn"; 107.
Chalmers; 310.
Chamberlain, Tankerville, Justice of Common Pleas, Ireland; 306.
Chambers, Sir William, designs for Charlemont's house; 372.
Chancellor, Lord, of England, speech in the Warren Hastings debate; 72.
  refuses to support Mr. Pitt on the question of the regency; 81.
Chandos, Duke of, picture of Shakspeare belonging to; 221.
Charlemont, Earl of:
  letters to and from; *passim.*
  a testimony of respect to, from S. Carolina; 1, 3.
  his protection extended to the [Presbyterians]; 1, 4, 15, 16.
  Volunteer reviewing progresses; 2, 5, 39, 55, 56, 127.
  only public character having the popular confidence; 5.
  artistic and literary purchases or acquisitions; 5, 23, 24, 27, 31, 33, 35, 39, 40, 42(2), 45, 51, 52, 54, 57, 60, 64, 71, 73, 74, 103, 109, 124, 194, 199, 206, 222, 224, 232, 237, 262, 280, 308, 313, 364, 365, 401.
  "the sprightliest boy in Dublin"; 8.
  his declaration at Belfast; 16.
  the true and disinterested friend of his country; 17.
  urges moderate conduct upon the Volunteers; 17, 19.
  his views on the Catholic question; 19, 118.
  satisfaction with the Belfast resolutions; 19.
  accounts himself exceedingly ill-treated by the Government; 20.
  the most public-spirited, best-bred man in Ireland; 22.
  Knight of St. Patrick; 24.
  letter respecting a certain course of conduct, nature not explained; 25.
  copy of a letter to the Lord Lieutenant; 25, 26.

Charlemont, Earl of—*cont.*
- his portrait mentioned; 27, 35, 37, 40, 41, 43.
- urges certain resolutions against the Adjustment Bill; 28.
- suggested Chancellor of T.C.D.; 32.
- his views as to the value of balloons; 38.
- allusions to his state of health; 39, 100, 133, 136, 137, 180, 181, 191, 210, 214, 218, 226, 287, 316, 321, 336, 350, 354, 355, 388.
- allusions to his weak eyesight; 42, 45, 63, 84, 85, 100, 120, 132, 183, 191, 198, 219, 223, 224, 261, 271.
- president of the Irish Academy; 43.
- views as to the Police Bill; 43, 44.
- discusses "Shakspeare's" spurious plays; 45.
- directions for binding plays, &c.; 45, 46.
- dates of Shakspeare's plays in possession of, &c.; 54, 63.
- journals of the House of Lords testify to him as a dissenter; 57.
- on the subject of addresses to the Lord Lieutenant; 57.
- revival of addresses and answers on his reviewing progresses, recommended; 58.
- a translation by, of certain Italian passages for Malone; 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 72, 73.
- his attendance at the Privy Council explained; 65.
- relations with the Lord Lieutenant; 68.
- his company of Volunteers; 69.
- a medal struck in his honour by the Royal Irish Academy; 71, 132, 136.
- paper on history of the Irish woollen manufacture by; 76.
- attempts to pacify the co. of Armagh; 76.
- motto of; 76.
- ill-feeling between his Protestant and Catholic tenants in co. Armagh; 83.
- his views on the question of the Regency as affecting Ireland; 84, 97.
- his relations with the Whigs; 84.
- the eyes of the empire fixed upon him; 87.
- political action with regard to the Regency; 89.
- the results of his friendship, the Prince of Wales's regard for him, &c.; 91, 92, 95.
- letters of introduction to; 100, 106.
- establishes a Whig club in Dublin; 100, 105(2).
- the painting of a portrait of the Prince of Wales for; 116.
- desire for a Whig club in Belfast; 110, 114, 116.

Charlemont, Earl of—*cont.*
- criticises the resolutions of the Northern Whig Club at Belfast; 118.
- joins the club after protest; 120.
- offers the seat for Charlemont, and explains his general political principles; 122, 123.
- a miniature print of; 125(2).
- his influence with the electors of Armagh; 125.
- views as to the decision respecting the mayoralty of Dublin; 127.
- suffering from a feverish complaint on his reviewing progress; 127.
- proposes a resolution at the Whig Club, Dublin; 128.
- rallied by Haliday about a resolution at the Whig Club; 128.
- a resolution of the Northern Whig Club sent to; 132.
- resigns the lieutenancy of Armagh on Lord Gosford being joined with him; 133, 134, 138, 139.
- stops the printing of an unauthorised edition of the *Mysterious Mother;* 135.
- efforts to get the people to pass resolutions; 137.
- reply to the address of the freeholders of Armagh; 137.
- visit to Bath with wife and daughter; 138.
- attachment to Marino and his library and public life; 138.
- Government's effort to prevent the Grand Jury of Armagh addressing him; 138.
- address of the Grand Jury; 139, 140.
- criticism of Paine's pamphlet; 139, 142.
- partiality to the British Constitution; 139, 142, 189.
- an obelisk proposed at Dungannon in honour of; 140(2).
- his opinion of the Prince of Wales; 141, 369.
- preparations by the Armagh Volunteers for his reception; 141.
- reflections on French events; 143, 144, 191, 197, 242.
- his opinion of Bath; 141, 144.
- his daughter's health; 144, 374.
- the dissenters' address; 159.
- attitude on the Catholic question; 180, 181, 182, 183.
- detests "separation" and "union"; 182.
- comparison of the British Constitution with others; 183.
- views on the Irish education question; 184.
- differences of opinion with Haliday; 184.
- disapproval of events in Belfast; 186, 191, 195, 213.
- reflections on Sir J. Reynolds's death; 187.

Charlemont, Earl of—*cont.*
- views as to Paine's pamphlet; 189.
- a visit to Haliday alluded to; 192.
- opinion of Oxford; 198.
- opinion of Burke; 198, 255.
- opinion of Haliday; 199.
- criticism of Haliday's tragedy; 202.
- an entry from an Oxford parish register relating to his family; 205.
- reported negotiations of Dublin Castle with; 208.
- house in Rutland Square, Dublin; 208.
- action with regard to the Volunteers; 210.
- tells the Lord Lieutenant plain truths about Ireland; 210.
- opinion with regard to the French war and the French; 210, 224.
- estimation of Haliday's letters, &c.; 213, 214.
- weary of politics; 214.
- deplores the state of the country; 216.
- discusses the Militia Act; 216, 217.
- protest against the bill on unlawful assemblies; 217, 218.
- counsels moderation; 218.
- desires Haliday not to relinquish politics in his letters; 219.
- his opinion of Steevens' Shakspeare; 219.
- death of his second son; 220(*n*).
- how prevailed upon to open intercourse with the Administration; 223.
- his affection for Belfast; 225.
- opinion of Lord Camden; 225, 264.
- as to the political outlook; 226.
- the only advantage of pocket boroughs; 226, 227.
- books, &c., dedicated to; 234, 235, 272, 287.
- views on poetry; 241.
- on the French naval defeat, Lord Howe, &c.; 243.
- Earl Fitzwilliam appeals for his support; 246.
- reply to Lord Fitzwilliam; 247.
- discusses the French war; 248.
- deprecates a war with America; 251.
- views as to policy of Horne Tooke's trial, &c.; 254.
- his opinion of Lord Fitzwilliam as Lord Lieutenant; 257.
- increasing weakness; 257.
- reflections on liberty; 262.
- views as to plays attributed to Shakspeare; 262.
- discusses the war of La Vendée; 262.
- discusses the causes of disturbances in Ireland; 263, 264.
- his Shakspeare's old quartos described; 264.
- his intercourse with Lord Camden as Lord Lieutenant; 265, 282, 292, 297.
- his opinion of the cause of the alarming state of Ireland; 266.

Charlemont, Earl of—*cont.*
- a formal letter to, by Malone, on Ireland's Shakspeare papers being drawn up; 267.
- letter of remonstrance to his son, on his dissipation, &c.; 268.
- account of his education; 269.
- criticises a letter of Burke, and explains his connexion with a reply in the form of a letter addressed to himself; 271, 272.
- discusses Hayley's works; 272.
- criticises Burke's attack on the Duke of Bedford; 273.
- attitude towards the Prince of Wales; 275, 367.
- unable to procure a loan; 280.
- avows himself a constitutional royalist; 281.
- urges the signing of a paper by the men of Belfast; 282, 283.
- distinguishes between opposition to an Administration and hatred of country, and discusses anarchy; 283.
- quotes from "divine Milton"; 283.
- deplores loss of influence at Belfast; 283.
- part taken in raising of county corps in Ireland; 282, 284, 285, 286, 287, 292, 305.
- discusses the politics of Belfast; 285, 287.
- thanked for his public spirit by the King and Lord Lieutenant; 286, 292.
- the true friend of Ireland; 287.
- negotiations connected with the proclaiming of parts of Armagh; 289.
- his proposals to Government entered at Dublin Castle as a record of loyalty; 293.
- discusses the effect of the alarm of invasion; 294.
- a letter to, opened by Lord Carhampton; 296.
- deplores the madness of the times; 297.
- letter to the Lord Lieutenant on a vote of Supply of the British House of Commons—the demands of Ireland; 297, 298.
- concern for the misfortunes of Belfast; 300.
- letter to the Prince of Wales as to his coming over as chief governor; 302, 304.
- an incident on his visit to the Black Forest; 308.
- his opinion of the true means to prevent conspiracy and revolution; 309.
- views as to foreign interference in France; 309.
- states his political opinions; 309.
- represents the military outrages in Armagh to the Lord Lieutenant; 311.

Charlemont, Earl of—*cont.*
  appeal to, from "Amicus," on the state of the country; 312.
  "the last hope of the country"; 313.
  discusses Lord Moira's action; 313.
  interpretation of the Yeomanry Act; 318, 319.
  his son's appearance in Parliament; 316, 317, 321.
  attacked by the jaundice; 326.
  satisfaction with the Bill for free pardon for the Rebels, &c.; 327, 333.
  reflections on the state of the country, &c.; 336, 351, 352.
  letter from, to a certain lord, who visited Dublin, not addressed; 343.
  rejoicings over the defeat of the proposal for the Union, and preparations against a renewal, &c.; 344, 345, 352.
  his knowledge of Italian literature; 345.
  effect of the Speaker's speech; 350.
  death; 355.
  a present to Baretti; 359.
  deplores the abject situation of the British empire; 365.
  on Irish patriotism, &c.; 366.
  loss of his brother and family by shipwreck; 370.
  adopts his brother's orphans; 371.
  on parliamentary independence; 371.
  designs for his house; 372.
  inability to express himself in public; 373.
  present of a pocket book from the Prince of Wales to; 374.
  heart and soul for the success of the Prince's business; 374.
  has three excellent corps in the North; 375.
  cannot defend Lord Edward Fitzgerald; 373, 376.
  opinion of Pitt; 377.
  intention to resign command of the Armagh Yeomanry corps; 377.
  an estimate of Burke; 378.
  reasons for declining friendly debate with Dr. Marlay; 378, 379.
  on the defenceless state of Ireland; 380.
  obligation to the Prince of Wales for taking his son under protection; 381.
  pleasure at a visit to London; 382.
  attachment to the memory of Lord Rockingham; 383.
  discusses French politics; 385.
  unaddressed letters from, on Irish politics, &c.; 386, 387.
  wishes with regard to his tenants who have taken part in riotous proceedings; 387.
  statement with regard to the education of his children; 388.
  asked to attend Earl Fitzwilliam in his last public act; 389, 390.

Charlemont, Earl of—*cont.*
  his protest published in the *Remembrancer;* 401.
  a paragraph from a letter of, on the proposed Legislative Union; 404.
  Grand Master of the Order of St. Patrick; 404.
Charlemont, 2nd Earl (Francis Caulfeild), letters to; 355, 356. *See also* Caulfeild, Lord Francis.
Charlemont, Lady, at Bath; 141.
  visit to Dublin Castle; 265.
  of one mind with Lord C.; 325.
Charlemont, borough, the parliamentary seat, arrangements and members; 122, 123(2), 226, 316, 317, 371, 372.
Charleston, S. Carolina, letter dated at; 1.
Chatham, Earl of, in the House of Lords, print by J. K. Sherwin; 24.
Chatterton, Thomas, mentioned; 61.
Cherbourg looked into; 229.
Cheltenham; 267.
Chester waggon, the, conveyance to Ireland; 31, 41.
Chesterfield, Lord; 392.
Chichester, Lord Spencer; 395.
Chiltern Hundreds; 391.
China, proposed trading to; 30.
  trade from Ireland to; 190.
  Lord Macartney's embassy to; 233, 310.
China, Account of Embassy to the Emperor of; 22(*n*).
Christiad, by M. H. Vida, Bishop of Alba, translation into verse; 109.
Church establishments under a Republican government; 6.
Cicero's *Offices;* 33.
Clanbrassil, Earl of; 24.
Clancarty, Earl of, particular pique against people of Bandon; 9.
Clanricarde, Earl of; 24.
  places his proxy in Charlemont's hands; 389.
  opinion of the Volunteer corps; 389.
Clare:
  Earl of, John Fitzgibbon, his character; 293.
  Richard de, Isabella, heiress of; 107.
  "that savage"; 331.
Clarence; 107.
Clavering, Col., proceedings connected with the Irish rebellion; 325, 326, 328, 329, 330.
Clements, Henry Theophilus, Deputy Treasurer of Ireland, letter from; 20.
Clayton, Sir Richard, memoirs of the Medici by; 349.
Clermont, Lord (William Henry Fortescue); 250.
Clifford, Lord de; 396.
Clonfert House; 250.
Close, Maxwell, at Armagh; 80.
Clover Hill, near Cavan, letter dated at; 76.
Coachmaker to a lord as a milliner to a lady; 128.
Coagh; 395.
Cobham Park, letter dated at; 81.

- Coblentz, French nobles assembled at; 164.
  - the army at, sinking into contempt; 165.
- Coburg, Prince; 230.
- Coffee houses in London :
  - St. James's ; 87, 91.
  - Prince of Wales's; 91.
- Coke, Mr., of Norfolk ; 279, 283.
- Colebrooke, Sir George, Chairman of the E. I. Company; 362.
- Coleraine; 301.
- Colonial schemes as affecting Spain ; 126.
- Comet, a, appearance and influence; 100; 104.
- Commanes, Irish name for hurling sticks; 387.
- "Commence orators"; 76.
- Commerce, the mischief of too great; 357.
- Commercial intercourse :
  - between England and Ireland ; 26.
  - between European nations, the advantages of; 172, 173.
- Commercial interests of the British empire, a critical period for; 6.
- Complant de Venaissin; 167.
- Condorcet, "the Incomparable"; 223.
- Connaught, good behaviour of; 335.
  - "To hell or Connaught," an old inscription; 337.
- Conolly:
  - Lady Louisa, letter to Charlemont and reply; 334, 373.
  - —— Charlemont's desire to oblige; 375.
  - —— mentioned; 244.
  - Mr.; 374.
  - —— seconds a resolution in Parliament, &c.; 210, 218.
  - Rt. Hon. Thomas, M.P. for Londonderry county, characteristics; 243, 244.
  - —— signs a letter to the Prince of Wales; 303, 304.
- *Contention, The*; 67.
- *Contention for Honour and Riches*, by Shirley; 104.
- Convention, the, meeting of, embarrassing to England abroad; 6.
- Conyngham:
  - Lord ; 363.
  - Rt. Hon. Colonel; 272.
  - Rt. Hon. W. Burton; 363.
- Cook, Captain; 30.
- Cookstown, letter dated at ; 290.
- Coolies, people called; 13.
- Coombes, Old, painted by Hogarth, his history; 37, 40.
- Coote:
  - Sir Eyre, General in East Indian Service; 12.
  - Charles Henry, usher of the Knights of St. Patrick ; 24.
- Cope :
  - Mr.; 134.
  - Sir John ; 400.
  - William Camden, parliamentary candidate for co. of Armagh ; 248.
- Copes, the two, the cause of the name of "Orange boys"; 265
- Copenhagen, University of, a professor of, visits Ireland; 100.
- Copper, manufacture of, in Ireland, a design for; 5.
  - monopolising spirit, in England ; 5.
- Coram, Captain Thomas, Hogarth's portrait of; 39.
- Cork :
  - news from ; 243, 322.
  - assizes end without a single execution; 249.
  - meeting at, to protest against Earl Fitzwilliam's recall; 258.
  - letter dated at; 279.
- Cork to Dublin, proposal for a telegraph; 288.
- Cornwallis, Lord; 92, 93, 111, 177, 232, 233, 335.
  - Charlemont's opinion of; 214.
  - Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, proceedings connected with the Rebellion; 327, 328, 330, 331, 332, 343.
  - as connected with the project of the Union; 342.
- Coromandel, East India Company's troops on the coast of; 15.
- *Correspondent, the*; 403.
- Corry :
  - Lord, afterwards Earl of Belmore, motion negatived; 346.
  - Isaac, M.P. for Newry, to move for an explanation of the Navigation Act; 46, 47.
  - Mr., of Liverpool, author of the pamphlet signed "Jasper Wilson"; 223.
- Corsica, the new magnificent kingdom of; 251.
- Cotton wool conveying infectious disease; 223.
- *Courier* newspaper; 351.
- Courtown, Earl of ; 24.
- Cove [New Queenstown, Cork], its military defences ; 227.
- Coxe, Mr., a pamphlet by; 59.
- Cradock, Dr., Dean of St. Patrick's; 24.
- Craig, Colonel; 45.
- Crane, small white, of Asia and Africa, shot near Kinsale; 227.
- Crawford :
  - John; 117, 121.
  - Mr.; 231, 245.
- Crevenna, Pietro Antonio, sale of his books in Holland; 124.
- Croagh-Patrick, mountain in co. Mayo; 339.
- Crombie, James, D.D., Principal of the Academy at Belfast; 50.
- Cromie, Sir Michael, of Stacumine, message from Prince of Wales, sent by; 302, 304, 305.
- Crookhaven; 311.
- Crosbie :
  - Richard, son of Sir Paul, aeronaut, letters relating to his design of a balloon; 2(2), 37(2).
  - —— a proposed visit to Belfast with his balloon; 37, 38, 39.
  - Lt.-Col., at Coleraine; 302.

Cross, a man wantonly killed in the Fair of; 103.
Cuddalore, attack on the French at, described; 14.
Cumming, Rev. James; 353.
Cunningham prize medal of the Royal Irish Academy; 71(*n*).
Cunningham:
  Timothy, bequest by; 71(*n*).
  Waddell, M.P. for Carrickfergus; 55, 59.
Curran, John Philpot, speeches for Lady Pamela and Lord Edward Fitzgerald; 373, 376.
Cuthbert, Mr., tailor, in Carrickfergus gaol, visited by a clergyman, a dissenting minister, and a priest; 299, 320.

D

Dacre, the title of; 108.
Dacre of Gillesland, baron; 108.
Dallaway, James, editor of Rundle's letters; 119.
Dalrymple, Lieut.-Gen., French fleet at Bantry; 311.
Dalwey, M.; 117.
Daly:
  Mr.; 401.
  Denis, of Dunsandle, M.P.; 51.
  —— death; 187.
  —— sale of his books in Dublin, great prices obtained; 193.
  Richard, of the Theatre Royal, Dublin; 190.
Danish intercourse with Great Britain, an investigation of the traces of, by order of the Court of Denmark; 100.
Dante's poems, editions of, required; 42, 54, 64, 67, 68.
Danube, a visit to the source of the; 308.
Da Porto's novel, mentioned; 66.
  translation of passages from, discussed; 72.
Darnley, Earl of, letter to; 373.
Daunt:
  Mr.; 227.
  —— apothecary, in Cork; 227.
Davenport Dr., at Stratford-upon-Avon; 221.
Davies:
  Sir John, works of, mentioned; 401.
  Mr., Advocate-General to the E. I Company; 111, 177.
Davy, Major, version of the Institutes of Timour by; 194.
Dawson:
  Mr.; 289, 369.
  James; 399.
Dean, John, engraver of Livesay's portrait of Lord Charlemont; 41(*n*).
Deane, William, one of the Six Clerks, Dublin; 113.
De Burgh, Mr.; 404.
"Declaration," the, drawn up at Dublin, transmitted to the French National Assembly; 141, 142.
De Courcey, Mr.; 91.
Deer (meuse), a complete skeleton of; 227.
"Defenders," a party in the north of Ireland; 83, 265, 294.
  battle with the "Orange boys"; 266.
  the taking of their oath; 321, 327, 341.
  spread of the party, &c.; 340, 341, 347, 354, 398.
Delvin, Lord, genealogist of the Knights of St. Patrick; 24.
Demosthenes, translation of, by Figliucci, price paid for; 194.
Denny, Lady Arabella, foundress of the Magdalen Institute, Dublin; 301.
Derry:
  Bishop of, "Old Latimer's bishop," routed in his own metropolis; 6.
  city of, Charlemont's report of the state of affairs in; 6.
  —— disposition towards the Roman Catholics; 8.
  Volunteers of, officers send up a spirited address; 127.
  —— their numbers; 127.
  American ships at, taking in emigrants for America; 275.
  disturbances in the co. of; 291, 398.
  harsh measures taken in; 301.
  vibrating between a rising and no rising; 333.
Desmond, Earl of; 65.
Desmoulins, Camille, pamphlet by, alluded to; 237.
Despencer, Lady Isabella; 107.
Devonshire, Duchess of, in France; 175.
  Duke and Duchess, mentioned; 141.
Dickson, William, Bishop of Down and Connor; 56.
  letter from; 316.
  letter on the subject of the Union; 342.
Dickson *or* Dixon, the celebrated Irish rebel, taken, &c.; 352, 353.
Digby, Sir Kenelm, the head of; 5.
Dilettanti Club, the; 104.
Dissenters' Address, the; 159.
Dobbins, the, of Armagh; 346.
Dobbs:
  Francis, M.P. for Charlemont, his millennium, mentioned; 300.
  —— character, &c.; 316, 317.
  —— describes his negotiations with the Wicklow rebels; 331.
  —— mentioned; 344.
  Mr.; 362.
Dodsley's *Annual Register*; 401.
Dominica, deaths in a regiment at; 220.
Donard, the village of, nearly totally burned; 331.
Donegal, county of, will certainly "instruct"; 127.

Donegal, Lord, a gold box of the workmanship of; 58.
  colonel of the Belfast battalion of Volunteers; 75.
  his hospitality, expenditure on books, &c.; 75.
Donington, letter dated at; 314.
Dorset, Duke of; 111.
Douglas, John, Bishop of Salisbury; 239, 250.
Down, Bishop of, mentioned; 260.
Down, county of, assizes of, has spoken as to certain measures; 59.
  —— foreman of the jury *in terra damnata*; 128.
  disturbed state of; 103, 275, 276.
  affords a glorious prospect; 122.
  parliamentary election; 125.
  a county meeting suggested; 129.
  urged to pass resolutions; 137.
  apathy with regard to the elections; 275, 276.
  the Orange party in; 322.
  popular manifesto circulated in; 245.
  a meeting of the nobility to establish the new Yeomanry Cavalry; 278.
  part taken in the Irish rebellion; 328.
  a call of the county against the Union urged, &c.; 345, 346.
  Lord Downshire's influence in; 396.
  a petition from; 397.
Down, town of, review of the Volunteers at; 56.
Downpatrick; 136.
Doyle, "Poor"; 91.
Dress of the Irish, an essay on; 75.
Drogheda, Earl of; 24, 364.
Drogheda, town of, letter dated at; 21.
  M.P. for; 21.
  the infernal flummery of the address from; 57, 59.
Dromore:
  Bishop of, charge against Dr. Haliday; 130.
  —— goes to England; 180.
  Papists and Dissenters at, breach of the peace feared, soldiery at, &c.; 256.
Drummaul, co. Antrim, a meeting to be held at; 353.
Drumnaferin, townland of; 292.
Dryden, John, materials gathered for a new Life of; 238, 241, 254.
  Malone's editon of his prose works; 277, 278, 310.
Dublin, city of:
  mentioned; 1, 4, 8, 21, 22.
  sentiment with regard to the Police Bill; 43, 44.
  emptied into the country; 55.
  Council books in, all burnt; 64.
  ancient theatres in; 64.
  sets an example on the Regency question; 97.
  burning of the House of Commons in; 187.
  great prices at a book sale at; 193.
Dublin, city of—*cont.*
  King William's statue at, ceremony on the 4th of Nov.; 211.
  loss of sight almost universal in; 215.
  riots in, at Lord Camden's arrival; 259, 260.
  the only place where the project of the Union has created a lively sensation; 342.
  a scheme to attack; 348.
  Streets mentioned:
    Bride Street; 272.
    Digges Street; 43.
    Dorset Street; 361.
    Earl Street; 346.
    Eccles Street; 74.
    Ely Place; 105.
    Fownes's Street; 128.
    Hoggin *or* College Green; 64.
    Hume Street; 400.
    Lazar's Hill; 379.
    North Cumberland Street; 2.
    North Great Georges Street; 360.
    Paradise Row; 206.
    Werburgh Street; 64.
    Wilson Street; 24.

  clergy, their action criticised; 258.
  Mayoralty of, illegal action of the Privy Council with regard to; 127, 131.
  telegraph from Dublin to Cork, proposed; 288.
  tradesmen of, characteristics of; 354.
  Volunteers of, Charlemont condemns conduct of; 211.
  Whig clubs in, establishment of; 100, 105(2), 113, 133, 183.
  —— a resolution by, proposed by Charlemont; 128, 129.
  —— disseminate Paine's pamphlet in reply to Burke; 137.
Dublin Castle:
  acting of plays at; 64.
  its "squadrons"; 178.
  exerting itself *per fas et nefas*; 367.
Dublin Company, men of the, conspire to murder their captain, &c.; 301.
Dublin Convention, mentioned; 179.
Dublin, county of, address to the Prince of Wales; 96, 97.
Dublin Society, proposed experiments in tanning before the; 307.
Dublin University, Provost of, his son and he take different parts on the Regency question; 89.
Dublin Evening Post; 125.
Dudley, the carpenter, earldom bestowed on descendant of; 107.
Du Fresnoy's *Art of Painting*; 189, 254.
Dugdale's *Baronage*, loan requested, &c.; 107.
Dumouriez, General; 201, 204.
  image at Belfast; 212.
Dundalk; 141, 306.
Dundas:
  Thomas, letters to and from Charlemont; 96, 116, 374.

Dundas, Thomas—*cont.*
    —— jealous of the growing prosperity of Ireland; 186.
    —— responsibility for defenceles state of British commerce in the Indian Seas; 233.
    Mr.; 250.
Dungannon, an obelisk proposed at, to Charlemont and the Volunteers; 140.
    debate and resolutions at, reported; 210, 211.
    whole barony of, to be proclaimed; 290.
    letter dated at; 291.
Dunkirk, demolition of; 211.
Dunn, William Bruce, experiments in tanning; 307.
Dunning, John, reason why not Attorney-General; 401.
Durham, Col., and the rising at Antrim; 325, 328.
Dutch Republic and Russia; 7.

E

East India Company:
    experiences in the Service; 12.
    pay of an ensign, and the difficulty of obtaining it; 12.
    one who has done real credit and service to the nation; 22.
    its monopoly in Ireland; 30.
    Advocate-General to; 111.
"East India gasconades"; 181.
East Indies, the Queen's predominance in matters pertaining to; 101.
    vast British strength in; 126.
Eden:
    Mr.; 20.
    William, Lord Auckland; 384.
Edgeworth, Richard Lovell, letters from; 21, 272, 295.
    a son at Edinburgh; 272.
    letters about his invention of the telegraph; 287, 288, 293.
    a pamphlet on the state of Ireland and the telegraph by; 287, 293, 295.
Edgeworthstown; 21, 272, 287, 293, 295.
Edinburgh, mentioned; 272.
    a student from, proceedings in Ireland; 322.
Edward, H.R.H. Prince; 24.
    comes to London without leave; 124.
Edwards:
    Mr., a London publisher; 262.
    Major; 332.
Effingham, Lord; 168.
Egan, John, M.P. for Tallagh; 249.
Eglish, the curate of; 78, 79.
Egypt, something published about; 43.
Eliot, Mr., a letter of, alluded to; 319.
Elisabeth, the heroic, guillotined; 240, 242.
Elliot, Mr., War Office, letter to Charlemont; 287.
Ellis, Mr., son-in-law of Rev. E. Hudson, defence against the rebels at Randalstown; 325, 329.
    in command at Randalstown, &c.; 348, 352.
Elmsly (Elmsley), P., bookseller in the Strand; 42, 46, 83, 360.
Elphinstone, Adml. Sir George; 311.
Ely, Earl of; 24, 30(*n*).
    house in Dublin; 400.
Email, co. Wicklow, letter dated at the camp at; 331.
Emperor, the; 240.
    fear of his making a separate peace; 273.
England, disposition in, towards claims of Ireland; 4.
    conduct towards Ireland; 49.
    surmised want of husbands in; 55.
    gloomy aspect of affairs in; 229.
England's Parnassus; 33.
English:
    assistance to French Royalists; 222.
    Parliament, effect of a prorogation on Irish business, &c.; 22.
English Chronicle, supports the French Republicans; 222.
Enniskerry near Bray, letter dated from; 274.
Enniskillen, Lord; 243.
Erskine, Thomas, political combinations; 203.
    speeches of, characterised; 209, 252.
Essai sur la vie de M. Barthélemy; 274.
Europe:
    topsy-turvy; 104.
    state of the countries of, at end of 18th century; 196.
Eustace, Captain; 296.
Exeter:
    Duke of, John Holland; 108.
    Lord, collection of pictures of; 27, 36, 40.
Expositio S. Hieronimi, Oxon; 33.
Eyre, Baron; 34.
Eyrecourt; 364.

F

Fabricius, Johannes Albertus, works of; 194, 197, 199, 231, 238.
"Face Money"; 104.
Farewell to Follie; 224.
Farmer, Dr. Richard; 51, 60, 67.
    auction of his books, &c., a great temptation; 309.
Fauchet, Abbé; 165.
Fauconberg, Lord; 88.
Faulkner, Alderman; 400.

Fenn, John, publisher of the *Paston Letters;* 61, 63.
Fenton, Mr., wantonly shoots a rebel; 332.
Fenwick, Ensign; 45.
Ferguson, John, commander of a company of the Londonderry Volunteer Association; 6.
Figliucci, translation of Demosthenes by; 194.
Filmer, Sir Robert, author of "Political Discourses," mentioned; 294.
Fishery Bill; 391.
Fitzgerald:
  Lord Edward, dismissed the service; 205.
  —— his supposed conspiracy; 317.
  —— attainder, &c.; 334, 373, 375.
  Lady Pamela; 373(*n*).
  George Robert, hanged at Castlebar; 39.
  Thomas Ludkin, high-sheriff of Tipperary, his amnesty measure; 350.
Fitzgibbon, John, Chancellor of Ireland, afterwards Earl of Clare, letter from; 105.
  a speech of, referred to; 128, 129.
  pursued by a mob; 259.
  letter to; 374.
  letter to Charlemont; 389.
  mentioned; 178, 234, 248.
Fitzgibbon's Bill; 48.
Fitzherbert:
  Mr.; 6, 66.
  Hon. Alleyne, Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; 69.
  Mrs., and the Prince of Wales; 53.
Fitzroy, Lord Charles, Major-General; 318.
Fitzwilliam, Earl; 82, 143, 209, 251, 367.
  appeals for Charlemont's support in the event of his being made Lord Lieutenant; 246.
  reply from Charlemont; 247.
  his election to be Lord Lieutenant; 250, 251, 252, 253, 255(3), 256.
  a foretaste of his administration, action with regard to Trinity College, Dublin, &c.; 257.
  strong resolutions deprecating his recall; 258.
  addresses daily presented, the circumstances of his position, &c.; 258, 259.
  circumstances of his departure; 259.
  controversy over his recall; 260.
  measures passed during his administration; 261.
  resentment at his recall; 265.
  a deserter of Fox, &c.; 275.
Flapper, the, periodical paper published in Dublin; 278.
Flood, Henry, letters to Charlemont; 43, 390, 391, 392.
  his introducer to the borough of Seaford; 201.
  mentioned; 388.
Flood, Henry—*cont.*
  question of his parliamentary seat; 390.
  attachment to Charlemont; 390.
  residence in London; 392.
  the greatest huntsman and the idlest man alive; 400.
  thoughts on Poynings' Law; 401.
Flurrybridge, letters from; 321, 333.
Foncière, the, a French tax; 171.
Forbes:
  John, M.P. for Drogheda, letters from and to; 21, 84, 374.
  —— mentioned; 121.
  Mr.; 261.
Ford, John, list of his plays in Charlemont's possession; 74.
  an imperfection in the copy of *Love's Sacrifice;* 224.
Forde, Mr.; 50.
Fordes, the two, at Belfast; 117, 121.
Foreigners, impression made upon, by reports of English newspapers; 6.
Forkhill in co. Armagh; 102, 326, 341.
Forster, William, Bishop of Kilmore; 130.
Fort Edward near Dungannon; 292.
Fort Stewart, letter dated at; 127.
Forth, barony of, in co. Wexford, an English colony in, from time of Henry II.; 387.
Foster, John, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons; 47(*n*).
  conduct with regard to the project of the Union; 341, 344.
  great speech in opposition to the Union; 349, 350, 351.
Foure letters, and certain Sonnets; 224.
Fowler, Dr. Robert, Archbishop of Dublin; 24.
Fox, Charles James:
  Mrs. Fitzherbert's affair; 53.
  speech in the Warren Hastings debate; 73.
  likely to be in the Whig Administration; 82.
  his opinion on the question of the Regency; 84.
  a presentation to; 93
  has an opportunity to show his amiability; 122.
  superiority of his talents; 129.
  separation from Burke; 184.
  political combinations and part; 197, 203, 204, 209, 229, 315.
  speech in Parliament referred to; 207.
  proposal to send an ambassador to France; 209.
  in the chair at the Literary Club; 239.
  credited as ever acting on principle; 242.
  mentioned; 257, 293, 360, 386, 392.
  sad fate follows deserters of; 275.
  negotiations of Burke with; 279, 283.
  his love of gaming, &c.; 369.
  his oratory compared with Burke's; 391.
Fox, General, brother of Charles James; 240.

France:
- letters describing events in; 145–159, 162–176.
- army in, sentiments towards the King; 153.
- —— state, &c.; 169.
- church and church property in; 147, 170.
- clergy in, their condition, internecine strife, &c.; 168,
- clubs established in; 155.
- commerce of, dwindled to nothing; 169.
- courts of justice under the new régime in, discussed; 148.
- events proceeding in, allusions to; 106, 143, 144, 191, 197, 199, 203, 206, 222, 224.
- —— account of, by an escaped member of the Convention; 240.
- expectation of a counter-revolution in; 131.
- finances of, position of; 149, 154, 155, 169, 170.
- foreign interference in affairs of, remarks on; 152, 159, 262, 309.
- Irish alliance with, discussed; 298.
- judges and officers of departments in, salaries; 172.
- King of, his situation; 153.
- —— treatment by the Assembly; 164, 165.
- —— negatives a decree of the Assembly; 167.
- —— his sister likely to be dragged to the block; 222.
- manufactures of, helped by the exchange being against the country; 150.
- method of dealing with the children of the victims of the revolutionary party in; 240.
- Monsieur of; 166.
- municipal mayors of, illiterate; 171.
- National Assembly, a visit to; 124.
- —— "Declaration" from the Irish Volunteers sent to; 141, 142.
- —— supported by the nation; 153.
- —— the code drawn up by, its sacredness, &c.; 155.
- —— number of members, constitution, &c.; 163.
- —— pay per diem; 164.
- —— character of the representatives; 164.
- —— amount of business done, &c.; 165.
- navy, state of; 169.
- nobles, self-exiled, their conduct and proceedings discussed; 153, 156–159, 164.
- number of persons said to be in prison in; 242.
- paper currency in, its effects, &c.; 150, 170.
- —— frauds connected with; 171.
- parliaments of; 147.
- peace negotiations; 310.

France—*cont.*
- priests of, trouble among the; 167.
- property in, insecure; 147.
- proposal to send an ambassador to; 209.
- South of, melancholy condition; 167.
- taxes in, difficulties of collecting; 154.
- —— manner of their assessment, &c.; 171, 172.
- treaty of commerce with; 43, 47.
- war with, *see* French War *below*.

Francis, Philip, one of the accusers of Warren Hastings, revisits Ireland, introductions to Charlemont and others; 50, 54, 55, 56, 57.
- his attachment to Charlemont; 87.
- mentioned; 88, 93.

Frank, Samuel Johnson's servant; 62.

Franklin, Benjamin, a communication from; 113.
- his portrait hung at Belfast; 212.

Fraser, Mr., return from India; 112.

French:
- designs; 230.
- disposition, leading features of the; 165, 225.
- eloquence; 166.
- emissary to England for assistance to the Royalists in Poitou; 222.
- fleet defeated by Lord Howe; 242, 243.
- —— appear off Cape Clear; 291.
- —— anchor in Bantry Bay; 311.
- Infantry, characteristics of; 165.
- invasion of England expected, preparations against; 229.
- —— of Ireland, alarm of; 293, 294, 334.
- liberty, subscriptions for the assertion of, meaning of certain sums; 205.
- military operations and intentions; 204, 208.
- naval operations in the East Indies; 233.
- naval action off Tory Island; 337.
- newspapers, a characteristic of; 162.
- people, their character, Voltaire's view; 198.
- Revolution, anniversary to be celebrated at Belfast; 140.
- —— its effect; 179, 181, 182, 184, 203, 229, 380.
- —— pamphlets, tracts, &c., occasioned by; 207.
- —— commemorated in Ireland; 245.
- —— *See also* France *above*.
- war, opinions with regard to; 210.
- —— its conduct and management explained, &c.; 239, 244.
- —— discussed; 248, 262.
- —— successes, reverses, &c.; 273, 277, 283, 310.

French, the, in India, operations against; 13, 14.

Friar, the, in the north of Ireland; 340, 341, 398.

Froissart; 33.

Fullerton, Col., in the E. I. Co.'s Service; 14.
Funds, fall of the; 204.
Furștemberg, Landgrave of, his method of punishing poachers; 308.
Fuseli's prints of Milton; 197.

G

Gabelles, the, in France, mentioned; 150.
Gardening, treatises on, mentioned; 263
Gardiner, Col.; 111.
  Mr.; 403.
Garrick, David; 230.
  his collection of plays mentioned; 33.
Geneva, colony from, settled in Ireland; 70.
George I., when Elector of Hanover, a Knight of the Garter; 144.
George III. *See* King, the.
Germain, lady Betty; 400.
German:
  Chasseurs in Ireland; 338.
  tyranny, an instance of; 308.
Germany, the detestable system planned in; 281.
  places of education in; 363.
Giant's Causeway, specimens from; 366.
Gibbon, Edward, characteristics and anecdotes about; 230, 231.
Gibbs, Vicary, one of Tooke's counsel; 252.
Gideon, Sir Samson, "or any other Jew"; 339.
Giustiniani, Prince, governor of Perugia, 313.
Glenavy, devastations of Orangemen at; 322.
Gloucester, Duke of, Chancellor of T.C.D., dead; 32.
Godolphins, mentioned as typical Whigs; 143.
Goldie, General, proceedings connected with the Irish Rebellion; 326, 340, 398.
Goldsmith, Oliver, an anecdote of, &c.; 359, 360.
  an essay on; 363.
  mentioned; 366.
Gorget, worn as an ornament by natives of America; 81, 83.
Gormagnon's *Political Glyster;* 42.
Gosford, Lord, joined with Charlemont in the lieutenancy of Armagh; 133, 134.
Göttingen university; 363.
Government discussed; 6, 146, 174, 175.
Gower, Lord, Ambassador in France, mentioned; 176.
Grafton, Duke of, a buyer in the book market; 124.
Grammont, Comte de, the head of, in H. Walpole's collection; 30.
  Mémoires du; 231, 238, 255, 262.
Granard, Earl of, seat in co. of Longford; 338.
  will oppose the proposition of the Union; 339.
Granemore, townland in Armagh, search for arms at; 311.
Grattan, Henry; 21, 293, 388.
  made a great figure; 74.
  Charlemont's reliance upon; 84.
  his action with regard to the Regency question; 89.
  a meeting at Belfast for the purpose of thanking him; 117.
  signs a resolution at the Dublin Whig Club as secretary; 123.
  his political measures convulsive; 233.
  action with regard to the letter to the Prince of Wales; 303.
  letters from Charlemont to; 375.
  announces his intended marriage; 393.
Great Britain, the medium of commerce for all the countries of Europe; 169.
  naval superiority of; 211.
Greene, Robert, actor, contemporary with Shakspeare; 67.
  a volume of his works; 104, 124, 222.
  —— contents named; 224.
Greene's Epitaph; 224.
Greene's Ghost; 224.
Greg:
  Mr.; 45.
  C., his house in Belfast, a complete ruin; 195.
Grenville, George; 106.
  motion in the House of Commons; 391.
Grey, —, political combinations; 203, 279.
Grey of Brancepeth, Antony; 108.
Grey of Ruthyn, Lord; 107.
Grey of Wilton, Lord; 108.
Grey of Wrest, Sir Henry; 108.
Greystock, Lord; 108.
Groat's Worth of Wit; 224.
Guildford, Lord, death of; 197.
  dying injunction of; 204.
Gulston, Mr.; 29.
Gulstone, Mr., sale of his collection of Hogarth's pictures; 35.
Gustavus Vasa, a tragedy; 360.
Gyffard, a clergyman, supposed author of a satirical poem; 277.

H

H., Lord; 137.
H. F., Lord; 137.
Habeas Corpus Act, suspension of the; 242.
Haliday, Alexander, M.D., of Belfast:
  correspondence with Lord Charlemont; *passim.*

- Haliday, Alexander—*cont.*
  - his views as to the value of ballooning; 38.
  - long a notorious dissenter; 56.
  - his drinking ability; 71.
  - his views as to the question of the Regency as affecting Ireland; 85.
  - enjoined to preach Whig principles; 100.
  - establishment of Whig clubs at Belfast; 110, 114, 116, 117, 118, 119.
  - his views on religious toleration, &c.; 119, 120.
  - criticises Burke; 121, 179.
  - a printed letter, in his name, against the clergy, disavowed, &c.; 131, 132.
  - secretary to the Northern Whig Club; 131.
  - the Charlemont medal sent to; 132.
  - views on the Catholic question; 180, 185.
  - views on the British Constitution; 185.
  - causes of the breach of his friendship with Burke; 192.
  - a tragedy by, submitted to Sheridan by Burke, and lost; 193(2).
  - —— Charlemont's criticism; 202.
  - opinion of the state of Europe; 196.
  - Charlemont's opinion of; 199.
  - prologue to his tragedy; 200.
  - account of the disturbances at Belfast, &c.; 212.
  - a pleasing letter and still more pleasing verses of; 214.
  - weariness of politics; 214.
  - changed relations with the officers of military in Ireland; 210.
  - account of the disturbances at Castlereagh; 215.
  - "an incomparable epic ballad" of his, alluded to; 218.
  - begged not to relinquish politics in his letters to Charlemont; 219.
  - book dedicated to, conjointly with Charlemont; 234, 235, 236.
  - tirade against political state of Ireland; 234.
  - opinion of Lord Howe, the French fleet, and Washington; 243.
  - on Earl Fitzwilliam's appointment as Lord Lieutenant; 247.
  - opinion of Quakerism; 248.
  - as to the conduct of the Prince of Wales, outrages in Armagh, &c.; 274, 275.
  - urged to use his influence to persuade Belfast never to sign a certain paper; 282, 283.
  - consulted by his neighbours with respect to the holding of a town meeting, &c., 284, 285.
  - entertains no fears of invasion; 285.
  - opinion of the Chancellor, &c.; 294.
  - his idea of the best securities for order, and the results of taking oaths; 294, 303.
- Haliday, Alexander—*cont.*
  - urged to promote a petition against the Magistracy bill; 296.
  - a letter from, to Charlemont, opened by Lord Carhampton; 296.
  - a letter to Lord Camden, from, referred to, 297.
  - his views of Orange badges, &c.; 303.
  - the case of a friend whose son took part in the rising; 331.
  - become a captain of yeomanry; 332.
  - the dangers of Orangeism; 333.
  - revived by the speech of the Speaker against the Union; 349.
  - letter to 2nd Earl Charlemont on the proposed Union; 356.
  - a paragraph from a letter of, sent to England to show north country opinion; 377, 386.
  - on Irish patriotism, county meetings, &c., 393, 394.
- Haliday, Rev. Samuel, Presbyterian Minister, Belfast, persecuted by the Synod of Ulster; 49.
- Halifax, Earl of, letters to and from; 377, 397.
- Hall Barn, near Beaconsfield; 197.
- Hall, Major, negotiations with the rebels; 331.
- Hamilton:
  - Mr.; 47, 250.
  - G.; 117, 121.
  - Henry, Dublin Castle; 293.
  - Hugh, dean of Armagh, rejoicings at his promotion to be a bishop; 270.
  - Sackville; 66.
  - —— under secretary, Civil department, Ireland; 245.
  - W. Gerard, paralysed; 197, 198, 251.
- Hampden, John, compared to a highwayman; 72.
- Harcourt, Lord; 391.
- Harding:
  - Mr., book illustrations by; 232.
  - —— queries as to Hogarth's "Lady's Last Stake"; 364.
  - —— Lord Camden's nephew; 201.
- Hardy:
  - ——; 114.
  - Francis, M.P. for Mullingar; 274.
  - —— letters on the subject of the Union; 338, 341.
  - Thomas, tried at the Old Bailey; 252.
- Hare, William, M.P. for Cork City; 277.
- *Harlot's Progress*, by Hogarth, original of the second plate, price; 27.
  - from Mr. Beckford's collection, value, &c.; 36, 40.
- Harper's pamphlet, mentioned; 323.
- Harris, Mr., captain of the Lisluny Volunteers, death, and funeral sermon; 18.
- Harrowgate, in Yorkshire; 221.
- "Harry, Sir," Limerick; 25.
- Hartley:
  - Mr.; 46.
  - D., letters to and from; 351, 355.
- Harvey's letters to Spenser; 349.
- Harwich, the Queen's landing at; 377.

Hastings:
the title of, descent, &c. ; 107.
Sir Edward; 108.
Sir Hugh; 107.
Sir Ralph; 108.
Sir Thomas; 107.
Warren, Burke's action against; 55, 72, 74.
—— one who laboured to bring him to justice; 54.
—— the debate in the Lords, speech of the Chancellor, &c.; 72.
—— under the Queen's protection, &c., 101.
Havre, French preparations at; 229.
Hawke, Sir Edward; 20.
Hawkesworth, Dr.; 402.
Hawkins:
Sir John, life of Johnson, by; 62.
Sir William, Knight attendant of the Order of St. Patrick; 24.
Hawkshaw, ——; 362.
Hayley, Mr.; 51.
works discussed; 272.
his *Life of Milton*, mentioned; 274.
Haymarket Theatre; 364.
Heberden, William, M.D.; 188.
Hébert, Jacques René, editor of "Le Veritable Père Duchesne"; 237.
Heighington, Mr.; 332.
Hell Gate, by Hogarth; 27.
Hely, a relation of Samuel Johnson; 62.
Henderson:
John, his books to be sold; 33, 53.
one, a wheelwright, a colonel in the Irish rising; 329.
Henry VIII. declared King of Ireland, ceremony on the occasion; 65.
Henry, John; 403.
Herculaneum Antiquities; 365.
Heron's *Letters on Literature*; 31.
Herring, Archbishop, Hogarth's portrait of, mentioned; 40.
Hertford, letter dated at; 68.
Hertford, Marquis of, clergyman of, harangues the Orange boys; 279.
sounds his tenantry with regard to the Union; 351.
Hewitt, James, dean of Armagh; 270(*n*).
Hibernian Journal, or Chronicle of Liberty, to contain a paper in answer to the Chancellor; 128, 129.
Hickes's *Thesaurus*; 45, 46, 52, 61, 124.
Hillingdon; 77.
Hillsborough; 39, 56, 130.
Hillsborough, Earl of, and his followers, relations with the Duke of Rutland; 58.
influence in the co. of Down; 394.
Hinchcliffe, John, bishop of Peterborough; 230.
Hincks, Rev. Mr., of Cork; 277(*n*).
Thomas Dix; 279.
Hindoo:
clerk, a copyist; 234.
sacred books, Sir William Jones's translation of; 112.
Hindoos, exertions to redeem the, from tyranny; 55.
History of Political Transactions and of Parties, by Somerville; 201.
History of Borough Representation in Britain; 201.
Hobart, Robert, Earl of Buckinghamshire; 178, 180, 183, 210.
reported nomination to be governor of Madras; 234.
Hoby, Sir Philip, *temp.* Edw. VI., papers belonging to; 277, 278, 279.
Hoche, General; 303.
Hoey, Captain; 117.
Hogarth:
Life, by Horace Walpole, mentioned; 5.
an emblematic print by, in Walpole's collection, not allowed to be copied; 29.
prices obtained for his works; 35.
sundry pictures, engravings, &c., named; 35, 36, 37, 39, 40.
collectors will not suffer the least sketch or drawing to be made from scarce prints; 40.
his portrait in a picture; 40.
sketches from his prints, by Richard Livesay; 385.
pictures, prints, &c., mentioned:—
Lady's Last Stake; 27.
The Discovery; 27, 35.
A Just View of the British Stage; 27.
Frontispiece to Dr. Sharpe's pamphlet; 27, 35, 41, 42.
A Masquerade; 27, 35.
Prints for Milton; 27, 35, 36, 37, 40, 42.
Hell Gate; 27.
Rape of the Lock; 35.
Evening: one of the times of the day; 35.
Angel and Palm, Shop Bill; 35, 40, 42.
The Tankard; 35.
Kent's altar-piece; 35, 36, 40, 42.
Sarah Malcolm; 35, 40.
Booth, Wilkes, and Cibber; 35.
Satan, Sin, and Death; 35, 40, 42.
Harlot's Progress; 36, 40.
Portrait of Captain Coram; 39.
Inhabitants of the Moon; 40.
Black Woman in Bed; 40.
Sancho (a portrait of Hogarth); 40, 42.
Rabbit-woman; 40, 41.
Taste in High Life; 40, 42.
South Sea Lottery; 40.
Political Glyster; 40, 42.
Mystery of Masonry; 40.
Portrait of Archbishop Herring; 40.
The Bench; 40.
Sleeping Congregation; 40.
Old Coombes; 40.
Terræ filius; 42.

Hogarth—*cont.*
  pictures, &c.—*cont.*
    Richardson ; 42.
    Child's Head ; 42.
    Lady's Last Stake, its history ; 364.
Hogarth, Jane, Walpole's letter to ; 5(*n*).
  in good health ; 27.
  letters to Charlemont ; 37, 39.
  mentioned ; 41.
Holland, "a province of Prussia" ; 196.
  French intentions upon ; 204, 208.
  "had once too much commerce" ; 357.
  and Flanders, coast of, effect of its possession by the French ; 211.
  See also Dutch Republic.
Holywood, village of, almost totally burned ; 331.
Honoria and Mammon, by Shirley ; 104.
Hood, Lord, at Toulon ; 229.
Horace, quotations from ; 350, 365.
Horn Head, naval action viewed from the heights of ; 337.
Howard :
  Lord, "the infamous" ; 228.
  Gorges ; 400.
  Richard, Bishop of Cloyne ; 250(*n*).
  Thomas, Governor of Jamaica ; 168.
Howe, Lord, victory over the French fleet ; 242, 243.
  anecdotes of ; 243.
Hudson, Rev. Edward, letter describing riotous state of Armagh ; 102.
  describes the state of political sentiment in Belfast, &c., 244.
  asked to attend as Magistrate to read the Riot act at Dromore ; 256.
  a scare at Antrim fair ; 273.
  disturbances in Derry ; 291.
  letters on the state of his district, the rebellion in Antrim, and public affairs ; 299, 301, 304, 305, 315, 319, 321, 324, 326, 328, 332, 333, 334, 337, 339, 343, 345, 346, 351, 352, 354, 398.
  instances of cruel exercise of power in Ireland, given by ; 304.
  relates a conversation showing state of affairs ; 306.
  discusses Lord Moira's political action, &c., 315.
  a pamphlet by, read with avidity ; 323.
  his son-in-law ; 325, 329. *See also* Ellis.
  advice as to treatment of the rebels ; 327.
  his brother-in-law negotiates with the rebels ; 329.
  his views of Orangeism ; 336, 337, 355.
  on the subject of the Union ; 344.
  as a military commander ; 348, 349.
  calls a meeting, declaration signed at, &c. ; 352, 353.
Hume :
  Capt. of Wicklow Yeomanry, murder of ; 336.
  David, an early friend of Charlemont ; 269.
  Joseph ; 230.
Humphry, Ozias, portrait of Malone by ; 308.
Hungary, King of, designs against Paris ; 190.
Huntly, Marquis of, in command at Email ; 332.
Hurling, sport in Ireland ; 387.
Hutton, Dr. ; 272.
Hyde, Mr. ; 45.
Hyder Ali, a rumour of his death ; 13.
  troops ordered to enter his country ; 14.

I

Icelandic fragments relating to the history of Great Britain and Ireland ; 100, 105.
"Illuminés," the, a German secret society ; 308.
Inchiquin, Earl of ; 24.
India :
  letter relating experiences in campaigns in ; 12.
  payment of regiments going to ; 73.
  a voyage to, described ; 110.
  barristers in, their prospects, &c. ; 111.
  judges in, character, &c. ; 111.
  mentioned ; 176.
  progress of British power in ; 233.
  the India question ; 384.
Indian :
  War, a disagreeable business, &c. ; 138, 183.
  territories indifferently defended against the French ; 233, 234.
Inoculation of infants ; 117.
Institutions of Timour ; 194.
Ireland :
  abuse of power in, instances ; 304.
  addresses from, on the Regency question ; 90.
  "Administration" in, disingenuous tactics ; 49.
  —— war in Ireland, their object ; 298.
  agricultural labourers in, wages, 263.
  alarm of invasion, a pretext for calling to arms, and keeping silence as to grievances ; 303.
  alarming state of ; 279.
  alliance with France discussed ; 298.
  American example on, effect of ; 6.
  an unfriended isle, the wretches in the South ; 55.
  analogy between it and Poland ; 6.
  aristocracy said not to exist in ; 7.
  army in, men of the regiments belonging to United Irishmen ; 301.
  assizes in, to speak out on public questions ; 59.
  Attorney General of ; 219.
  —— his Magistracy bill—action taken against ; 296.

Ireland—*cont.*
banks in, hampered by flow of money to England; 394.
British troops landed in; 297.
Catholic Bill in its probable fate; 260.
Catholic education in; 180, 184.
Catholic question in; 160, 161, 173, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 187, 202, 207, 208, 233.
Catholic rising in, information of; 348, 398.
Catholics and Orangemen in; 273, 275, 321, 322.
—— disposition of; 292, 335.
—— and the Union Societies; 394.
Chief Secretary of, his position in regard to the Lord Lieutenant; 4.
church in, an alleged attack on; 130, 132.
—— in danger from internal, not external, causes; 132.
civil war actually declared to exist in; action of the British Parliament, discussed; 297, 298.
claims of, disposition in England towards; 4.
commercial intercourse with France, 43, 47.
commercial relations with England; 47.
commercial treaty with the United States of America advocated; 113.
connexion with Great Britain; 117, 173.
copper manufacture in, a design for; 5.
critical situation in the country; 17.
constitution of, improvements in; 215, 216.
correspondence with France, &c.; 317.
counties in, joint-lieutenancies in; 133, 134.
county corps in, Charlemont's connexion with the raising of; 282, 284, 285, 286, 287, 305.
—— two murders by yeomen; 306.
county meetings in; 218, 394.
Courts of Justice in, alleged unfairness of; 227.
defenceless state of; 380, 381.
"Defenders," a party in. *See* Defenders.
deputy-governors of the counties of, their unpunctuality leads to disorder; 215.
disfranchisement sought voluntarily in; 275.
disorders in, greatly exaggerated; 6.
disturbances in; 215, 263, 265, 266, 289, 291, 380, 387.
—— causes money to be sent to England; 394.
ecclesiastical promotions in, discussed; 250.
education in; 70.
elections to parliament in; 225.
—— favourable, from Burke's point of view; 126.
—— apathy of the people; 275.

Ireland—*cont.*
election of 1797 in, probable character of; 303.
emigration to America from; 275.
English influence in; 161.
French influence in; 380.
French invasion of, alarm or expectation of; 293, 294, 299, 315, 327, 334, 347, 351, 352.
Genevois settlement in; 70.
gentry of, the court strong among; 59.
—— apathy with respect to public concerns; 393.
harvests good in; 400.
hereditary revenues in, its entire cession; 215.
House of Commons. *See* Parliament *below*.
imprisonments in; 306.
independency of, a glorious opportunity for a great record of; 90.
instances of cruelty by persons in authority in; 304.
invasion of, precautions against; 285, 286.
King of, King of England necessarily, by Statute of Hen. VIII.; 82, 84.
Legislative union with Great Britain. *See* Union, the.
linen trade in; 320.
Lord Chancellor of, a speech of, referred to; 128, 129.
—— "his accursed bill"; 217, 218.
—— attitude towards measures followed after the Rebel rising; 332.
Lord Lieutenant of; 2, 16, 25, 65.
—— style of address to, in Belfast, recommended; 57, 58.
—— the censure upon; 94.
—— insult to Ireland, necessary effort to remove; 95.
—— Charlemont tells him some plain truths about Ireland; 210.
—— *See also* Duke of Rutland, Marquis of Buckingham, Earl Camden.
Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council, alleged improper interference with the election of the Lord Mayor of Dublin; 127, 131, 132.
loyalty of, duly recorded; 293.
magistracy laws in; 57.
Magistracy bill in, action against; 296.
Military in, suppression of disturbances by, cruel conduct, &c.; 215 216, 301, 302, 306, 310, 311.
—— operations against the rebellion in, without any system or general agreement; 324, 326, 327.
Militia Act in, universally executed; 215.
—— its necessity, &c., discussed; 216, 217.
national character in and out of Parliament getting forward; 178.
navigation act as regards; 46, 47, 215.

Ireland—*cont.*
northern counties, not dissatisfied with the commercial part of the Adjustment Bill; 26.
—— supineness of; 129, 137.
—— at peace; 215.
—— in point of finance in a sad situation; 217.
—— state of crops in 1797; 307.
—— state of affairs in, described; 315, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 354, 355.
North West Circuit, tedious and sanguinary; 306.
—— juries trustworthy; 306.
oaths of allegiance, &c. in, their effect; 293, 294, 303.
—— how administered, &c.; 301, 302.
oath taking in the North; 321, 322, 323.
officers commanding detachments in, without orders how to act, &c.; 324.
opposition party in, their patriotic conduct; 251.
—— dwindled to nothing; 293.
Orangemen in, outrages by; 275.
—— their multiplication, proceedings, &c.; 321, 322, 323, 335.
—— mischievous developments; 333, 336, 337.
outrages in; 266, 275, 305, 311, 312, 314, 346, 351, 352.
pamphlet on the state of, summarised; 287.
people of, importance of declaring their sentiments; 137.
parliament of 1541; 65.
Parliament, proceedings described; 17, 18, 19, 74, 209, 210, 217, 218, 359.
—— adjourned for a week; 21.
—— proceedings as to commercial relations between Great Britain and Ireland; 21, 22.
—— meeting of; 22.
—— the "Adjustment Bill" in, proceedings in connexion with; 23.
—— pensioners, &c., permitted to sit in the House without re-election; 49.
—— its powers with regard to the question of the Regency discussed, &c.; 82, 84, 85, 86, 89, 90, 97.
—— writs for a new Parliament expected; 122.
—— reform in the representation of; 161, 179, 181, 210, 211.
—— protracted adjournment of; 214.
—— become a mere committee of Ways and Means; 234.
—— a dissolution, &c.; 303.
—— bill for pardon in connexion with the Rebellion; 327.
—— debate on the Union; 344.
—— certain members of the H. of C., how influenced; 375.

Ireland—*cont.*
patriotism in; 393.
pensioners in, application of the absentee tax to; 20.
—— sit in Parliament; 49.
pension list in; 90.
people of, matters rather better among; 4.
—— have lost all confidence in government, parliament, &c.; 216.
—— their unfitness for freedom, a bad season for preserving the imperfections of the constitution; 173.
political club in, scheme for, sketched; 32.
political outlook in; 226, 287.
politics in, state of; 93, 102.
popular manifesto circulated in; 245.
poverty in; 280.
Presbyterians of. *See* Presbyterians.
primacy of; 250, 267.
—— Earl Fitzwilliam's action with with regard to; 257.
Prime Sergeant of, turned out; 404.
proclamation for taking the oath of allegiance in, its good effect; 304, 305.
Protestant ascendancy in, an awful and pregnant consideration; 186.
Protestant Dissenters of, an address of, to Earl Fitzwilliam, referred to; 258.
Protestants of, a surmised proceeding to compel them to call for a union; 183.
Protestant party get the name of "Orange boys"; 265.
—— the word regaining its influence; 354.
quarantine in, for ships from America, &c.; 220, 223.
quiet state of; 249.
Rebellion in the North of, proceedings described, causes, &c.; 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 352, 398.
—— two of the leaders; 327.
—— the act of amnesty; 330.
—— measures subsequent to its suppression; 331, 332, 333.
—— an officer who gives information; 348, 349.
rebellions in, their cause, &c.; 298.
reform in, rights and demands; 298.
Regency of the Prince of Wales in; 386.
Riot Act in; 48, 49, 50, 57.
Roman Catholics of. *See* Catholics *above.*
scheme for importing tea into; 30.
secession recommended, in view of the riot act; 50.
South of, Orange party spreading in; 322.
—— disaffection in; 380.
Speaker of the House of Commons, conduct in connexion with the project of the Union; 341, 344.
—— his son turned out; 404.

Ireland—*cont.*
- state of, discussed and deplored; 299, 300, 338, 351.
- —— near to insurrection; 306.
- Sunday Schools in; 184.
- tanning in, experiments proposed; 307.
- theatrical enterprise in; 190.
- trade with China; 190.
- Treasury Board, establishment of a; 215.
- Union with Great Britain. *See* Union.
- unlawful assemblies in, the Chancellor's bill; 217, 218.
- Volunteer Corps in, service in, under Lord Charlemont, a ground of favour; 1, 2.
- —— Lord Charlemont's reviewing progresses, mentioned; 2, 5, 6, 39, 55, 127, 389.
- —— their object, after danger of invasion had passed; 8.
- —— their relations with the House of Commons; 17, 18, 19.
- —— necessity of their being quiet and refraining from resolutions; 17, 19.
- —— recruited from the dregs of the people, the effect of this; 17, 18, 19.
- —— proper conduct of the Belfast corps; 18.
- —— Roman Catholics in a company; 21.
- —— preparations for the summer reviews; 34, 48.
- —— perform police duties; 45.
- —— ceremony of receiving the general (Charlemont); 55.
- —— advisability of renewing the addresses to the general; 58, 59.
- —— conduct; 69.
- —— affrays with the Roman Catholics; 78, 79, 80, 83, 102.
- —— an opinion against general reviews, weakness of discipline, &c.; 139.
- —— an obelisk in honour of Charlemont and the Volunteers proposed; 140, 141.
- —— their numbers, &c., at Armagh; 142.
- —— the Goldsmiths' corps, imprudent action of; 210.
- —— Dublin companies' conduct disapproved of; 211.
- —— disembodying of the; 212.
- —— changed in their principles and and practice; 216.
- —— as members of the Order of St. Patrick; 404, 405.
- weather unparalleled in; 100.
- woollen manufacture in; 76.
- yeomanry in; 279.
- —— how far subject to military law, interpretation of the Yeomanry Act; 318, 319.

Ireland, yeomanry in—*cont.*
- —— proposals, &c., for forming corps; 321, 322, 332.
- —— unmanageable conduct of; 332.
- —— approval of the measure of raising; 378.
- —— called out by Gen. Goldie; 398.
- —— *See also* County Corps *above.*

Ireland:
- Mr., pictures, &c., in collection of; 36.
- Samuel, forged Shakspeare papers, published by; 267, 268, 270, 271.

Irish:
- Academy or Philosophical Society; 43. *See* Academy.
- dress, an essay on; 75.
- Jacobins of Belfast; 236.
- language and Sanscrit; 75.
- member should totally forget English politics; 385.
- parties, usual fate of; 89.
- Peers wonderfully lucky in London; 55.
- —— question of their place in Royal marriage processions; 377, 382.
- politics and patriotism; 359, 366.
- propositions depending in England, petitions against, &c.; 21, 22.
- State Physicians, proposal that they should visit the King, on behalf of the Irish Parliament; 85, 386, 392.

Irregular Ode to the Moon, a political allegory; 75.

Isaac, mentioned by Dr. Haliday; 125, 128.

Italia Liberata, 1st Edition; 313.

Italian passages, translation of, discussed; 72.

Italian Tragedy, Historical Memoir on; 345.

Italy, bad news from; 273.

J

Jackson:
- Major, taken prisoner by the rebels; 329, 330.
- Rev. William; 245.
- —— trial, &c; 260.

Jackson and Eyre, bleach house of, near Benburb; 83.

Jacobin Club, the, effort to assist the tax-gatherers; 154.
- death whoop lately sounded in; 222.

Jacobins at Belfast, prosecuted; 236.

Jamaica, infection at; 223.

James II.'s dispensing proclamation, a story of a clergyman and the reading of; 347.

James, Alderman William, and the Mayoralty of Dublin; 127.

James's powder, taken as a preventive; 267.
Jasper Wilson, pamphlet signed; 223, 226.
  its authorship discussed; 225.
Jefferies' *Milton*; 197.
Jekylls, typical Whigs; 143.
Jemappes, battle of; 241.
Jephson:
  Richard M., suggested as a suitable member for Charlemont; 123.
  —— chosen by Charlemont; 226, 228.
  —— mentioned; 231, 241, 254, 255, 262, 278.
  —— his "coup d'essai," &c.; 234, 376.
  —— letters from; 249, 399.
  —— letters describing disturbances in North of Ireland; 265.
  —— appointed Judge-Advocate for Gibraltar; 317(*n*).
  Robert, *Roman Portraits* by; 197, 238, 241.
  W., death; 187.
  William; 266.
Jersey, Lady, and the Prince of Wales; 273.
Jesuits and their casuistry; 9.
  formerly called the Pope's Janizaries; 11.
Johnson:
  Dr. Samuel, letter on receiving his Irish degree; 62, 63, 65.
  —— a letter to an officer of the kitchen of T.C.D.; 62, 63, 65.
  —— mentioned; 230, 360, 366, 373.
  —— in the Isle of Sky; 359.
  a publisher in London; 293.
Johnston:
  Arthur; 117, 121, 122, 128, 275, 319, 377.
  Lieutenant; 370.
Johnstone, James, British Chaplain in Denmark; 68.
Jones:
  Mr., action in the co. of Antrim; 226, 353.
  —— state of affairs in his neighbourhood; 322.
  —— a son of, defence against the Rebels; 325, 329.
  Mr., a clergyman in the co. of Derry, a rumour from; 324.
  William, "Account of Eastern Poetry"; 360.
  Sir William, affinity between Irish and Sanscrit; 75.
  —— judge of Supreme Court of Bengal, character, works, &c.; 111, 112, 177.
  —— letter from; 177(*n*).
Jonesborough; 245, 324, 334.
  sudden interest in politics displayed at; 246.
  a corps of yeomanry in the barrack at; 322.
Joy:
  Henry and Robert, publishers of the Belfast "Newsletter"; 45, 71(*n*), 117, 125, 191, 201, 211, 376, 396.
  —— an advertisement for; 48.
  Henry, letters to Charlemont; 89, 97, 210, 235.
  —— Charlemont's reply to, alluded to; 95, 214.
Judges, the, their action with regard to Warren Hastings, discussed by Burke; 102.
Junius, a doctrine of, quoted; 357.

K

Keady, in co. Armagh; 69.
Kearney:
  John, D.D., letter from; 32, 52.
  —— mentioned; 62, 63.
  Michael, D.D.; 62.
Kelly, Hugh, comedy by; 366(*n*).
Kenmare, Earl of, letter to Charlemont; 81.
Kennedy, John; 117.
Kent, Earl of, Grey family; 108.
  Richard, the "unthrifty"; 108.
Kenyon, Lord, takes the lead in the protection of Warren Hastings; 101.
Kerry:
  proceedings at, in connexion with the Irish Catholic question; 185.
  Militia burn houses, with a magistrate at their head; 291.
  —— flog men, &c.; 301, 304.
Kew, the garden at; 88.
Killala; 348.
Killarney, letter dated at; 81.
Killymoon; 26, 121, 255, 342, 405.
Kilmallock, the Rev. Lord; 339.
Kilmore, Bishop of, and the story about Dr. Haliday; 130.
Kilrea, co. Derry; 301.
  disturbances at; 291, 398.
King, the (George III.):
  purchases of books by; 52.
  fairly frightened into the arrangement with the Prince of Wales; 53.
  his insanity, symptoms, &c.; 81, 87, 88, 98.
  state after his recovery, part taken in public affairs, &c.; 94, 95, 124.
  public feeling on his recovery; 96, 97.
  Thanksgiving procession; 97.
  cannot tell whether there will be peace or war; 140.
  content to be no longer considered the fountain of honour and mercy; 234.
  at Weymouth; 246.
  attitude with regard to Ireland; 317.

King's County Militia, want of discipline, resignation of the colonel; 318.
Kirby, Mr., historical engravings of the Knight's of St. Patrick; 23, 24.
Kirwan, Richard, LL.D., explores Northern coast of Ireland; 145.
  mentioned; 272.
Knappagh in the co. of Armagh, command of the corps at; 377.
Knight, Richard Payne, the *Landscape* by; 238, 241, 263.
Knox:
  Hon. George, Commissioner of Revenue in Ireland; 245.
  Mr., 280.
  Tom, of the co. Tyrone; 290.
  John, Brigadier-General, letter from; 291.
  —— mentioned; 324, 325.
  two young men, keeping a shop at Ballymena, arrested, &c.; 301.

L

Lady Mob or *Lady Moth*; 104.
Lady's last Stake, a picture; 27.
Lake, Gerald, Lieut.-General, in Ulster; 195, 297.
Lakelands near Cork; 258.
Landscape gardening; 241, 263.
Landsdowne, Lord, assumed effect on Ireland of a speech of; 207.
Langartha, a tragi-comedy, by Henry Burnell; 65.
Langrishe, Sir Hercules; 234, 391, 404.
  letter from; 399.
Larne; 220.
Lausanne; 231.
La Vendée; 222.
  well nigh depopulated; 262.
  French butchery in; 310.
Lees, John, of the Dublin Post Office; 188, 267.
Leeson, Margaret; 58.
Leinster, County of, disturbances in; 263.
  state of; 324.
Leinster, Duke of; 24, 272.
  action with regard to the Regency question; 89.
  character; 94.
  President of the Whig Club, Dublin; 128(*n*).
  action on the unlawful assembly Bill; 217(*n*).
  entrusted with Charlemont's proxy; 261.
  a letter to the Prince of Wales, and reply; 303, 304, 305.
Leinster, the respectable name of a; 49.
Leipsick University; 363.
Leith, Col., commanding at Maghera; 334.
Leland:
  Dr.; 62, 373.
  Thomas; 63.
  —— son of; 65.
Lennox, Charles, duel with the Duke of York; 98, 99.
Leslie:
  Col., at Belfast; 195.
  Mr.; 50.
Letters to Lord Carlisle; 259.
Letters written by Eminent Persons; 203(*n*).
Lewis, Mr.; 291.
Liancourt. *See* Rochefoucauld-Liancourt.
Lifford, Viscount, Chancellor of Ireland; 34, 270.
Limerick, "infamous address" from, mentioned; 96.
  scene at the election at, described, &c.; 249, 250.
Limitation Bill; 359, 366.
Lindsay, Col. W. C., letter from; 292.
Linen manufacturing counties, views as to the Adjustment Bill; 26.
Lisbon earthquake; 397.
Lisburn, Parliamentary election at; 125.
  letters dated at; 244, 245.
  disloyal sentiments rife in; 245.
  commemoration of the French Revolution at; 245.
  proceedings of Orangemen near; 279, 321, 322.
  accounts from, proceedings of the soldiery, &c.; 301, 395.
  a sermon on the British Constitution in the meeting house at; 380.
Lisluny company of Volunteers, captain of; 18.
"Literary Club," the, politics avoided at; 239.
  condition; 359, 360.
  referred to; 366, 387(*n*).
Liverpool; 238.
  letter dated at; 342.
Lives of Eminent Men, by John Aubrey; 254.
Livesey, Richard, painter, letters to Charlemont concerning artistic purchases, &c.; 5, 26, 34, 37, 40.
  sketches from Walpole's collection by; 29, 385.
  making a picture of the princesses; 34.
  mentioned; 37.
  account for purchases for Charlemont; 42.
  engraving by; 364.
Livingston, Robert, Coroner at Armagh; 78, 80, 362.
  letter to Charlemont; 83.
  military outrages in Armagh; 310, 311.
Llewellyn, Mary, tried and sentenced in Dublin; 86.
Lodbrokar Quida, translation of; 68.
Lodge, Thomas, physician and poet; 67.
Loftus, Lord, political course of; 89.
Logographe, a French journal, mentioned; 175.

London:
  as dull as can be; 43.
  rejects a police bill; 43.
  unhealthiness of; 77.
  takes the place of Amsterdam; 169.
  King's proclamation torn down; 204.
  Coffee houses:
    St. James's; 87, 91.
    Prince of Wales's; 91.
  Corporation of, hasty and ill-advised in siding with a party; 86.
  merchants of, meeting in support of public credit in view of French movements; 203.
  Streets, mentioned:
    Bond Street; 4, 24.
    St. James's Street; 24.
    Sweeting's Alley; 24.
    St. John's Street; 36.
    St. Alban's Street; 46.
    Gerrard Street; 50, 88, 100, 387.
    Charles Street, St. James's Square; 193.
London Bridge, a plate of, mentioned; 64.
London, Tower of, put in a state of defence; 203.
London Courier; 397.
London Prodigal, play falsely ascribed to Shakspeare; 206.
  a miserable copy of; 222.
Londonderry, Lady, commiserated; 259.
  —— effort to save a condemned man; 306.
  —— letter from Charlemont to; 378.
  Lord, not successful; 287.
  —— mentioned; 355.
Londonderry, letter dated at; 383.
Longfield, Dr.; 327.
Longford, County of, a meeting arranged for; 21.
  not in a state of insurrection; 272.
  magistrates of, without fortune, birth, &c.; 272.
Longford, Lord; 390.
Longueville, Sir Michael; 108.
Loughborough, Lord, political negotiations; 197, 279.
Loughbrickland, state of affairs at, described; 321, 322.
  Presbyterian minister in, rather moderate for one of his trade; 322.
Loughgall, in the co. of Armagh; 28.
  letter dated at, account of disturbances; 265, 266.
  church being built at; 266.
Louth, County of, disturbed state of; 103, 380.
  popular manifesto circulated in; 245.
  insurrectionary meeting in; 341.
Love in Ruins; 280.
Loves of the Plants; 197, 199.
Love's Sacrifice, by John Forde; 224, 232.
Low Countries, rumours of troops assembling in, with the object of interfering in French affairs; 152.
Lowth, bishop; 221.
" Loyal Associations " founded in England; 203.
" Loyalty " defined; 294.
Luigi da Porto, original Italian novel mentioned; 62.
Lumley, Col., at the rising at Antrim; 328.
Lurgan, account of a meeting at; 21.
  letters dated at; 26, 27.
  men of, only linen-drapers; 28.
Lydgate's *Troy*, mentioned; 401.
Lyon, Dr., prebendary of St. Patrick's, Dublin, &c.; 403.
Lyster, John, a crown witness; 228.

M

Macartney:
  Lord, Governor at Madras; 13, 14.
  —— interference with military matters; 15.
  —— embassy to China, &c.; 233, 277, 288, 310.
  —— Latin inscription put up on his house on his visiting it; 284.
  —— mentioned; 274.
  Dr., of Antrim; 329.
McCan, or Macan, Mr., a magistrate at Armagh; 80, 83, 377.
McCarthy More; 65.
Mac Cathmhaoil, the Irish name of; 76.
McCullagh, Captain, an American loyalist; 362.
McDonnell, Allen, Roman Catholic tenant of Charlemont; 292.
McGeough, Mr., magistrate in Armagh; 79.
McGilla Phadrig, Chieftain of Ossory; 65.
Mac Gourans, the; 76.
Machiavel, a saying of, quoted; 8.
Mack, Colonel or General, Austrian Engineer, Envoy to England; 230.
  military operations; 240.
Mackintosh's pamphlet, *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, mentioned; 141, 142.
  bound up with Burke's; 144.
McMahon, Mr.; 388.
McManus, Major; 117.
McNeil, Mr., master of the ceremonies at the Rotunda; 48.
Madras, depopulated and devastated by fire and sword; 12.
  natives ordered to leave; 13.
  grand army ordered to return to; 14.
  mentioned; 176.
  rumour as to Governor of; 234.
Maffei, Marquis Francesco Scipione, an engraving of; 313.
Maghera, partial Rebel rising near; 333.
  the commander at; 334.
Magistracy Bill, or law in Ireland; 117, 119, 120.
  the terror of every county in Ireland; 136.

Mahu, name on an amulet; 68.
Maison Rustique ; 401.
Malagrida; 359.
Malan, A. J., letter as to county corps at Armagh; 305.
Malesherbes, the generous defender of the King; 240, 242.
Mallet-Duplan, a pamphlet by; 230, 237.
Malmesbury, Lord; 253.
  negotiator for peace with France; 310, 397.
Malone, Edmund, mentioned; 30.
  letters to and from Charlemont; 30, 33, 42, 45, 51, 54, 59, 60, 62, 66, 67, 71, 81, 88, 103, 123, 187, 188, 193, 196, 198, 202, 207, 209, 219, 220, 224, 228, 237, 241, 251, 254, 261, 266, 270, 271, 276, 277, 280, 307, 401.
  emendations of the text of Shakspeare by; 51.
  purchases of plays, &c., by; 52.
  editions of Shakspeare mentioned; 59, 187, 188, 196, 206, 219, 222, 224, 232, 238, 241.
  a brother in Dublin; 81.
  death of Sir J. Reynolds; 187.
  his membership of the Royal Irish Academy; 194, 197.
  visits to Oxford, &c., to examine manuscripts, &c.; 196, 202, 267.
  literary employments; 197, 277, 280.
  a holiday journey; 197.
  Shakspearean investigations at Stratford-upon-Avon, the Record Office, &c.; 220, 221, 224.
  reference to his brother and family; 220.
  antagonism to Steevens; 221, 222, 238, 241, 261, 276.
  his opinion of the French Republicans; 222, 224.
  attachment to Richard Jephson's father; 228.
  project of marriage; 238, 241, 253, 255, 402.
  describes his labours on Shakspeare's life; 251, 252.
  estimate of Horne Tooke and his companions; 252.
  discusses the political situation; 253.
  describes his occupations, &c.; 253, 267, 277.
  meditates a life of Dryden and other works; 254, 263.
  essay on Ireland's Shakspearean Forgeries; 267, 270, 276.
  the title, &c.; 271(*n*).
  visit to Burke; 276.
  an introduction to; 279.
  a portrait of, received by Charlemont; 308.
  residence in London; 403.
Malone, Richard, Baron Sunderlin; 267.
Manchester, a contest with; 38.
  Paine's pamphlet disseminated at; 204.
Mankind, common rights of, abstract ideas which can have no place in civil society; 7, 8.
Mansfield, Lord; 227, 401.
Mantua, Isabella d'Este, Marchioness of; 313.
Maranda, a South American Spaniard, commanding French forces; 204.
Marat, mentioned; 275.
March, Earl of, Hugh le Bruce; 107.
Marini's poem, "L'Adone," mentioned; 62, 63.
Marino, residence of Lord Charlemont; 5, 22, 26, 55, 57, 99, 102, 198, 261, 264, 282.
  a visit of the Lord Lieutenant to; 25.
Marlay:
  Richard, D.D., Bishop of Clonfert, afterwards Waterford, letter from, giving his hopes of promotion; 250.
  —— letter on the Prince of Wales; 273.
  —— other correspondence; 378, 403.
  —— possessed of 1,000*l*. per annum in the Church; 400.
  Colonel; 393.
Marlowe, Christopher; 67, 72.
Marsh, Mr., commissioner for American claims; 106.
Martin:
  —— a "low Scotch attorney," trial; 252.
  Mr.; 330.
Mason, William, translation of Du Fresnoy's *Art of Painting* by; 189, 254.
  death; 281.
Massacre at Paris, by Marlowe; 72.
Massereene, Lord, party of Yeomanry commanded by; 328.
Mass-house, the circumstance of the; 8.
Mathias, Thomas James, works of; 277(*n*).
Maunsell, Thomas, candidate for Limerick; 249(*n*).
Mauritius, the, French privateers from, their operations, &c.; 233.
Maxwell:
  a letter to, mentioned; 6.
  Samuel, at Armagh, letters from and to Charlemont; 17, 18.
Mazarin, Cardinal, mentioned; 147.
Mazzuchelli, Count, biographical works of; 354.
Meath, co. of, disturbed state of; 380.
Medici, the; 349.
Melmoth, William, translator of Pliny's letters, letter from; 261.
  memoirs of his father; 282.
Mercier, bookseller in Dublin; 224.
Metalcour, Mons. de; 48.
Metcalf, Mr., executor of Sir J. Reynolds; 187.
Metge, Peter, baron of the Exchequer, Ireland; 85, 87, 88, 113, 176, 232.
"Metropolitan Majesty, His"; 365.
Middleton, Thomas, play by; 280.
Militia bill, "the cursed"; 19.

Militia embodied in Britain; 203.
Milton, John, two prints for his works, by Hogarth; 27.
  his poems quoted from; 280, 328, 393.
  introduction to Barberini; 349.
Ministry, the, in England, conduct discussed, by Burke; 99.
Mingotti, Signora, a lap-dog of; 364.
Mirabeau, image of, at Belfast; 212.
Mirror, the; 401.
"Mobiliare," a French tax; 171.
Modo, name of the Prince of Darkness, on an amulet; 68.
Moira and Hastings, Elizabeth, Countess of, letter describing genealogy, right to the title of Hastings, &c.; 107, 108.
  —— Charlemont's reply; 109.
Moira, Lord, joins the Northern Whig Club; 117.
  seconds a resolution there; 128.
  mentioned; 131, 132.
  expedition to aid French nobility under; 262.
  mediates between the Prince and Princess of Wales; 276.
  his motion to remedy the discontents of Ireland; 298.
  about to make a motion respecting the condition of the country; 313.
  gratuitously reprobates reform; 313.
  letters to Charlemont explaining his action and asking advice; 314, 317.
  his political action discussed, speech in the House of Lords, &c.; 315, 316.
  letter from Charlemont to; 379.
Molyneux, Sir Capel, reason for making him chairman of a meeting; 346.
  at an election at Armagh; 362.
Monaghan militia at Belfast; 397.
Montague:
  Frederick; 87.
  General; 364.
  Lord, descendants of; 107.
Montalto, co. Down, a seat of the Earl of Moira; 131.
Montesquieu, General, escaped to Switzerland; 241, 242.
Moor, Mr., concerned in an affray in Armagh; 102.
Moore:
  John, subsequently Sir John, General, proceedings in Ireland; 331, 332.
  Mr., of the co. of Armagh; 346.
  —— election at Armagh; 361.
More, McCarthy; 65.
Mornbrat, French Consul in Ireland; 141.
Morning Chronicle supports the French Republicans; 222.
Mornington, Earl of; 24.
  correspondence with Charlemont; 4, 68.
  a brother in the suite of the Lord Lieutenant; 68.
  speech of, alluded to; 248.
Morris Jones, T.; 117.
Moscow; 6.
Mossom, Eland, translation of the *Christiad* by; 109.
Mossop, Mr., artificer of the Charlemont medal of the Irish Academy; 136.
Mountjoy, Lord; 107.
Mount Stewart, residence of Lord Londonderry; 131, 201, 227, 306.
  a disputation about the Constitution at; 234.
Murphy, Rev. Edward, tutor of Lord Charlemont; 269, 379.
Murray:
  Lord Henry, proceedings connected with the Irish rebellion; 325.
  Richard, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, circumstances of his appointment; 257.
Musgrave, Dr.; 33.
Mutiny bill mentioned; 393, 394.
Mysterious Mother, an unauthorised edition in Ireland; 135.
  a new edition, with notes; 385.

N

Nares, Robert, compiler of the *English Glossary*, part taken by, in the Shakspeare controversy; 276.
Narrowwater, co. Down; 103.
Nashe, the Elizabethan Pamphleteer, a collection of all the works of, bought by the King; 52.
Natural rights of mankind, discussed; 8.
Naval superiority of Great Britain; 211.
Naval action with the French off Tory Island; 337.
Navarre, Queen of, novels of, mentioned; 280.
Navigation Act as regards Ireland; 46, 47.
Nelson, Admiral, his exploits; 337.
Nesbitt's, or Mr. Nesbitt; 33, 39, 53.
Never too late; 224.
Nevill, Mr., going to Ireland; 100.
Newcastle, Duke of; 254.
  revision of the New Testament by; 272.
Newcome, William, D.D., Archbishop of Armagh, circumstances of his appointment; 257.
Newell, Edward John, his confession mentioned; 317.
Newenham, Sir Edward, M.P., letter from; 113.
  mentioned; 129, 400.
  resolutions sent to; 132.
Newmarket; 96.
New Queenstown, Cork; 227(*n*).
Newry; 21, 28.
  military force required for; 105.
  popular manifesto dated from; 246.
  proclaimed to be in a disturbed state; 289.
  cavalry stationed at; 311.

Newspaper press, influence abroad; 6.
  bill, nominally, for securing liberty of the press; 6(*n*).
New Testament Scriptures, a Revision of; 272.
Newton Strand, banking out the tide from; 218.
Newtownards, meeting of the Down nobility at; 278.
  military outrage at; 306.
  its state shortly after the rising; 331.
Newtownhamilton; 69.
  rumours of outrages, &c., near; 70.
New York; 220.
Nichol, a Scotch bookseller; 51.
Nichols:
  Mr.; 37.
  John, studies for an edition of Swift's Works; 402.
Nine Worthies, the; 65.
Nivernais, duc de, *Essai sur la vie de M. Barthélemy*; 274.
Nollekens, Mr., Modeller; 57, 60, 77.
  work on Lord Rockingham's bust; 61, 383.
  model of Shakspeare by; 221.
Non-importation Bill in America; 243.
Nootka Sound; 126.
Norfolk, county of, a poem, the work of a young man of, alluded to; 193.
Norfolk, Duke of, a meeting of Burke and Fox at the house of; 279.
Norris, Mr., Secretary of the Antiquarian Society; 33.
North, Lord, likely to be in the New Administration; 32.
  Burke's remark when North was snoring in the House; 121.
Northern Star, Belfast newspaper; 208.
  its character; 394.
Northern Whig Club at Belfast; 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 125, 128, 129, 136.
  uniform adopted by members; 125.
  Secretary to; 131.
  Resolutions passed by; 131.
  a meeting of, and resolutions; 140, 142.
Northern Whig's Argument, the main drift of; 179.
Northington, Earl of, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; 2.
Northland, Viscount, of Dungannon; 290.
Northumberland, Duke of; 359.
Nugent, George, Major-General, and the Irish Rebellion; 325, 327, 328.

O

O'Beirne:
  T. L., letter from, to Charlemont; 129.
  Mrs., mentioned; 129.
O'Brien:
  Ned, carried off by a putrid fever, his family, &c.; 65.
O'Brien—*cont.*
  Captain, protegé of Burke's; 362.
  Mr., Charlemont's brother-in-law; 368.
  Sir Lucius, named guardian of Charlemont's son; 388.
O'Bryan, the sons of; 65.
Ockzacow, Asiatic; 196.
O'Coigley (or Quigly), Rev. James, executed; 320.
O'Connor, Arthur; 317, 320, 397.
O'Hara, General; 229.
Oldcastle, Sir John, Chronicle of, price; 33.
Oldtown, letter dated at; 42.
Oldzo, William, *The British Librarian* by; 54, 61.
Omagh; 363.
Onealand, West, barony of, proclaimed in a disturbed state; 289.
O'Neill:
  the respectable name of an; 49.
  Mr.; 118.
  Mr., recommended the strong measure of a secession; 50.
  H. F., letter to Charlemont; 82.
  John, Shane's Castle, M.P. for co. of Antrim; 31, 32, 34, 129, 296.
  —— a criticism of; 225.
  Lord; 291.
  —— mortally wounded; 325, 326.
  —— circumstances of his death; 329.
Orange Party in Ireland:
  name whence derived; 265.
  their proceedings, &c.; 266, 279, 294, 340, 341, 355.
  report of an intended attack on Catholics at Antrim fair; 273.
  outrages by; 275.
  demonstration at Belfast; 303.
  their oath of extermination; 312.
Orde, Thomas, Chief Secretary, Ireland; 4, 20, 21, 22.
  commercial propositions; 22.
  proceedings, &c., in connexion with the Adjustment Bill; 23, 26, 28.
  educational plan proposed by; 70.
Orford, Lord; 274.
  his health, &c.; 277, 278.
  "The Mysterious Mother," by; 280.
  death; 281.
    See also Walpole, Horace.
Orior, barony in co. Armagh, proceedings of the yeomanry; 311.
Orlando Inamorato; 64.
Orleans, Duke of; 116.
  "execrable," guillotined; 222.
  usher in a school; 241, 242.
Ormond, Earl of; 65.
Orr, William, "United Irishman," executed at Carrickfergus, the case of; 306, 307.
Ossian, an allusion to; 201.
Ovidius Delphini; 74.
Oxford, visits of Malone to, &c.; 196, 202.
  Charlemont's opinion of; 198.
  entry from Parish Register of St. Mary Magdalene; 205.

P

Paddy-bird, the; 227.
Paine, Thomas, pamphlet by, in reply to Burke's "Reflections on the French Revolution," criticised, &c.; 137, 139, 142, 189, 199, 209, 222.
  doctrine concerning the Constitution criticised; 142, 182, 183.
  means used to disseminate his pamphlet, &c.; 204, 206.
  tracts and single sheets in reply; 207.
  found guilty; 209.
  attacks Washington; 295.
Pakenham, Tom; 296.
Palliser, the heroic, in the College Chapel; 404.
Palmer:
  John, of Torrington; 187(*n*).
  Miss, niece of Sir J. Reynolds, his principal legatee, &c.; 187.
Paradise Lost, supposed origin of; 280.
  quotations from; 283, 328, 339.
Paris:
  assignats unchangeable in, except at a premium; 150.
  disadvantages of the resident in, as to information; 162.
  people of, and their representatives in the Assembly; 164.
  populace, refrain from pillage; 165.
  account of assassinations at, alluded to; 209.
  march on, advised; 230.
  amount of specie in; 240, 242.
  Bastile at; 146.
  ——, a painting of the demolition of, at a Belfast coffee-house; 212.
  convent of Les Grands Augustins, collection of portraits in; 30.
Parliament, House of Commons, debates and proceedings; 73, 207, 209, 391, 392.
  a dissolution of, expected; 124.
  extreme hurry at its close; 140.
  untimely prorogation of; 203.
Parliamentary reform in Ireland; 16, 181, 191.
Parsons:
  Laurence, M.P. for Dublin University, letter to Charlemont; 46.
  Sir Lawrence, M.P. for King's County, "defection" of; 293, 295.
  —— circumstances of his resignation of the command of the King's County Militia; 317, 318.
  —— letters to Charlemont; 330, 337.
  —— letter to Lord Caulfeild; 404.
Parsonstown, letter dated at; 330, 337.
  crammed with troops; 338.
"Party" absolutely necessary; 106.
Paston Letters, 1st edition; 61.
Patten, or Patton, Captain, of the Tanderagee Volunteers; 70, 138.
Paulus Jovius; 197.
Payne, T., bookseller at the Mews' Gate; 33, 42, 52, 61, 67, 68, 71, 73 (2), 83.
Pazzi's tragedies; 349.
Peacocks' eggs; 359.
Pearson, Major, sale of his great collection of old English poetry; 71.
Peele. George, dramatist and poet; 67.
"Peep of Day Boys"; 69, 265.
Pelham:
  a gentleman of the name of; 36, 37.
  Thomas, Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, negotiations with regard to Mr. Edgeworth's telegraph; 287, 288.
  —— mentioned; 290, 292, 293.
  —— influence in the Irish House of Commons; 375.
Pembroke, Earls of; 107.
Pennant, Mr.; 227.
Pennyworth of Truth, a passage quoted from; 207.
Perceval, Robert, letter from; 71.
Percy, Thomas, Bishop of Dromore; 107.
  author of a baseless story about Dr. Haliday; 131.
  steps to keep the peace at Dromore; 256.
  Ritson's attack on; 222
Perugia, Governor of; 313.
Pery, Edmond Henry, Lord Glentworth; 249(*n*).
Petitions against Irish propositions depending in England; 21.
Petrarch's life, 3rd Vol. wanted; 42.
Petrarch's Sonnets, an analysis of; 274.
Pharaoh's Daughter and her Attendants finding Moses, print by J. K. Sherwin; 24.
Philadelphia; 113.
  deadly epidemic at, manner of its introduction, &c.; 220, 223.
Pichegru, General, said to be not known by name to his soldiers; 239.
Pilnitz, treaty of, mentioned; 281, 309.
Pindar, Peter, a quotation from; 227.
Pinkerton:
  Mr. (*alias* Heron), the most consummate coxcomb; 31.
  John, author of *An enquiry into the history of Scotland*; 264.
Pistoia, Antonio da, a tragedy by; 313.
Pitt, William; 12, 186.
  his twenty resolutions, &c.; 22.
  fairly frightened into the arrangement with the Prince of Wales; 53.
  his declaratory bill; 73.
  his proceedings with regard to the regency; 81, 88, 90.
  power thought to be at an end; 87.
  attachment of the people to; 87, 96.
  political intentions discussed; 124, 208.
  mentioned; 107, 250, 253, 264, 274, 283, 362.
  popularity declining; 129, 141.
  his "devil" surmised to be deserting him; 138.

Pitt, William—*cont.*
  untimely prorogation of Parliament; 203.
  consults Burke on French matters; 222.
  his policy discussed and criticised; 243, 247, 299.
  ignorance of Ireland; 251.
  rumoured resignation; 256.
  his "tragedy" near its close; 273.
  his policy with regard to Ireland; 302, 317, 342, 345, 350, 351, 358, 377.
Plays, old, collections of; 33.
Plunket:
  Peg; 58.
  William Conyngham, M.P. for Charlemont borough; 317.
Poitou, French Royalists in; 222.
Poland, analogy drawn between it and Ireland; 6.
  a moral drawn from its condition; 7.
  its pitiable condition, subscription in England, &c.; 196, 198.
Police bill, "that arbitrary measure"; 43, 44.
Polignacs, the, stripped of their possessions; 147.
Polish anarchy not a government; 119.
Pollock, Councillor, of Newry; 362.
Pondicherry; 110.
Ponsborne, the, an East Indiaman; 110.
Ponsonby:
  Mr.; 42, 93.
  —— action on the Regency question, &c.; 89.
  —— to be the proto-martyr; 94.
  —— the victim of his passion not of his vote; 98.
  George, member of the Whig Club, Dublin, &c.; 128, 178.
  —— action in Parliament; 218.
  William Brabazon, proposes a resolution in Parliament; 210 (2).
  —— signs a letter to the Prince of Wales; 303, 304.
  William; 391.
Ponsonbys, the, praiseworthy part of, in connexion with Lord Fitzwilliam's appointment; 255, 257.
Pope, Alexander; 114.
  gold snuffbox with an engraving by Hogarth for; 35.
  project of an edition of his works; 254.
  quotation from his poems; 338.
Popery, an opinion of the two-sided mischief of; 125.
Portglenone, Ballymena, letters dated at; 273, 291, 299, 301, 304, 305, 315, 319, 324, 328, 334, 335, 336, 337, 339, 347, 348, 351, 352, 354.
  state of affairs at, and in the neighbourhood, outrages, &c.; 321, 324, 328, 345, 346, 347, 348, 351, 352.
  town turns out against the Rebels; 325.
Portglenone, Ballymena—*cont.*
  want of a post office at; 336.
  spread of Orangeism in; 336.
  a meeting of the parishioners; 352.
Portland, Duke of; 85, 87, 88, 93, 250, 252, 386.
  character described; 106.
  Burke's relations with; 143.
  political negotiations, &c.; 197, 199, 203, 247, 249, 279.
  Lord Guilford's dying injunction to; 204.
  part taken by, out of regard for Fox; 209.
  a deserter of Fox; 275.
  extract from, relating to Charlemont's conduct; 286.
  wonderful letters of; 351.
Portpatrick, passage to England from; 190.
Portugal, money voted for support of; 397.
Power, Richard, Baron of the Exchequer, Ireland; 74.
Powerscourt:
  Viscount, letter to; 382.
  Yeomanry, improper conduct of; 332.
Powis, ——, assists at Burke's negotiations with Fox; 279.
Poynings' law referred to; 128, 393, 394, 400, 401.
Prentice, Thomas, account of the riot at Armagh; 79.
  letters from and to Charlemont; 133, 134, 138, 139.
Prentices, the, of Armagh, their vanity, &c.; 346.
Presbyterians in Ireland:
  the question of a government grant to the Ministers; 1, 3, 4, 16, 17, 25, 70, 370, 406.
  the Synod's sentiments towards Lord Charlemont; 1, 4, 7, 16.
  influence in the North; 7.
  "wild heads," an appropriate name for "eccentric brethren"; 7.
  difference of views in the North and South on the Catholic question; 9.
  their mode of education; 70.
  belief that they have been quelled; 244.
  hatred of; 246.
  the ministers characterised; 322.
  procedings in Antrim; 340, 352, 353, 354, 355.
  said to be going to join a Catholic rising; 348.
  a young preacher converted to the Catholics; 398.
Presbyterians and Scotchmen, the prime traitors; 252.
Presbyterians' Plea of Merit; 103.
Preston, William, *Irregular Ode to the Moon*, by; 75.
Pretender, the, landing in Scotland; 243.
Prevost's *Histoire des Voyages*; 43.
Price, Uvedale, *Essay on the Picturesque* by; 263.

Priestley, Joseph, burning of his library alluded to; 142.
Prince of Wales. *See* Wales.
Printers' Bill, in the Irish House of Commons; 6.
Prior, Matthew, lines of, quoted by Burke; 88.
Protestant Boys, the tune an insult of the Catholics; 80.
Protestantism, a decline in, affirmed; 11.
Provost, the. *See* Dublin University, Provost of.
Prussia, King of, England's engagements with; 126.
Purdysburn, letter dated at; 316.
Puritan Widow, the; 104.
Pursuits of Literature, a satirical poem; 277.
Puttenham's *Art of Poesy*; 61.
Pye, ——, a young man recommended to Sir J. Reynolds; 382.
Pym, compared to a highwayman; 72.

Q

Quakers, the; 248.
Quarantine; 220, 223.
Queen, the, her political action; 98, 124.
 her predominance in the East India politics; 101.
 the marriage procession, &c.; 377.
Quigly. *See* O'Coigley.
Quip for an upstart Courtier; 224.

R

Raleigh, Sir Walter, discovery of Virginia by, book relating to; 73.
Randalstown, efforts to raise Yeomanry at; 291, 322.
 the rebels at; 325, 326, 328, 329.
 letters dated at; 332, 345, 354.
 mentioned; 346.
Rasharkin, in the co. of Antrim, proceedings at; 340.
Rates or Customs, the book of; 46.
Rawdon, Lord (Francis Hastings); 93, 105, 111.
Record Office in the Tower of London, Malone's investigations at; 221.
Reeves, John, author of the *History of English Law*, founder of the Loyal Association, &c.; 203, 207, 294.
Reform of a country's constitution, necessity and advantage; 174.
"Regal Commonwealth," phrase describing the British Constitution; 119, 121(2).
Regency, the question of the; 81, 88, 105, 392.
 as affecting Ireland; 82, 84, 85, 86, 89, 90.
Regicide Peace, Thoughts on the Prospect of a, by Burke; 276, 277.
Regiments. *See* Army.
Religion and Civil Government, evils of mixing; 9.
Religious bigotry contrasted in a Protestant and Catholic; 10.
Reliques of Irish Poetry by Charlotte Brooke; 82.
Remembrancer, the; 401.
Repton, Humphrey, *Landscape Gardening* by; 263.
Repudiation of national debt, discussed; 155.
Revolution, the, celebrated at Belfast; 70.
 discussed; 185.
Revolutions, the cause of; 174.
Reynolds, James, M.D., flying from Dublin, subscription for, at Belfast, &c.; 244, 245.
Reynolds, Sir Joshua, opinion as to the "Harlot's Progress"; 40, 41.
 to paint the Prince of Wales's portrait for Charlemont; 116.
 mentioned; 124, 230, 359, 366, 373.
 his death, &c.; 187.
 funeral, cause of his death, &c.; 188.
 circumstances connected with the making of his will; 189.
 literary works, &c.; 189, 197, 253, 255, 277, 278, 280.
 letter to; 382.
Rice, Counsellor; 227.
Rich, a silk-mercer; 107.
Richardson, Mr., of the co. of Armagh; 28, 346.
Richelieu, Cardinal de, an anecdote of; 355.
Richmond, Duke of; 129, 130.
 his advice on the question of the Regency; 88.
Rigge, Mr., scheme of Eastern trade by; 30, 31.
Riot Act in Ireland; 48, 49, 50.
Ritson, Joseph, "a despicable fellow"; 222.
Roache, Mr.; 310.
Roberts' Cove, near Kinsale Harbour; 227.
Robertson, ——; 230.
Robespierre; 248, 275.
Robinson:
 Christopher, Justice K. B., Ireland, an anecdote of; 201.
 George, publisher of Malone's quarto Shakspeare, his Republican leanings, &c.; 222.
 —— relinquishes the publication; 238.
 Dr. Richard, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland; 24, 244, 250(*n*).
 Mr.; 188.
Roche, Sir Boyle, M.P., gentleman usher, &c., at Dublin Castle; 265.
Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Duc de la; 206.
Rochford, Lord; 391.

Rockingham, Lord, the bust of; 57, 60, 77, 383.
  —— operations on; 61.
  —— a fit temple for; 126.
  —— an epigram on; 129, 130.
  the principles of his government in Ireland, taken as a model; 246, 253.
  mentioned; 362.
Rockingham, Mary, Marchioness of, letters to and from Charlemont; 77, 383.
  a drawing and inscription given to; 126.
Rodney, Lord, question of abating the tax on his pension; 20.
  mentioned; 253.
Rolls Office, [London,] Malone's investigations at; 221.
Roman Catholics in Ireland:
  voting of, has nothing to do with toleration; 6.
  cause of the hatred of the people of Bandon against; 8.
  resolution in favour of their right to the privilege of freemen and free citizens, speech in support of, at Bandon; 9.
  their doctrine on the forgiveness of sins; 9.
  a poor, oppressed, dispirited set of men; 10.
  in a Volunteer Company; 21.
  arms taken from, in co. Armagh; 69.
  affrays with the Volunteers; 78, 102, 105.
  have tenets subversive of the state; 120.
  political principles of; 233.
Roman de la Rose, price for a copy; 33.
Roman Portraits, poem by Robert Jephson; 238, 241.
Romeo and Juliet, poem on which the play was founded; 62.
Romney, the painter; 51.
Roper, Mr.; 108.
Roscoe, William, author of *Life of Lorenzo de Medici*; 349.
Rosmunda, a rare edition of; 313.
Ross, Colonel, secretary to Lord Cornwallis in India; 111.
Rosstrevor, co. Down; 103.
Rothes, Lord; 364.
Rotunda, Dublin, Master of the Ceremonies at; 48.
Rowan, Archibald Hamilton; 86, 129, 202, 245.
  the case of; 228, 376, 395.
Rowe, Nicholas, editor of Shakspeare's Plays; 221.
Roxburgh, Duke of, a buyer in the book market; 124.
Royal children, a picture of, being made; 34.
Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. *See* Academy.
Rozier, Pilatre de, French Aeronaut; 38.
Rundle, Thomas, bishop of Derry, letters of; 119.
Russell, Lord, trial of, alluded to; 228.
Russia:
  attack on Poland; 196.
  Emperor of, and the Dutch Republic; 7.
Russian War, alluded to; 138.
Rutland, Duke of, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, sensibilities with regard to the Chief Secretary, &c.; 4.
  mentioned; 16, 370.
  letter to Charlemont; 25.
  his character, &c.; 26.
  freedom of Belfast presented to, in a gold box, &c.; 58, 59.
  death, 61, 66.
  conduct animadverted upon; 404, 405.
Rutland, an express from the postmaster of; 337.
Ryder, Mr.; 211.

S

S . . . . , Lord; 215.
Sackville, Lord George, his trial mentioned; 229.
St. Ann's; 279.
St. Domingo, state of affairs at; 168.
  Jail fever brought in a vessel from; 220.
Saint Esprit, Knights of, present their portraits on creation; 30.
St. Etienne, Rabaut, report of his presence in Ireland; 237.
Saintfield, letters dated at; 117, 121.
St. George, Fort, Bengal; 12.
St. Germain, letters dated at, &c.; 162, 175.
St. James's Coffee House, London, letters dated at; 87, 91.
St. James's Street, the five gentlemen of; 239.
St. John's Eve celebrated by the Roman Catholics; 102.
St. Leger:
  Anthony; 91, 92.
  Jack, an early friend of Charlemont; 269.
  Mr., a favourite of the Pope; 403.
St. Martin's Church, a plate of, mentioned; 64.
St. Patrick:
  Knights of, an historical engraving of the Installation Feast; 23, 24.
  —— names of knights and officers; 24.
  —— a suggestion for portraits of all the knights; 29, 30.
  Order of, an historical memoir of, suggested; 75.
  —— public principles of; 404.
St. Patrick's Day, Volunteers assemble on; 211.

St. Patrick's Hall, Dublin Castle; 23.
  Installation feast in; 24.
St. Paul's, procession to, thanksgiving for the King's recovery; 97.
St. Petersburg, letter dated at; 6.
St. Thomas's Chapel, a plate of, mentioned; 64.
St. Valerie, Bray, letters dated at; 313, 345, 349, 354.
Salisbury:
  Lord, his regiment of militia; 58.
  the title of; 107.
Sandwich Islands; 126.
Sarsfield, General, at Bandon; 9.
Scheldt, River, obstruction of the navigation of; 7.
  mentioned; 204, 208.
School for Wives, a comedy; 366.
Scotch boroughs, effect of resisting reform of; 208.
Scotland, advantages of union, &c.; 357.
Scott, "that base upstart"; 178.
Scott's *Travels*, quarto edition of; 73.
Seaford, borough of; 201.
Seceders, take the oath with hand uplifted; 302.
  pleased with Charlemont's letter relating to them; 304.
Selwyn, George, a pleasantry of; 53.
Sepoys; 14.
Sever, Jonathan, captain of the Orior Yeomen; 310, 311.
Seward, William Wenman, compiler of *Topographia Hibernica;* 272.
Shakspeare's Works, &c.:
  the quartos; 31, 33, 52.
  the spurious plays discussed; 42, 45, 64, 67, 262.
  —— Charlemont's collection of; 52, 199, 206.
  a simile from *Henry VI., Part II.*, quoted; 43.
  Boydell's edition of, its history, &c.; 51.
  Malone's labours in connexion with; 54, 62, 67, 123, 188, 276, 277.
  plays in Charlemont's possession; 54, 63, 104.
  Carleton's dissertation on *K. Henry VI.* mentioned; 59.
  poem on which *Romeo and Juliet* was founded, mentioned; 62.
  quotations from contemporary plays in editions of, enhance prices of the plays; 72.
  price given for *Romeo and Juliet;* 124.
  Steeven's editions; 197, 206, 219.
  discoveries at Stratford-upon-Avon, the Record Office, &c.; 220, 221, 252.
  a mould taken of his bust, &c.; 221, picture of; 221.
  "a wonderful discovery," a forgery; 261.
  miscellaneous papers, &c., forgeries, by Samuel Ireland; 267, 270, 271, 276, 277, 278.
Shandy, "Old"; 202.
Shane's Castle; 31, 44, 284, 396.
  the rebels at; 325, 328, 329, 330.
Shannon, Earl of; 24, 210, 400.
  political course of; 89.
Sharp, Dr., pamphlet by, Hogarth's frontispiece to; 27.
Shee, George, and Mrs., from India, return to Ireland, introduction to Charlemont, &c.; 106.
Sheffield, Lord, and Gibbon; 230, 231.
Sheffield, Paine's pamphlet disseminated at; 204.
Shelburne, Lord, called Malagrida; 359.
Sheridan:
  Richard, King's Counsel, discussed as a parliamentary candidate; 122.
  —— letter from Charlemont to, offering him the seat for Charlemont; 122.
  —— letter on the subject of Paine's pamphlet; 136, 189.
  —— letter from Charlemont to; 199.
  —— mentioned; 209.
  —— illness; 217.
  —— death; 226.
  Richard Brinsley, saying about Mrs. Fitzherbert in the House of Commons; 53.
  —— his place in the new administration; 82.
  —— writes the Prince of Wales's answer to Pitt; 88.
  —— Haliday's play submitted to; 193.
  —— political combinations and proceedings; 203, 209, 279.
  —— mentioned; 400.
Sherwin, John Keyse, historical engraving of the Knights of St. Patrick, by; 23, 24.
  prints of "Pharaoh's daughter finding Moses," &c., by; 24.
  business addresses of; 24.
Shippen, Mr., of Pennsylvania, visit to Ireland, introduction to Charlemont; 88.
Ships mentioned:
  Baltimore frigate; 243.
  Daphne; 311.
  Monarch; 311.
Shirley's plays; 104.
Shore, Sir John, at Calcutta; 232.
Simms, Robert, Secretary of the Society of United Irishmen, at Belfast; 162.
Simon, the cobbler; 222.
Simpson, Mr.; 83.
Sinclair, General; 400.
Sinclaire, Sir J.; 357.
Skeffington, Mr., Sheriff at Belfast; 195.
  ——; 250.
Skye, Isle of; 359.
Smith:
  Counsellor Ambrose, of Digges Street; 43.
  Colonel, connected with Lord Geo. Sackville's trial; 229.
  Sir Sidney, action at Toulon, &c.; 229.

Smith—*cont.*
  William, subsequently Baron of the Exchequer, anonymous essays by; 278(*n*).
  Mr., at Limerick; 249.
Sodor and Man, Bishop of; 400.
Sofonisba, by Galeotto del Carretto; 313.
  by Trissino; 313.
Somers's, mentioned as typical Whigs; 143.
Somerville, Thomas, D.D., *History of Political transactions and of parties;* 201.
Sonnet, the, inventor of; 274.
Southampton, Henry, Earl of, his handwriting imitated; 267, 271.
South Carolina. *See* Carolina.
South Sea, Spain beyond imagination weak in the; 126.
Southwell, Lord; 403.
Spa, letter from; 145.
  mentioned; 164.
Spaccio della bestia trionfante; 33.
Spain, convention with; 129, 131.
  war with, probability discussed; 126.
Spanish Masquerado; 224.
Sparrow, Colonel; 399.
Speaker of the Irish House of Commons; 367.
Spectator, 9th Vol.; 349.
Speers, Rev. Alexander; 352.
Spence's (Rev. Joseph), *Anecdotes;* 254.
Spencer, Lord, said to have been offered the lieutenancy of Ireland; 88.
  mentioned; 227, 230.
  reception of Mr. Edgeworth's proposal of a telegraph by; 288.
Staples, Mr., a relation of Mr. Staples, of Lissen, concerned in the Volunteer riot near Armagh; 79, 80.
  of the co. of Antrim, tenants oppose the Union; 347.
  mentioned; 329.
State Paper Office; 280.
Staten Island; 126.
Statutes referred to:
  of Hen. VIII., as to King of Ireland; 82.
  28 Geo. III., cap. 32.; 85.
  an act of Charles II.; 128.
  33 George II., c. 16, as to election of a Lord Mayor of Dublin; 131.
Staunton, George Leonard, services in India; 22.
Steevens, Mr., a "dowager editor" of Shakspeare; 51.
  wedded to his own last edition; 54.
  editions of Shakspeare's plays; 197, 206, 219.
  denies the existence of any picture of Shakspeare; 221.
  relations with Malone; 221, 222, 238, 241, 261, 276.
Stephenson, ——, request for a captain's commission in the Armagh Militia, if embodied; 206.
Stewart:
  —— letter from Charlemont to; 122.
Stewart—*cont.*
  Alexander, a spectator of the naval action with the French; 337.
  Sir Annesley; 20.
  —— M.P. for borough of Charlemont; 372.
  —— his son not to be brought in again for Charlemont; 123.
  —— mentioned; 133, 141.
  Colonel; 3, 4, 7.
  General, E. I. Co. Service, character, proceedings, &c.; 12, 13, 15.
  James, letters from and to Charlemont; 25, 26, 405.
  —— of Killymoon; 121.
  —— —— M.P. for co. Tyrone, letter from; 255.
  —— —— letter relative to the magistrates' memorial for proclaiming part of the county; 290.
  —— mentioned; 374.
  —— letter on the subject of the Union; 342.
  Robert, in the E. I. Co.'s Service; 13.
  Hon. Robert (afterwards Viscount Castlereagh), letters on the state of France; 145–159, 162–176, 384.
  —— views as to state of Ireland; 173.
  —— letter to Charlemont; 190.
  —— Charlemont's opinion of; 225, 255.
  —— Pitt-ized with a vengeance; 248.
  —— come over with the Lord Lieutenant; 259.
  —— not the worse for being a lord; 282.
  —— letter from Charlemont to; 384.
  —— his political sentiments; 385.
  —— *See also* Castlereagh, Lord.
  the name of a; 50, 393.
Stewarts, the two, at Belfast; 121.
Stock, Joseph, D.D., prebendary of Lismore; 63.
Strangford, Lord, letter, opposition to the Union; 346.
Stratford-upon-Avon, Shakspearean discoveries at; 220.
Strawberry Hill; 29, 277.
  Walpole's account of; 60.
Strozzi, Marshal, sonnet on, mentioned; 354.
Sturrock, William, chancellor of the diocese of Down; 131.
Sublime and Beautiful, the, by Burke; 197, 198.
Suffolk, Duke of; 279.
Sugar duties mentioned; 393.
Sun Newspaper; 351.
Sunday Schools in Ireland; 184.
Sunderlin, Baron; 267(*n*).
"Suppléants" in the French National Assembly; 163.
Surrey, Lord, translation of Virgil, mentioned; 431.
Sutton, Charles Manners, Bishop of Norwich, &c.; 257.

Suwarrow, the gentle; 355.
Swift, Dean, prophesies his own madness; 121.
  his works, attempt towards a complete edition, pieces enquired after; 402, 403.
Sydney, "the immortal," alluded to; 228.

T

T——, Mrs., a conversation with; 9.
Talbot, Earl; 119.
Tanderagee, in co. Armagh; 21, 69.
  Volunteers of; 69, 78.
  in peace and tranquillity; 70.
  a company of infantry ordered to; 103.
Tandy, James Napper; 132, 305.
Tanjore, letter dated at; 12.
Tanning, experiments in; 337.
Tansillo, comedies; 354.
Taplow, mentioned; 276.
Tassagh in Armagh, military outrages in; 311.
Tassie, James, modeller; 57, 60.
Tatlers, the; 43.
Taverner, Martha, daughter of Richard, of Wooleaton; 205.
Tea trade; 30.
Telegraph (Tellograph), the, Mr. Edgeworth's invention; 287, 288, 293.
Temple, Earl (Marquis of Buckingham), first Grand Master of the Knights of St. Patrick; 24.
  Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; 70.
  dismissed the service; 205.
Temple of Hymen, a fable in verse; 361.
Templetown, Lord; 3.
Tenhove, M., memoirs of the house of Medici by; 349.
Tennison, Thomas, Justice, C. P., Ireland, an anecdote of; 201.
Terlicken, letter dated at; 129.
"Thatched House" Club; 32.
The Broken Heart and other plays by Ford, mentioned; 74.
The Discovery, picture by Hogarth; 27.
The Landscape, a didactic poem; 241, 263.
The Mysterious Mother, a tragedy by H. Walpole; 29.
  origin of; 280, 349.
Theatrical enterprise in Ireland; 190.
Theophila; 33.
Thesaurus, Hickes's; 45, 46, 52, 61.
Thomond, Marquis of (Murrough O'Brien); 187(*n*).
Thorkelin, Mr., professor of the University of Copenhagen, visit to Ireland; 100.
  letter to Charlemont; 105.
Thornton, Capt., of the Dublin Company, conspiracy of his men against; 301.
Thurlow, Lord, Chancellor, growls, but avoids a rupture; 124.
  indignant at the mismanagement of Ireland; 317.
Tillotson, Dr., and a female penitent; 280.
Timour, Institutions of; 194.
Tippoo Sahib, movements, &c.; 13, 14, 181.
Todd, Mr., Editor of *Comus*; 349.
Toler, John, Solicitor-General, Ireland; 74, 335.
  turned out; 404.
Tone, Theodore Wolfe, *Argument on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland*; 160.
  effect of his presence in Ireland; 160.
  mentioned; 245.
Tooke, Horne; 206.
  his character, trial, &c.; 252.
  a testimony in favour of; 256.
Toome, the Rebels at; 324, 325.
Topographia Hibernica; 272.
Torrens, Mr., a clergyman, leads the Kerry militia; 291.
Tory Island, naval action near; 337.
Tottenham Park; 363.
Toulon, French fleet ordered to; 169
  Sir Sidney Smith's action at, &c.; 229, 230.
Tournay; 240.
Tower of London put in a state of defence; 205.
  the Record Office in; 221.
Townly; 364.
Townshend:
  Lord, likely to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; 82.
  —— settles a quarrel; 400.
  James, Lord Mayor of London; 359.
Trade, freedom of; 21.
Trim juries; 306.
Trinity College, Dublin, suggested chancellor of; 32.
  MS. in the library, mentioned; 65.
  the provostship of; 253, 255.
  restored to its rights; 257.
Trinkamalee in Ceylon, granted to the French, its importance; 15.
Trissino; 313.
Triumph of Peace, by Shirley; 104.
True Briton, the, a paragraph in, against Charlemont and Malone; 268, 271.
Tullies' Love, by R. Greene; 224.
Tullygoonigan, co. Armagh, stack-yard burnt; 305.
Tullysaran, co. Armagh, chapel burned; 305.
Tunbridge; 197.
Turberville's poems; 103.
Turin, academy of; 365.
Turk's Head, Gerrard Street, London; 387.
Turner, Samuel; 399.
Tutet, Mark Cephas, sale of his books, &c.; 33.
Twickenham Park, letter dated at; 323.
Tyrone, County:
  assizes of, expected to testify abhorrence of certain measures; 59.
  will certainly "instruct"; 127.

Tyrone, County—*cont.*
  proceedings of magistrates with regard to proclaiming parts of the county; 290.
  measure to prevent disaffected people passing into; 291.
  Roman Catholics in, loyal action of; 292.
  the Tyrone list; 374.
  commission of the peace in; 389.
Tyrone, Earl of; 24.
Tyrwhitt's books; 33.
Tyrwhitt, Mr.; 67.

U

Ulster, no necessity for magistracy laws in; 57.
  opinion of, divided on essential points; 210.
  disposition of the inhabitants of, described; 294.
  martial law proclaimed; 297.
  Synod of, "narrow-minded, bigoted body," proposal to establish a seminary under; 49.
  Volunteers of, preparations for the Summer reviews; 34, 48.
Undated letters and papers; 359–406.
Union (Legislative), of Great Britain and Ireland, proposal of, surmised; 43.
  an object which the Government has much at heart; 183.
  its probability; 214, 337.
  discussed; 338, 339, 341, 342, 345, 346, 356, 357, 358, 398.
  schemes handed about in London; 342.
  loyalists against, disaffected indifferent; 344.
  the debate on the address; 344, 345.
  opposition to; 346, 347, 351, 352.
Union Societies and the Catholics; 394.
"United Irishmen":
  society at Belfast; 160, 179, 180, 395.
  the object of these societies, to moderate religious prejudices, &c.; 186.
  the oath of, papers respecting, mentioned; 191.
  will not visit a Whig Club; 196.
  strictures upon; 235.
  men of different regiments informed against for being; 301.
  decline of, &c.; 321, 322.
  merged in Defenderism; 347.
United States of America, progress of union; 113.
  commercial treaty with Ireland advocated; 113.
Ussher, Henry, D.D., professor of Astronomy in T.C.D., letter from; 2, 3.

V

Valence, Isabella de; 107.
Valenciennes, siege of; 230.
Vallancey, Major General Charles, letter from; 227.
Vanbrugh:
  Edward, letter to Charlemont; 144.
  Sir John, Clarencieux King at Arms, &c.; 144.
  —— sister residing at Ipswich; 144.
Vauban, the French engineer; 239.
Vaughan, Mr., writer of *The Calm Observer*; 223.
Venus and Adonis, a strange turn to the classical story; 62.
Vereker, Charles, M.P. for Limerick; 249.
Verner, J., connected with the proposal of an obelisk at Dungannon; 140, 141.
Via Appia, Antiquities of the; 237, 262.
Vida's *Christiad*; 109.
Villaret's *History of France* wanted; 46.
Vincent, Dr.; 207.
Vindiciæ Gallicæ, by Mackintosh, mentioned; 141.
Virginia, discovery of, by Sir W. Raleigh, title of a book relating to; 73.
Voltaire, Walpole's correspondence with; 34.
  epigram describing the French; 198, 199.
  —— prologue replying to; 200.
Volunteer corps. *See under* Ireland.
Vortigern, Shakspearean forgery, representation of, stopped, &c.; 272, 276.

W

W., a "much too old acquaintance," his speech criticised [? W. Pitt]; 260.
W., Dr., labours of, laid before the Irish Academy; 99.
Wade, Mr.; 363.
Wales, Prince of:
  relations with Mrs. Fitzherbert; 52, 53.
  arrangement as to his income, payment of debts, &c.; 53.
  the question of the Regency; 81, 82, 84, 85, 88, 89, 90, 97, 105, 386.
  his answer to Pitt; 88.
  his affection for Charlemont, description of an interview with, &c.; 91, 92, 95, 97, 116.
  Burke's relation of his interview with; 93, 94.
  treatment by the King's Ministers; 95.

Wales, Prince of—*cont.*
  at Newmarket, &c.; 96.
  Burke's opinion of; 98.
  the painting of his portrait for Charlemont; 116.
  his popularity increased, Charlemont's opinion of him; 141.
  interest in favour of bishop of Clonfert; 250.
  his extravagance, an anecdote of, &c.; 260, 261.
  his conduct with regard to the Princess, discussed; 273, 274, 275, 276.
  rumour of his appointment to be Governor of Ireland, discussed; 295.
  desire to come over to Ireland to do justice to the Irish, letter to, and reply; 302, 304, 305.
  would have conciliatory measures adopted in Ireland; 304.
  reception of his answers in Ireland; 367.
  a letter to, from gentlemen in Ireland, referred to; 374.
  present to Charlemont of a pocket book; 374.
  motion in the Irish H. of C. relating to; 375.
  his protection attained for Charlemont's son; 381.
  his marriage; 382.
Wales, Princess of, her popularity, &c.; 273.
Walker, Joseph Cooper, author of "Historical Memoirs of Irish Bards"; 64, 65, 135.
  letter to Charlemont; 74.
  essay on Irish dress; 75.
  letter to; 227.
  letters to Charlemont; 274, 313, 345, 349, 354.
  Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy; 345.
Wallace, ——, patent of precedence at the bar; 401.
Waller, Edmund, personal characteristics; 202.
  the seat of; 197.
Walpole, Horace, letter to Mrs. Hogarth; 5.
  his collection of pictures; 27, 30.
  letters to Charlemont; 29, 30, 135.
  a tragedy by; 29, 280.
  laid up with gout; 30.
  sends books to Charlemont; 30, 31.
  no letters with Voltaire published; 34.
  opinion of the *Harlot's Progress;* 40.
  Account of Strawberry Hill described, &c.; 60, 63.
  unauthorised edition of the *Mysterious Mother* printed in Ireland; 135.
  his reply to the question, whether peace or war; 140.
Walpole, Horace—*cont.*
  mentioned; 359, 360.
  letter from Charlemont to; 385.
  See also Orford, Lord.
Walpole, Horatio, afterwards 2nd Baron Walpole, letter to Charlemont from; 323.
Walpole, Sir Robert, mentioned; 323.
Walsh, R., letter to Charlemont; 100.
Wandawash; 13.
Warburton's underlings; 221.
Ward, Hon. Robert, turned out of the Northern Whig Club; 140.
Ware, ——; 65.
Waring, lieutenant, of the Benburb Volunteers; 79.
Warren, Richard, M.D., and the Prince of Wales; 141.
  careless treatment of Sir J. Reynolds; 188.
  death; 281.
Warton, Mr., Ritson's attack on; 222.
  an extraordinary error of; 349.
Warton's books; 33.
Warwick, Earldom of; 107.
Washington, General, character, &c.; 113, 243.
  attacked by Paine; 295.
Weather, allusions to the; 28, 39, 100, 129.
Weddell, Mr. and Mrs.; 77.
Weldon, Mr.; 363.
Wellesley, Marquess; 4(*n*).
Wentworth, a monument at, mentioned; 126.
West, Mr.; 40.
  collection of plays mentioned; 71.
West Indies, plague raging in; 220.
  quarantine for ships from; 223.
Westmeath, Earl of; 24.
Westmorland, Earl of, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; 247, 248, 250.
  character of his administration; 251.
Weymouth, the King mentioned to be at; 246.
Weymouth, Lord, Secretary of State; 391.
Wharton, Duke of; 404.
Whig Clubs:
  established in Dublin; 100, 105 (2), 113, 128, 129, 133, 140.
  established in Belfast, purpose, &c.; 110, 114, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 125, 136, 140.
  —— a dispatch from, to the Whig Club in Dublin; 129.
Whig principles; 132.
Whigs in Belfast celebrate the Revolution; 70.
Whigs, hostility to the Catholic claims; 180, 185.
Whiskey, private distilling and selling of, should be discouraged; 103.
Whitaker, John, author of *The Real Origin of Government,* mentioned; 294.
White, or Whyte, General, action in connexion with the disturbances at Belfast; 212, 213, 380.
  boast of, that he was empowered to destroy Belfast; 396.

White, Joseph, B.D., preface, &c., by, to *Institutes of Timour;* 194.
White's [Club], the stock books shut at; 403.
White-boys:
  give Government a pretext for arbitrary laws; 48.
  no talk of; 249.
Whitfield; 404.
Wickham, William, letter from; 315.
Wicklow:
  rebels fled to the mountains of, negotiations; 331.
  militia; 338.
"Wicklow rock," a specimen desired; 272.
William III., King, a character drawn of; 201.
  no more celebrations of his birthday at Belfast; 202.
  the ceremony of marching round his statute on the 4th November; 211.
Willis family, the, in attendance on the King; 95.
Wilson, Mr., No. 6, Dame Street, Dublin; 24.
Windham, Mr., takes a look at the National Assembly; 124.
  visit to Oxford; 203.
  political part; 204, 242.
  speech in reply to Fox, referred to; 207.
  at the Literary Club; 239.
  mentioned; 252, 253.
  a deserter of Fox; 275.
  "the apostate," a saying of; 357.
Winstanley, Thomas Meredyth, Herald of the Order of St. Patrick; 24.
Wolfe, Arthur, Attorney-General, Ireland; 249.
Wolsley Bridge; 399.
Wood:
  Antony; 205.
  George, letter to Charlemont, with a portion of his speech on the Catholic question; 7, 8.
Woodstock, tessellated pavement near, plate of, mentioned; 64.
Woodward, Richard, Bishop of Cloyne; 179.
Woollen manufacture in Ireland, an essay on; 76.
Worcester, Malone's investigations at; 221.
  wills at, searched; 267.
Workman, Mr.; 69.
Wright, Dr., great sale of the books of; 52, 53, 61, 72.
Wycombe, Lord; 355, 377.
Wyndham, ——, 303.
Wynne's Sale; 53.

Y

Yates, Anna Maria; 360.
Yelverton's Act; 46.
Yelverton, Barry, Chief baron of the Exchequer in Ireland, letter to Charlemont; 48.
  one of the judges going the North North West Circuit; 306, 307.
  (Lord Avonmore); 249.
York, Frederick, Duke of, duel with Charles Lennox; 98, 99, 374.
  Commander-in-Chief in Norfolk; 201.
  policy of the King's Ministers towards; 95.
  unjustifiable attacks on; 239, 242.
  narrow escape and adventure; 240.
  Mr. Edgeworth's tellograph submitted to; 287.
Young, lieutenant, son of the curate of Eglish, in command of Volunteers, attacked by Roman Catholics; 78, 79, 80.

LONDON: Printed by EYRE and SPOTTISWOODE,
Printers to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

Date.	—	Size.	Sessional Paper.	Price.	
				s.	d.
1870 (Reprinted 1874.)	FIRST REPORT, WITH APPENDIX - Contents :— ENGLAND. House of Lords; Cambridge Colleges; Abingdon, and other Corporations, &c. SCOTLAND. Advocates' Library, Glasgow Corporation, &c. IRELAND. Dublin, Cork, and other Corporations, &c.	f'cap	[C. 55]	1	6
1871	SECOND REPORT, WITH APPENDIX, AND INDEX TO THE FIRST AND SECOND REPORTS - - - - - - Contents :— ENGLAND. House of Lords; Cambridge Colleges; Oxford Colleges; Monastery of Dominican Friars at Woodchester, Duke of Bedford, Earl Spencer, &c. SCOTLAND. Aberdeen and St. Andrew's Universities, &c. IRELAND. Marquis of Ormonde; Dr. Lyons, &c.	„	[C. 441]	3	10
1872	THIRD REPORT, WITH APPENDIX AND INDEX - - - - - - Contents :— ENGLAND. House of Lords; Cambridge Colleges; Stonyhurst College; Bridgewater and other Corporations; Duke of Northumberland, Marquis of Lansdowne, Marquis of Bath, &c. SCOTLAND. University of Glasgow; Duke of Montrose, &c. IRELAND. Marquis of Ormonde; Black Book of Limerick, &c.	„	[C. 673]	*[Out of print.]*	
1873	FOURTH REPORT, WITH APPENDIX. PART I. - - - - - - Contents :— ENGLAND. House of Lords; Westminster Abbey; Cambridge and Oxford Colleges; Cinque Ports, Hythe, and other Corporations, Marquis of Bath, Earl of Denbigh, &c. SCOTLAND. Duke of Argyll, &c. IRELAND. Trinity College, Dublin; Marquis of Ormonde.	„	[C. 857]	6	8
1873	DITTO. PART II. INDEX - - -	„	[C.857i.]	2	6
1876	FIFTH REPORT, WITH APPENDIX. PART I. - Contents :— ENGLAND. House of Lords; Oxford and Cambridge Colleges; Dean and Chapter of Canterbury; Rye, Lydd, and other Corporations, Duke of Sutherland, Marquis of Lansdowne, Reginald Cholmondeley, Esq., &c. SCOTLAND. Earl of Aberdeen, &c.	„	[C.1432]	7	0
	DITTO. PART II. INDEX - - -	„	[C.1432 i.]	3	6

Date.	——	Size.	Sessional Paper.	Price.
				s. *d.*
1877	Sixth Report, with Appendix. Part I. - Contents :— England. House of Lords; Oxford and Cambridge Colleges; Lambeth Palace; Black Book of the Archdeacon of Canterbury; Bridport, Wallingford, and other Corporations; Lord Leconfield, Sir Reginald Graham, Sir Henry Ingilby, &c. Scotland. Duke of Argyll, Earl of Moray, &c. Ireland. Marquis of Ormonde.	f'cap	[C.1745]	8 6
	Ditto. Part II. Index (Reprinted 1893)	„	[C.2102]	1 10
1879	Seventh Report, with Appendix. Part I. - - - - - Contents :— House of Lords; County of Somerset; Earl of Egmont, Sir Frederick Graham, Sir Harry Verney, &c.	„	[C.2340]	[*Out of print.*]
	Ditto. Part II. Appendix and Index - Contents :— Duke of Athole, Marquis of Ormonde, S. F. Livingstone, Esq., &c.	„	[C. 2340 i.]	[*Out of print.*]
1881	Eighth Report, with Appendix and Index. Part I. - - - Contents :— List of collections examined, 1869–1880. England. House of Lords; Duke of Marlborough; Magdalen College, Oxford; Royal College of Physicians; Queen Anne's Bounty Office; Corporations of Chester, Leicester, &c. Ireland. Marquis of Ormonde, Lord Emly, The O'Conor Don, Trinity College, Dublin, &c.	„	[C.3040]	8 6
1881	Ditto. Part II. Appendix and Index - Contents :— The Duke of Manchester.	„	[C. 3040 i.]	1 9
1881	Eighth Report. Part III. Appendix and Index - - - - - Contents :— The Earl of Ashburnham.	„	[C.3040 ii.]	1 4
1883	Ninth Report, with Appendix and Index. Part I. - - - - Contents :— St. Paul's and Canterbury Cathedrals; Eton College; Carlisle, Yarmouth, Canterbury, and Barnstaple Corporations, &c.	„	[C.3773]	[*Out of print.*]
1884	Ditto. Part II. Appendix and Index - Contents :— England. House of Lords, Earl of Leicester; C. Pole Gell, Alfred Morrison, Esqs., &c. Scotland. Lord Elphinstone, H. C. Maxwell Stuart, Esq., &c. Ireland. Duke of Leinster, Marquis of Drogheda, &c.	„	[C.3773 i.]	6 3
1884	Ditto. Part III. Appendix and Index - - - - - Contents :— Mrs. Stopford Sackville.	„	[C.3773 ii.]	1 7

Date.	—	Size.	Sessional Paper.	Price.
				s. d.
1883	CALENDAR OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K.G. (or CECIL MSS.). PART I.	8vo.	[C.3777]	[*Out of print.*]
1888	Do. PART II.	„	[C.5463]	3 5
1889	Do. PART III.	„	[C. 5889 v.]	2 1
1892	Do. PART IV.	„	[C.6823]	2 11
	Do. PART V.	*In the Press.*		
1885	TENTH REPORT This is introductory to the following :—	„	[C.4548]	0 3½
1885	(1.) APPENDIX AND INDEX The Earl of Eglinton, Sir J. S. Maxwell, Bart., and C. S. H. D. Moray, C. F. Weston Underwood, G. W. Digby, Esqs.	„	[C.4575]	[*Out of print.*]
1885	(2.) APPENDIX AND INDEX The Family of Gawdy.	„	[C.4576 iii.]	1 4
1885	(3.) APPENDIX AND INDEX Wells Cathedral.	„	[C.4576 ii.]	2 0
1885	(4.) APPENDIX AND INDEX The Earl of Westmorland; Capt. Stewart; Lord Stafford; Sir N. W. Throckmorton, Stonyhurst College; Sir P. T. Mainwaring, Misses Boycott, Lord Muncaster, M.P., Capt. J. F. Bagot, Earl of Kilmorey, Earl of Powis, Rev. T. S. Hill and others, the Corporations of Kendal, Wenlock, Bridgnorth, Eye, Plymouth, and the County of Essex.	„	[C.4576]	3 6
1885	(5.) APPENDIX AND INDEX The Marquis of Ormonde, Earl of Fingall, Corporations of Galway, Waterford, the Sees of Dublin and Ossory, the Jesuits in Ireland.	„	[C. 4576 i.]	[*Out of print.*]
1887	(6.) APPENDIX AND INDEX The Marquis of Abergavenny, Lord Braye, G. F. Luttrell, P. P. Bouverie, W. Bromley Davenport, M.P., R. T. Balfour, Esquires.	„	[C.5242]	1 7
1887	ELEVENTH REPORT This is introductory to the following :—	„	[C. 5060 vi.]	0 3
1887	(1.) APPENDIX AND INDEX H. D. Skrine, Esq., Salvetti Correspondence.	„	[C.5060]	1 1
1887	(2.) APPENDIX AND INDEX House of Lords. 1678-1688.	„	[C. 5060 i.]	2 0
1887	(3.) APPENDIX AND INDEX Corporations of Southampton and Lynn.	„	[C. 5060 ii.]	1 8
1887	(4.) APPENDIX AND INDEX The Marquis Townshend.	„	[C. 5060 iii.]	2 6

Date.	—	Size.	Sessional Paper.	Price.	
				s.	d.
1887	(5.) Appendix and Index - - - The Earl of Dartmouth.	„	[C. 5060 iv.]	2	8
1887	(6.) Appendix and Index - - - The Duke of Hamilton.	8vo	[C. 5060 v.]	1	6
1888	(7.) Appendix and Index - - - The Duke of Leeds, Marchioness of Waterford, Lord Hothfield, &c.; Bridgwater Trust Office, Reading Corporation, Inner Temple Library.	„	[C.5612]	2	0
1890	Twelfth Report - - - - This is introductory to the following:—	„	[C.5889]	0	3
1888	(1.) Appendix - - - - The Earl Cowper, K.G. (Coke MSS., at Melbourne Hall, Derby) Vol. I.	„	[C.5472]	2	7
1888	(2.) Appendix - - - - Ditto. Vol. II.	„	[C.5613]	2	5
1889	(3.) Appendix and Index - - - Ditto. Vol. III.	„	[C. 5889 i.]	1	4
1888	(4.) Appendix - - - - The Duke of Rutland, G.C.B. Vol. I.	„	[C.5614]	3	2
1891	(5.) Appendix and Index - - - Ditto. Vol. II.	„	[C. 5889 ii.]	2	0
1889	(6.) Appendix and Index - - - House of Lords, 1689–1690.	„	[C. 5889 iii.]	2	1½
1890	(7.) Appendix and Index - - - S. H. le Fleming, Esq., of Rydal.	„	[C. 5889 iv.]	1	11
1891	(8.) Appendix and Index - - - The Duke of Athole, K.T., and the Earl of Home.	„	[C.6338]	1	0
1891	(9.) Appendix and Index - - - The Duke of Beaufort, K.G., the Earl of Donoughmore, J. H. Gurney, W. W. B. Hulton, R. W. Ketton, G. A. Aitken, P. V. Smith, Esqs.; Bishop of Ely; Cathedrals of Ely, Gloucester, Lincoln, and Peterborough; Corporations of Gloucester, Higham Ferrers, and Newark; Southwell Minster; Lincoln District Registry.	„	[C. 6338 i.]	2	6
1891	(10.) Appendix and Index - - The First Earl of Charlemont. Vol. I. 1745–1783.	„	[C. 6338 ii.]	1	11
1892	Thirteenth Report - - - This is introductory to the following :—	„	[C.6827]	0	3
1891	(1.) Appendix - - - - The Duke of Portland. Vol. I.	„	[C.6474]	3	0
	(2.) Appendix and Index - - - Ditto. Vol. II.	„	[C. 6827 i.]	2	0
1892	(3.) Appendix. J. B. Fortescue, Esq. Vol. I. -	„	[C.6660]	2	7

Date.	—	Size.	Sessional Paper.	Price.
				s. d.
1892	(4.) APPENDIX AND INDEX - - - Corporations of Rye, Hastings, and Hereford. Capt. F. C. Loder-Symonds, E. R. Wodehouse, M.P., J. Dovaston, Esqs., Sir T. Barrett Lennard, Bart., Rev. W. D. Macray, and Earl of Dartmouth (Supplementary Report).	8vo.	[C.6810]	2 4
1892	(5.) APPENDIX AND INDEX - - - House of Lords, 1690–1691.	„	[C.6822]	2 4
1893	(6.) APPENDIX AND INDEX - - Sir William FitzHerbert, Earl of Ancaster, &c.	„	[C.7166]	1 4
	(7.) APPENDIX AND INDEX - - - The Earl of Lonsdale.	„	[C.7241]	1 3
	(8.) APPENDIX AND INDEX - - The First Earl of Charlemont. Vol. II. 1784–1799.	„	[C.7424.]	1 11
	FOURTEENTH REPORT. This will be introductory to the following :—			
	(1.) APPENDIX AND INDEX. The Duke of Rutland, G.C.B. Vol. III.	*In the Press.*		
	(2.) APPENDIX AND INDEX. The Duke of Portland. Vol. III. -	*Ditto.*		
	(3.) APPENDIX AND INDEX. The Duke of Roxburghe's and other Collections in Scotland.	*Ditto.*		
	(4.) APPENDIX AND INDEX. Lord Kenyon - - - -	*Ditto.*		

162245
Gov.Doc. Great Britain. Historical Manuscripts Commission
G.B. The manuscripts and correspondence of James,
Com first Earl of Charlemont.
H 2 vol. in 1.

University of Toronto
Library

DO NOT
REMOVE
THE
CARD
FROM
THIS
POCKET

Acme Library Card Pocket
LOWE-MARTIN CO. LIMITED